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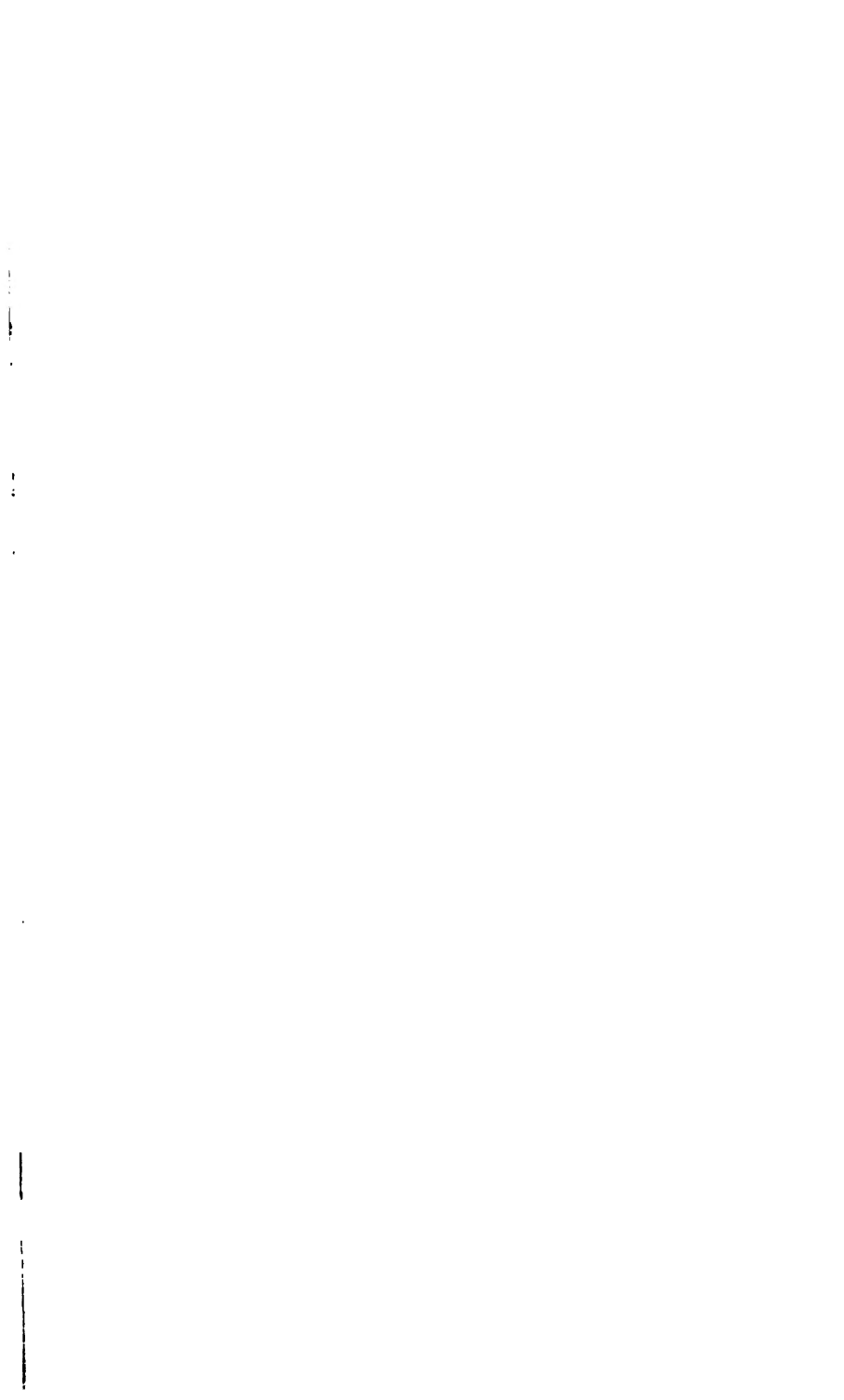
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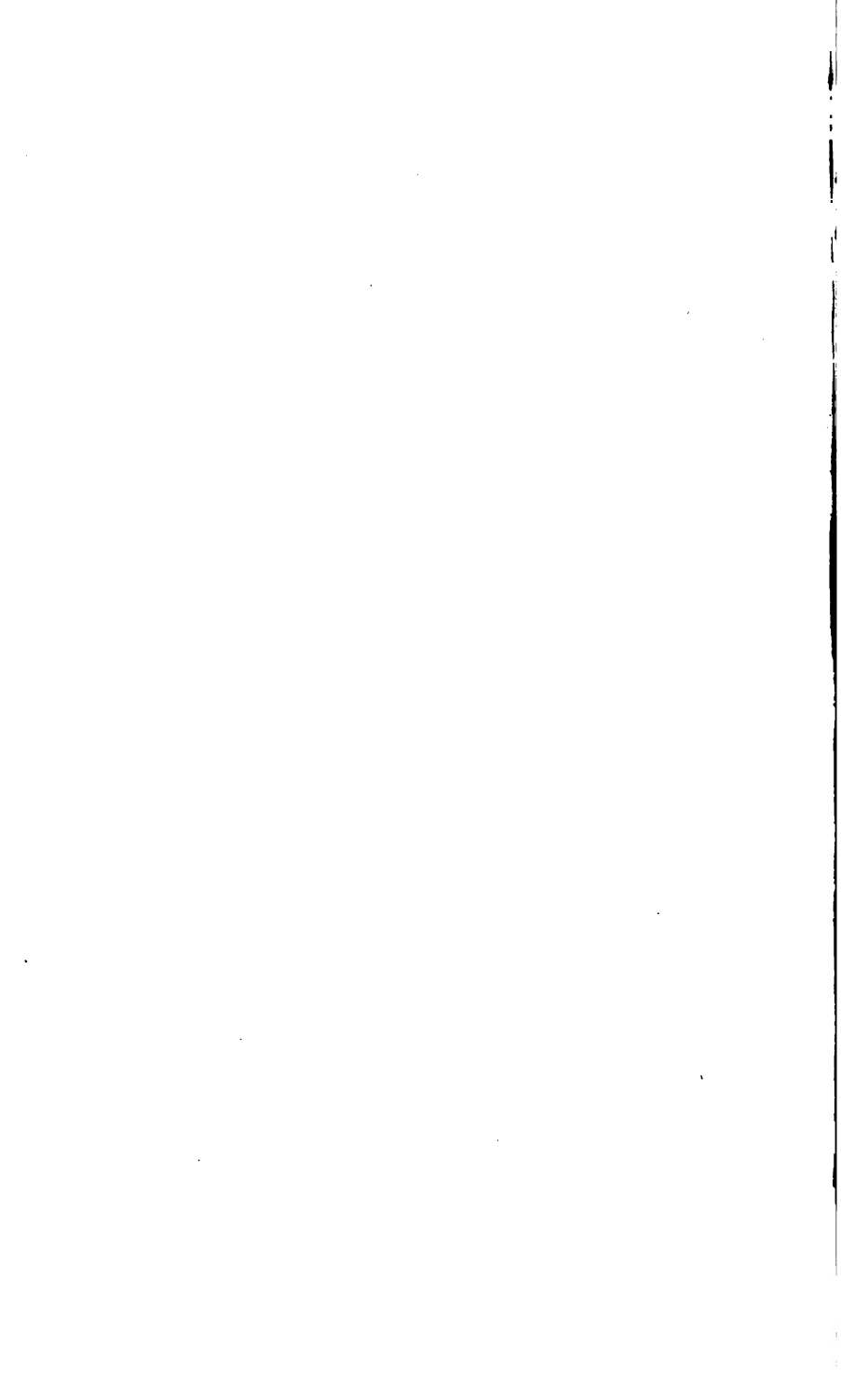
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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,  
POLITICKS,

AND

LITERATURE,

Of the YEAR 1759.

THE THIRD EDITION.



LONDON:

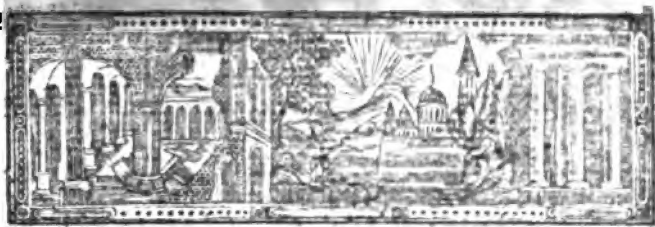
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## P R E F A C E.



IN our Preface to the REGISTER of last year, we fully explained the nature of our design ; the Book itself has shewn in what manner we have been able to carry it into execution : It is therefore not necessary to detain the reader a long time at the entrance of the volume which we now lay before him. Even at our first setting out, we employed none of the customary arts to excite attention, and

seduce judgment; and on the present occasion these arts would prove as ineffectual, as they would have then been low and illiberal. The favour which the public has shewn to our humble labours, without any such helps, encourage us to proceed in the manner in which we originally began.

There is no considerable change in the order and method of the work; a small improvement we have indeed made, by classing our Miscellaneous Papers somewhat more exactly. Besides, as a work of this kind depends for its materials on the events and publications of the year, it would be improper so scrupulously to restrain ourselves

## P R E F A C E.

selves to one set of heads, and to one proportion of matter under each, as not to conform ourselves to things as they arise. Some years abound in one species of entertainment, and are barren in another. In our last Register we had an article of *Extraordinary Adventures*. This year has produced hardly any thing of that kind, and therefore we have omitted that title; but we have made the reader amends under that of *Characters*; which contains a very great variety of accounts of eminent persons, good and bad; some drawn by very masterly hands; none in a manner that is contemptible. We are the more pleased with our fertility

## vi P R E F A C E,

tility in this part, as we know no kind of reading that can be at once more useful and more agreeable,

We do not pretend, that with all our care, and with something more of experience, we have been able to avoid all the errors, and to supply all the defects which might have been observed in our first volume. They have in that been overlooked or pardoned by the candour of the public; and we shall never, we hope, forfeit our title to that indulgence by laying claim to perfection; we shall make the errors of each year lessons for the ensuing; and when we have done our best,

## P R E F A C E,      vii

best, we shall stand in need of pardon,

We have only to add, that we request the favour of the correspondence of ingenious persons. It is hoped that the choice we have hitherto made will not give any gentleman cause to be ashamed that his performance should appear among the pieces we select, whether in prose or in verse. We received indeed some papers, but they came too late, our plan having been then unalterably settled. We hope that those gentlemen who intend to favour us, will send in their letters before November.

T H E





THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1759.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PRESENT WAR.

## CHAP. I.

*The inclinations of the powers at war at the closing the last campaign. The King of Spain's death apprehended. Condition of the King of Prussia, Empress Queen, Russia, Sweden, Holland, France, and England.*

**W**HOEVER reflects upon the conclusion of the several campaigns since the year 1755, will easily perceive that at the end of the last, the fortune of the several powers, at war seemed more nearly upon a ballance, than it had been at the close of any of the former. That campaign was rather less bloody, than that which immediately preceded it ; and it was not concluded with any action of such an eclat, as could greatly raise, or depress the hopes of any

Vol. II.

of the contending parties. All parties became more cautious; because it became every day more evident, that the fortune of war was not to be decided by any single stroke, however considerable. The prize was reserved for the player of the skilful game; for the most attentive patience; for the greatest depth of resources. An equality of this kind seemed at last to promise Europe some repose. All sides might now give and receive honourable and equitable terms; and peace

might be settled on that footing, on which it has been usually made, for some time past, in our part of the world. But the great designs entertained by each power; revenge imbibed by the blows which all had felt in their turns, the consideration of the vast expences that fell upon all, and which a peace at that time would have made fruitless; even the hopes arising from the equivocal appearances of the last campaign estranged every court from the disposition to peace. Infomuch that there were no terms directly offered by any of the belligerent powers; nor did any of the neutral interpose their mediation. Besides these, another cause operated powerfully; a great event was hourly expected about this time; an event which threatened to involve the Southern parts of Europe in the calamities of that war, that had so long wasted the Northern; and which, whenever it should take place, threatened to render the political system infinitely more intricate, and probably to give the war quite a new turn.

The late King of Spain, by the force of a conjugal affection, rarely seen in that dignity, since the death of his Queen, had been given up to a melancholy, which preyed upon his health, and affected his understanding. His death, or incapacity, appeared inevitable within a short time. The King of Naples, Don Carlos, was next in the order of succession. In the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, it had been agreed, that the dutchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla, should be restored to the house of Austria, in case Don Carlos should ever come to the crown of Spain. These countries were at the end of that war, in the hands of the Empress

Queen, or her allies. Her imperial Majesty had set up a claim to the reversion of these dutchies, on the extinction of issue-male in the house of Farnese. But the ambition of the Queen of Spain to make all her children Sovereigns, put powerful bars in her way to it. This ambition was one of the causes, which made the last so general a war. The peace of Aix la Chapelle, which put a period to that war, after settling these contested dutchies as an establishment for Don Philip, second son to the King of Spain, provided, that whenever the event, which we have mentioned before, should take place, that is to say, the accession of Don Carlos to the crown of Spain, then the kingdom of Naples and Sicily should pass to the Infant Don Philip, and the dutchies which formed his establishment should revert to the house of Austria.

The King of Naples, not without reason, looked upon this article of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, as injurious to his rights; accordingly he never acceded to it. No method in this case could be seen, which might prevent matters from coming to extremities, except the situation of the Empress, engaged as she was with a powerful adversary, who kept her forces strained to their utmost pitch. She was in no condition to engage in a new war, however interesting the object might be. Her ally France, who so ineffectually assisted her in Germany, could not probably assist her with more effect in Italy; she therefore seemed to have no other part left, than to acquiesce for the present, and wait in silence a more favourable opportunity to assert her claims. The event of the King of Spain's death has since happened. It has

pro-

produced none of those immediate effects which were apprehended ; and this probably proceeded from the cause which we have just now hinted. A dead calm at present broods over Italy. But in this tranquillity and silence there are materials gathering, which may on no very distant period burst in a terrible tempest over that delightful country. They are very nearly the same that produced the last troubles there, and may not only revive them, but spread the horrors of war once more over all Europe.

Such were the inclinations of the powers at war, at the opening of this year : their strength seemed also very entire ; in particular, the resources of the King of Prussia appeared astonishing, after the great blows he had suffered ; and after the advantages he had gained, but gained at so high a price. He was still able to shew himself the father and benefactor, as well as the protector of his people. In the midst of the devouring waste of such an expensive war, from the funds of his œconomy, he was enabled to remit the taxes to those parts of his dominions, which had suffered from the Russian barbarity ; he even advanced money to those which had suffered the most considerably.

To take a nearer view of his situation, we must observe, that the whole kingdom of Prussia still remained in the hands of the Muscovites. The dutchy of Cleves, together with his other possessions on the Rhine, could yield him nothing ; they were held by the French ; but in these respects, his situation was not worse than it had been, almost from the beginning of the war. He had, to ballance these losses, the rich country of

Saxony, which he had twice in one campaign wrested from the hands of the Austrians. Add to this, the renewal of the subsidy treaty with Great Britain, on the advantageous terms of the former year. These were undoubtedly great supports ; and the King seemed as entire in power, and more advanced in reputation than ever.

But on a more critical examination, things had an aspect not quite so favourable. This appearance was rather specious than entirely solid ; and whilst all without looked full and fair, within there was a decay of substance, and an hollowiness that rung at the slightest touch. That incomparable body of troops, which at the beginning of the war had given him so great a superiority, no longer existed in the same persons. If his troops derived advantages from a long series of active service, these advantages were equally on the side of the enemy. His army had known what it is to be beaten ; and it is no wonder, if a sort of weariness and despair began to creep upon them, after such an infinite train of unrewarded fatigues, when they saw that so many wonderful exploits had not yet ended the war in their favour. Many of his best generals had been killed in battle, or died, or had retired, or were disgraced. The hoards which he had amassed before the war, by this time must have been entirely spent ; his dominions must have been greatly exhausted, both of men and money. Saxony could no longer yield such supplies, as formerly. The indigence of the subdued inhabitants, set bounds to the rapacity of the conqueror. The subsidy from Great Britain did a great deal ; but it could not supply the deficiencies on this, and on

every other side. These circumstances, probably, made the King of Prussia more cautious and dilatory than usual.

The court of Vienna had as great burthens to sustain as the King of Prussia, and she had suffered much greater blows. That power has a strength, somewhat unaccountable and peculiar to herself. More deficient in pecuniary funds, than any other great power in Europe, she is better able to subsist, and to do considerable things without them. For by a long habit, the whole state is formed to its necessities: and the subject is more ready to supply free quarter, and to endure military licence than any other. The country is abundantly fruitful in all its parts. And whilst the war is carried on near home, an arbitrary government, operating on so extensive an object, can hardly fail of such resources, as must serve an Austrian army; which is still paid, in a great measure, as Tacitus describes the troops of the ancient Germans to have been; *they have a plentiful table in lieu of pay*.\*

And indeed it must be owned, that there is no Sovereign, who is more highly honoured in his dominions; or obeyed with a greater mixture of love and reverence, by all his subjects, than her Imperial Majesty. So that having a very ample power, very willing obedience, a large territory, and many men, not sufficiently employed in the arts of peace, it perhaps may be guessed, in what manner she has been able to supply her many and great losses, and to continue a war, like the present, better than states more abundant in money. She is besides, and this is a matter of no small consequence, supported by the countenance, the authority, and the

forces of the Empire. And she has for her allies the first, and most formidable names in Europe. In the wars which this power carried on in the last, and in this century, though usually not very successful, she has always been the last to desire a peace; though frequently slow in her operations, she makes amends by an extraordinary perseverance.

This slowness could not escape general observation, in the actions of the last year. That the Austrians did not play, with sufficient spirit, the great game which was in their hands, after the battle of Hohenkirchen and the entry of the Russians into the New Marche of Brandenburg, seems hardly disputable. Perhaps it was that the court of Vienna, by an error common to many courts, but particularly so to this, and often fatal to it, interfered too much and too minutely, in the operations of the campaign.

It is not impossible that the character of Marshal Daun himself, might have had some share in this inactivity; a character almost in all things the direct reverse of that of his Prussian Majesty. He saw that the King, active, resolute and adventurous, wasted himself even by that activity and spirit, to which he owed his most brilliant successes. Should the Austrians carry on the war in the same spirit, they might suffer in the same manner, without being ever able to equal, much less to exceed that great Monarch, in a stile of action peculiarly his own. Daun therefore by principle, seems to have kept his army from coming to action, in order to oppose a strength entire, and recruited by a long rest, to that of the King of Prussia, wasted by the efforts it was obliged to make, incessantly and on

\* *Name pule, et quamquam incompti, largitamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt.*  
Tacit. de moribus Germ. § 14.

every side. His design seemed to be, that the issue of the war should rather arise from the general result and concurrence of all the operations, gradually producing a solid though a slow advantage, than from the effect of a bold, quick, and masterly stroke. In fact, the Austrians felt all the benefits, and all the inconveniencies which usually attend this sort of conduct, a conduct which probably lost them Saxony in the last campaign, and which has secured them the possession of what they now hold in that country. The Austrians and Prussians watched the time and one another, and came very late to action.

The court of Petersburg still adhered to its old system, in spite of the late ill success of her arms, and all the efforts of the British minister, to withdraw her from her alliance. If she had some loss of men, it was the least loss she could feel: and she thought that whilst the war was carried on at the expence of others, the reduction of so near, so dreaded, and so hated a rival as the King of Prussia, and the opportunity of the forming her troops to service, and perfecting her officers, were objects of consequence enough to keep her closely attached to her first sentiments.

The Swedes preserved likewise the same connexion; but they continued as before, an inconsiderable, and inglorious part of the war.

Holland preserved her neutrality; but it was a neutrality little respected, and indeed in itself little respectable. Divided in her councils, attentive only to private interests, she disgusted the English, and neither pleased nor served the French. For some of the subjects of that republic had carried on the trade of France in their bottoms, which subjected

them to frequent captures from the English men of war and privateers. This produced loud complaints in Holland, and warm remonstrances to the court of London. These complaints met with little attention, being in many respects but indifferently founded. The affair was drawn out in length, until the dispute was extinguished by the destruction of its object; some of the French colonies were reduced, and the trade in the others grown too small and too hazardous to be continued longer with any hope of advantage.

The affairs of France and England were partly connected with the general system, and partly distinct and independent. France perceived that the strength of the English, and the exertion of that strength, increased continually in America; she knew from the natural inferiority of her colonies, and the feeble state of her navy, that she could not in reason hope for great success in that quarter; for which reason, although she sent a fleet under Mons. Bompard into the West Indies, and some men of war, with as many store and transport ships as she could steal out of the river St. Lawrence, her great efforts were to be made in Europe, she had two objects, the recovery of Hanover, and the invasion of these islands; in either of which if she succeeded, there could be no doubt, but that it would prove a sufficient ballance for all that she had suffered, or had to apprehend in any other part of the world.

With regard to the first object, though it was difficult to attain it, and though, if it should be attained, it did not promise to answer her purposes so well as the latter, yet it was upon that she chiefly depended. Hitherto indeed the success which



France had in Germany, was not at all proportioned to the prodigious efforts which she made; she began to find herself much exhausted. The wants of the French obliged them to pay little respect to neutral, or even to friendly powers; so that the esteem and assistance which they had in Germany diminished continually. They eat up the country, and seized on such towns as were convenient to them, without any ceremony: yet freed from all these restraints, their army had made very little progress; their generals had not displayed any great abilities, and their army in itself very badly composed, was deficient in discipline, to a degree which is scarcely credible. They kept neither garrisons nor posts, nor sentinels; a great part of their troops wandered from the camp into the neighbouring towns, and returned drunk. Their councils of war were held in a tumultuous and disorderly manner; and all their designs were perfectly known in the camp of the allies, where a very different picture was exhibited, with regard to regularity and caution.\*

The French troops have several essential defects in their constitution, which prevent them from equalling those of Germany, and other nations. Several regiments are in a manner hereditary in great families, who, placed at their first outset at a very high point of military rank, think it unnecessary to attain the qualifications, which lead others to it step by step. As to the rest of the officers, as their pay is small and their hopes little, few study the art military, as a profession; they serve because it is the fashion to do so, and that it is thought necessary to a gentleman. Thus they dispatch their business as a disagreeable task; and having little to lose in the service, it is almost impossible to preserve a due subordina-

tion. The common men are little more than abject vassals, and therefore want that high spirit which in their gentry makes some amends for the want of knowledge and assiduity. And as they are corrupted by the example of their superiors, so by their negligence they are left without any restraint. The officers do not chuse to incur the ill-will of their men, or to give themselves trouble, by exercising that wholesome severity in which the health and vigour of military discipline consists.

The German common people are indeed in a still lower state of vassalage than the French, and might therefore be supposed naturally no better soldiers; but their bodies are more robust and hardy; their treatment is severe and rigorous, their subordination is most exact, which makes their discipline perfect; and Germany is so habituated to war, that all the people may be said to be born soldiers. These things give the Germans a great superiority over the French; a superiority which was more visible in this, than in any former war.

These defects in their army were increased by the low state of their finances, which caused their troops to be very ill paid. The French court made some attempts to keep up their credit, by changing their former methods of raising money. Mr. Silhouet was made controller of the finances, and the farmers general were removed from their former employment of finding the supplies. New methods were devised, which might stave off the entire ruin of their finances, until their armies in Germany could strike some effective blow, or their project of an invasion, which quieted the minds of the people in some degree, should be put in execution.

With

\* See *Lettres de M. Belleisle*.

With regard to the latter project, France had formerly found that the bare report of such a design had served many material purposes; but in England things had, since then, been greatly changed. The threats of an invasion increased our internal strength without raising any apprehensions; they in a great measure executed the militia act, which hardly any thing else could have put in execution; they increased the regular troops, both in their number and their species. England for the first time saw light horse and light foot. There reigned in both houses the most perfect and unprecedented union. Among the great men there was no difference that could in the least affect the conduct of the war. The dispute concerning the prefe-

rence of the continental and the marine system, was entirely silenced; because a system took place which comprehended both, and operated in both as fully as the warmest advocates of either could desire. Never did England keep a greater number of land forces on foot, on the continent of Europe, in England, in America, when she turned all her power to her land forces only. Never did she cover the seas with such formidable fleets, when her navy alone engaged her attention. Such is the effect when power and patriotism unite; when *liberty and order kiss*; and when a nation fits with a happy security under the shade of abilities which she has tried, and virtues in which she dares to confide.

## CHAP. II.

*The allied army moves. Successful skirmishes on the side of the allies. Battle of Bergen. Prince Ferdinand retires to Windeken. Plan of the campaign. General Wobernow's expedition into Poland. Prince Henry's into Bohemia and Franconia. General Macquirt defeated. Bamberg pillaged. Prince Henry returns to Saxony. Hesse abandoned by the allies.*

THE seizing of Francfort in the last year, by a most flagrant violation of the liberties of the Empire, had given the French and their allies the most material advantage they had acquired in the campaign; for it secured to them the course of the Maine, and the Rhine, and made it easy to them to receive every kind of reinforcement and supply. It secured likewise that communication between them, the Imperial, and the Austrian armies, and formed that chain, from which they derived no small benefit of mutual succour and concurrence in their operations. Much depended upon their being dislodged from that post; as well with regard to the fortune of his Britannic Majesty's

army, as to that of the King of Prussia. Such a stroke must necessarily have the greatest influence on the events of the whole ensuing campaign. Prince Ferdinand, sensible of this, as soon as the season permitted him to enter upon action, drew his troops out of their cantonments; and at the head of thirty thousand men, prepared to dislodge them, before they could receive the supplies, of which they were in daily expectation. The rest of his army, consisting of about ten or twelve thousand men, were left to guard the electorate, and to watch the bishopric of Munster. Some detachments of Hanoverians and Prussians had, in the latter end of February, driven the Imperialists

and Austrians from the posts, which they occupied at Erfurth and Elßnack, and some places in the country of Hesse; this drew a strong body of the enemy into that part, which pushed them back; but the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who led the army of the allies through ways, before deemed impassable to an army, defeated them in some severe skirmishes; several places of importance were taken; several whole battalions were made prisoners, with their officers. The French, alarmed at the vivacity of this beginning, judged it but the prelude to something more decisive. Accordingly the Duke of Broglie took an advantageous post, near Bergen, at a village between Francfort and Hannau, which it was necessary that the allies should master, before they could penetrate to his line. This place he had made his right, and secured his flanks and center in such a manner, that the attack could only be made at that village.

In this disposition was the French army when the allies approached; they formed themselves under an eminence, and began the attack on the village of Bergen, between nine and ten in the morning, with great intrepidity. They were received with a very severe fire, which the enemy had prepared for them; they made three attacks in the space of about two hours, and were every time repulsed.

Prince Ferdinand now observed that the enemy still kept a good countenance in their post, and that his own troops began to fall into some disorder. This able general, who never risks his fortune on a single throw, began to think of a retreat, whilst his loss was yet inconsiderable, and the disorder of his

men easily to be repaired. But a retreat in the face of a victorious enemy, was hazardous; and the day was not yet above half spent. In this exigence he made such movements, as strongly indicated a design of falling once more upon the village, in the enemy's right, and of making at the same time a new attack upon their left. These appearances were further countenanced by a cannonade, on both these posts, supported with an uncommon fury. The French, deceived by these manœuvres, kept close in their posts; they expected a new and a lively attack every moment; they returned the cannonade as briskly as they could; and in this posture things continued until night came on, when the Prince made an easy retreat, without disorder, or molestation, and halted at Windeken.

In this action the loss of the allies was about two thousand in every way; that of the French was by no means less considerable. The allies indeed suffered nothing in their reputation; their countenance through the whole action having been excellent. Prince Ferdinand gained as much honour and displayed as much skill, as could have been obtained, or shewn upon a more fortunate occasion. The event however was, in its consequences, far from indifferent; for the allies having missed this blow, the French still kept Francfort, and all the advantages which they drew from that situation; they had time and means to receive their reinforcements; and they acquired in a short space such a superiority, as obliged Prince Ferdinand to content himself with acting on the defensive, for a long time after.

The advantages which would have arisen

arisen from another issue of that battle appeared more fully, from the operations which were carrying on on the side of Bohemia, and which probably were designed to concur with those of the Prince, in some grand and comprehensive scheme. There is no doubt, that the army of the allies, and those of his Prussian Majesty, had determined to act in concert, and had settled some plan for that purpose: and though it should not be discovered, with equal certainty, what that plan was, it may not however be unpleasant to trace it; as far at least, as a reasonable conjecture, guided by the lights derived from the tendency of each operation, may lead us. For if we succeed at all, in such an attempt, it diffuses a wonderful clearness over the whole narrative.

It is not impossible then, that it was designed, in the first place, to keep the Russians at a distance, until the latter end of the summer, by the destruction of their magazines in Poland. That, on the other side, Prince Ferdinand should attempt to drive the French towards the Rhine, and to get between them and the army of the Empire; which having thus lost its communication with the French, Prince Henry should rush out of Saxony, and fall upon them in Bohemia and Franconia, and cut off also their communication with the great body of the Austrians. Then the Imperialists would find themselves situated between two hostile and superior armies; whilst in Bohemia, Marshal Daun would be either obliged to try his fortune single handed, with the King of Prussia, or totally to abandon that kingdom, into which it was in the power of the Prussians to enter, in opposite parts at once.

The first part of this plan was

executed with great spirit and success. So early as the 23d of February, the Prussian general Wobernow marched into Poland, from Glogau in Silesia, with forty-six squadrons, and twenty-nine battalions, where they routed some bodies of Cossacks; and after having destroyed several immense magazines, particularly one at Posen, said to be sufficient for the subsistence of fifty thousand men for three months, they returned without any loss into Silesia, on the 18th of April.

As for the second act of this military drama, it was executed with as great success, and with some advantages more striking than the first. Prince Henry commanded the Prussian troops in Saxony, which the public accounts called forty thousand men. He had certain intelligence, that some movements, which had purposely been made by the King of Prussia, had drawn the greatest part of the Austrian troops, which had been posted as a watch upon Saxony, towards the frontiers of Silesia. He immediately took advantage of this opening, and entered Bohemia in two columns; Ap. 15. one marched towards Peterf- wade; the other, which was commanded by General Hulfen, made its way by Passberg and Commotau. The first penetrated as far as Loboschutz and Leitmeritz, the enemy flying before them, and every where abandoning or burning the vast magazines which they had amassed in all those parts.

The body under General Hulfen did as much service, and it had a more active employment. The pass of Passberg, strong in itself, was defended by a considerable body of Austrians. General Hulfen having conducted his cavalry by another way, so as to fall directly on their rear,

rear, attacked them with his infantry in front, and drove them out of all their intrenchments; one general, fifty-one officers, and no less than two thousand private men, were made prisoners on this occasion. The Prussians lost but seventy men killed and wounded. They re-

Apr. 22. turned into Saxony with hostages for the contributions they had exacted.

After this fatiguing expedition, the Prince gave his troops a few days to rest, and then led them once more to action. He directed his march through the Voigtland, towards the army of the Empire; they entered Franconia by the way of Hoff; they attacked General Macquire, who commanded a body of Austrians and Imperialists. Here they were bravely resisted for the whole day; but the numbers and spirit of the Prussians prevailing, Macquire gladly took advantage of the night to make a retreat, having lost about five hundred men. A few skirmishes more decided the fate of Franconia. The army of the Empire retreated, as the Prussians advanced, and abandoned the rich bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg to contribution. The town May 16. of Bamberg surrendered upon terms; but some confusion happening before the capitulation was compleatly finished, a party of Croats came to blows with a party of Prussians, who had by this time possession of one of the gates; this was resented as an infringement of the capitulation. A pretence was given to plunder the place; it was given up to pillage, by order of the commanders, for two days, in a very unrelenting and licentious manner. This produced loud and just complaints against the Prussians, and in due time, a severe retaliation.

Prince Henry had pushed back the army of the Empire, as far as Nuremberg; he had disabled a great part of the circle of Franconia from giving them assistance; and thus far he had accomplished the objects of his expedition. But as that part of the plan, which Prince Ferdinand was to have executed, had failed, it was impossible on one hand to hinder the French army from succouring that of the Empire, or on the other, to prevent a body of Austrians from availing themselves of his absence, to penetrate into Saxony. In these circumstances any farther stay in Franconia was useless, and might be dangerous. His army, loaded with booty and contribution, returned to their old situation. The Austrians retired into Bohemia at their approach.

Appearances were hitherto favourable enough to the Prussians; however none of the great ends proposed by the general plan were fully answered. The Russians, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines, continued their march towards Silesia. Count Dohna, who had raised great contributions and levies in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, was preparing to oppose them on the side of Brandenburg; other parties, under other commanders, were posted at those places where their irruption was the most apprehended. The approach of this army brought things nearer and nearer to a crisis. The eyes of all Europe were fixed with anxiety and expectation on their progress. It appeared the more formidable, because the progress of the French arms was very rapid after the battle of Bergen.

Prince Ferdinand, finding that another attack was not advisable, retreated continually. The French possessed

possessed themselves of Hesse without opposition; they met as little in making their way through the bishopric of Paderborn; and whilst their grand army, under Marshal de Contades, pushed the allies in that quarter and on the side of Hesse, M. d'Armentieres was posted by We-

sel, to advance on that side as occasion should require. The condition of the allied army was extremely dubious; whilst the French increased in their numbers and spirit. Their new success gave them reason to hope for a campaign as fortunate as that of 1757.

### C H A P. III.

*Expedition to the West-Indies under Hopson and Moore. Account of Martinico. Failure there. The causes of it. Guadaloupe invaded. Description of that island. Basse Terre attacked and burned. General Hopson dies. Operations against Grand Terre. Several passes forced. The inhabitants capitulate. Bravery of a French lady. Marigalanite taken.*

GREAT Britain was not content with the efforts which she had made in Germany: America, the interests of which had given rise to the war, was the object which principally engaged her attention. This was indeed the proper object of her natural strength, and by her success in this quarter, she most effectually laid the ax to the root of the enemy's naval power, and cut away one great part of the resources which fed the war. A squadron of nine ships of the line with sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, Nov. 1758. in the end of the last year sailed for the West Indies, in order to attack and reduce the French Caribbee islands. General Hopson commanded the land forces: the fleet in the expedition was to be under the orders of Commodore Moore, then in the West Indies.

Their first object was Martinico, the first in reputation of the French Caribbees, the seat of government, the center of all the trade which France carries on with those islands: strong both by nature and art. This island lies in the 15th degree N. lat. The shore is on every side indented

with very deep bays, which they call Cul de sacs, and the sands, only discoverable at low water, form in many places a hidden, and almost insurmountable barrier. A lofty ridge of almost impassable mountains runs north-west and south-east quite through the island; all the space on both sides is intersected at inconsiderable distances with deep gullies, through which the water pours down in the rainy seasons with great impetuosity. In other respects the island is pleasant and fruitful: well watered, and well cultivated, abounding with plantations and villages all along the sea coast. The two principal places are St. Pierre, and Port Royal; both towns considerable in this part of the world, for their magnitude, trade, and strength.

By this short description may be discerned how desirable such a conquest was, and the difficulties which naturally opposed themselves to it. They were the greater, because at this time there was in the island a considerable number of regular troops. They have at all times a numerous and well armed militia, not contemptible for their discipline, and well suited to the service



vice of the country; add to this, that they can bring into the field, a large body of negroes, habituated to arms, and in general well affected to the interest of their masters.

The English forces landed without opposition, on the west side of Port Royal harbour, after the men of war had driven the enemy from their batteries and intrenchments. But on their landing, they found that the nature of the country proved a greater obstruction to their progress, than the strength of the enemy. These profound gullies, inclosed by steep, and almost perpendicular precipices, proved an insurmountable obstacle to the regular march of the troops, or the conveyance of cannon. The enemy had broken up the roads; and five miles of such roads, and through such an impracticable country, were to be passed before Port Royal could be attacked by land. The commander therefore of the forces, judged the difficulties on the land side insurmountable; the naval commander held it impossible to put the cannon ashore nearer to the fort. Some jealousy seems to have arisen. The result of the whole was, that the forces were reëmbarked on the day of their landing.

Very little was done at Port Royal; but it was hoped that more would be done at St. Pierre. They accordingly set sail for that place; but when they had arrived before it, and examined the coast, new difficulties arose, which produced a new deliberation. They determined that the fort could not be reduced, without such detriment to the troops and the shipping, that they could afterwards make little

use of their success; and in this they had probably good reason. The conduct of the officers afterwards plainly demonstrated, that no mean views had any influence on their councils; they agreed to abandon their enterprize against Martinico. But having been foiled in this their first attempt, they resolved not to return with the disgrace of having done nothing worthy of the greatness of the armament, and the expectation of their country. They considered that the island of Guadaloupe was an object, though not of such an eclat, of full as much real consequence as Martinico; and they knew that it was neither so strong in troops or fortifications. Their first failure might lead to an advantage, as considerable as that which they had missed. In pursuance of these resolutions, they set sail for Guadaloupe.

This island is called Guadaloupe, from a resemblance which it bears to a chain of mountains of the same name in Old Spain. To speak with exactness, Guadaloupe is rather to be considered as two islands, divided from each other by a small arm of the sea, or salt water river, not above three hundred feet over where it is widest. One of these islands is called the Grand Terre; the other more particularly and by distinction, Guadaloupe; they are together in circuit about ninety leagues. The first is nearly destitute of fresh water, and not perfectly cultivated; but it is otherwise with Guadaloupe. No part of the world is furnished with more or better. No less than fifty rivers in that small circuit, throw themselves into the sea; many navigable by boats; for two, some even for three leagues into the country. Nor to mention,

mention the numberless springs which rise among the rocks, and after a thousand beautiful meanders, lose themselves in the larger streams. The first accounts which we have of that country, are lavish in the description of its beauties; and the latest agree with them, that no part of the West Indies, perhaps of the world, affords more agreeable and romantic scenes. It is full of high mountains; once of which towers far above the rest, and is a volcano, continually emitting smoke and fire. From hence they have considerable quantities of sulphur. They have also hot baths, fit for all the medicinal purposes in which such waters are used. The land in the valleys is extremely fertile; it produces the usual West India commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton and ginger: the mountains abound with game: so that there is nothing in the island wanting, for the convenience and delight of life, in an air more temperate and salubrious than is commonly breathed between the tropics.

The French began to plant colonies in this island as early as the year 1632. But for a long time this, together with all their other colonies, continued in a languishing condition. It was in the beginning of the present century, that they began to emerge. After the peace of Utrecht had given France time to breathe, she turned her attention strongly to these islands; Guadeloupe partook however less of this care than Martinico; and yet by its natural advantages, it does not fall short of that island, either in the quantity, or the goodness of its produce; if it does not greatly exceed it in both; as it certainly does in its capacity to receive all sorts of improvement. The importance of this island, until its late conquest,

was very little known in England. The reason was this. By an old regulation, the people of Guadeloupe were forbid to trade directly with Europe, but were obliged to send all their produce to Martinico, from whence also they had all their European commodities. A strange regulation, to be continued in an age so enlightened as this, by a nation so enlightened as France.

The English made attempts upon this island in 1691, and 1703; but they were neither powerful enough, nor conducted with sufficient ability to produce any permanent effect; the troops wasted the country, and retired with their booty. But on the occasion, of which we are going to speak, they were more able, strong and fortunate.

On the 23d of January the fleet came before the town of Bassé Terre, the capital of the island; a place of considerable extent, large trade, and defended by a strong fortress. This fortress, in the opinion of the chief engineer, was not to be reduced by the shipping. But Commodore Moore, notwithstanding this opinion, brought four men of war to bear upon the citadel; the rest were disposed against the town, and the batteries which obstructed the landing. About nine in the morning a fire from all sides began, which continued with the utmost fury until night, when the citadel, and all the batteries, were effectually silenced. During this cannonade the bombs, that were continually showered upon the town, set it on fire in several places. It burned without interruption the whole of this and the following day; when it was almost totally reduced to ashes. The loss was prodigious from the number of warehouses in the town, full of rich, but combustible materials. Nothing could be more striking, than

than the horror of the spectacle, from the mutual and unremitted fire of so many great ships and batteries, heightened with a long line of flames, which extended along the shore, and formed the back ground of this terrible picture.

In this lively engagement, our loss was very inconsiderable. The next day the forces landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel. Notwithstanding this success, the island was far from being reduced. The country is rugged and mountainous, and abounded with passes and defiles, of a difficult and dangerous nature. The inhabitants had retired with their armed negroes into the mountains; and all seemed prepared to defend their possessions bravely, and to the last extremities.

General Hopson died on the 27th of February, and General Barrington succeeded him. He embarked part of his forces for the Grand Terre, where Colonel Crump attacked and reduced the towns of St. Anne, and St. Francois; whilst this attack diverted the enemy's attention, the general fell upon the strong post of Gosier, and possessed himself of it; and thus the Grand Terre was in a manner reduced, and disabled from sending any relief to the other part.

There is a considerable mountain, not far from the town of Basse Terre, called Dos d'Asne, or the Asses's Back; thither a great part of the enemy had retired. It is a post of great strength, and great importance, as it keeps a watch upon the town, and at the same time forms the only communication there is between that town, and the Capes Terre, the plainest, pleafantest, and most fruitful part of the whole island.

It was not judged practicable to break into it by this way; and all the rest of Guadaloupe was in the enemy's possession. Therefore a plan was formed for another operation, by which it was proposed to surprize Petit Bourg, Goyave, and St. Mary's, and by that way to march into Capes Terre, which might be easily reduced. But this design failing, it was necessary to attempt those places by plain force. Col. Clavering and Col. Crump landed near Arnonville, and attacked the enemy, strongly intrenched at a post strong by nature, called Le Corne. This was forced; another intrenchment at Petit Bourg had the same fate; a third near St. Mary's yielded in the same manner. An opening being at last made into the Capes Terre, the inhabitants saw that the best part of the country was on the point of being given up to fire and sword; they came in and capitulated; their possessions, and their civil and religious liberties were granted to them. May 1.

There small islands, near Guadaloupe, Defeada, Santos and Petite Terre, surrendered 9th. a few days after, and on the same terms.

This capitulation was hardly signed, when the French squadron under M. Bompard appeared before the island, and landed at St. Anne's, in the Grand Terre, the general of the French Caribbees, with six hundred regular troops, two thousand buccaneers, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. The capitulation was made at the most critical time; for had this reinforcement arrived but a day sooner, the whole expedition had probably been lost.

Thus came into the possession of Great Britain, this valuable island, after a campaign of near three months,

months, in which the English troops behaved with a firmness, courage, and perseverance, that ought never to be forgotten. Intolerable heat, continual fatigue, the air of an unaccustomed climate, a country full of lofty mountains and steep precipices, posts strong by nature and by art, defended by men who fought for every thing that was dear to them; all these difficulties only increased the ardour of our forces, who thought nothing impossible under commanders, who were not more distinguished for their intrepidity and skill, than their zeal for the service of their country, and the perfect harmony and good understanding that subsisted between them. There is nothing, perhaps, so necessary to inspire confidence into the soldier, as to observe that the officers have a perfect confidence in one another.

It must not be omitted, that many of the inhabitants exerted themselves very gallantly in the defence of their country. A woman, a considerable planter in the island, particularly distinguished herself; she was called *Madame Ducharme*: this amazon put herself at the head of her servants and slaves, and ac-

quitted herself in a manner not inferior to the bravest men.

Soon after the reduction of Guadaloupe, the island of *May* *26.* *rigalante* surrendered itself upon terms similar to those which were granted to the former islands. This is a small island, but the conquest is of consequence, as the French by this are left no footing in the Leeward islands: *Martinico* is one of those to the windward. These beginnings were happy omens to the success of the more important undertaking, which was to be carried on in another part of America: the reputation of our arms there, even in the reduction of *Louisbourg*, hitherto not been very great. But other commanders were now appointed, and other maxims prevailed. However, we postpone the narrative of these very interesting events, to consider those which intervened on the continent of Europe, in which too we see our arms no less distinguished; and to behold England emerging from the rubbish of low principles and timid conduct, once more become the pride and terror of Europe, and acting in a manner not unworthy the most illustrious periods of her history.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Progress of the French after the battle of Bergen. Munster and other places taken. Situation of the French, and of the allies. Motions of Prince Ferdinand. Battle of Minden. Hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeats the Duke of Brisac. The French pass the Weser. L. G. S. resigns the command of the British forces; Marquis of Granby succeeds him. The French driven to Marburg. Siege of Munster. M. d' Etrées arrives at the French camp. Project of France for an invasion. Havre bombarded. Action off Cape Lagos. French fleet defeated.*

WE left the army of Prince Ferdinand upon the retreat, ever since the battle of Bergen. The French advanced with great vivacity; their light troops made incursions almost to the gates of Fla-

nover. The Prince still continued to retire; but he left garrisons in *Lipstadt*, *Rinberg*, *Munster*, and *Minden*, in order to retard the enemies progress: their principal design seemed to be to cut off his retreat

retreat to the Weser, to which he kept very close, as he knew the infinite consequence of that communication. However, if the enemy failed to compass that object, all the precautions of the Prince proved also ineffectual to retard the progress of their arms. Ritberg was surpris'd, Lipstadt was blockaded, Minden was taken by assault, where a garrison of 1500 men were made prisoners, and where immense magazines fell into their hands. D'Armentieres advanced against Munster; he attempted to take the place by a coup de main. Though foiled in this attempt with considerable loss he did not de-

July  
25. sist; he drew up his cannon from Wesel, and, after a short siege, made himself master of the city; the garrison of 4000 men became his prisoners. Nothing seem'd able to withstand the rapid torrent with which the French over-ran the whole country; they no longer hoped the conquest of Hanover; it was with them an absolute certainty. Elated with the fair appearance of their fortune, they kept no bounds. The French minister, the Duke of Belleisle, in his letters to the Marshal Contades, speaks only of the means of securing their conquest, and preventing another expulsion from Hanover; and for this end propos'd the most cruel and unwarrantable expedients. Nor was there less dread and dejection visible on the side of the allies, than pride and confidence on that of the French. The archives and most valuable moveables were sent off from Hanover to Stade. All things seem'd hastening to the same posture, which drew on the famous capitulation of Closter-seven.

In this general gloom, that over-

spread the fortune of the allies, the Prince kept himself unmoved, and attentive to his designs. He did not suffer himself to be disconcerted by blows, which he had probably foreseen, and the ill consequences of which he knew how to prevent. The body of the French army, after the taking of Minden, had posted themselves near that city, to which the right of their army extended; their left was protected by a very steep hill; in their front was a large morass; and a rivulet covered their rear. Nothing could be more advantageous than this situation; and whilst they continued in it, nothing could be enterprized against them. The army of the allies, after a continued retreat, began, at last, to advance, and fixed their camp altogether as advantageously at Petershagen, a place about three leagues from the enemy.

Things were brought to that pass, that nothing but a battle could hinder the French from taking winter quarters in the electorate. There was no possibility of attacking them with any hope of success in the camp which they then occupied. The point was to draw them from that post into the plain; but the movements necessary to effect this were extremely hazardous to an inferior army, in sight of the enemy. The operations of Prince Ferdinand, on this occasion, displayed so penetrating and uncommon a genius, such a guarded boldness, such a certainty of the grounds he went upon, such a perfect possession of himself, that perhaps there is no instance in history of generalship so compleat and finish'd; for which reason we shall endeavour, from the best lights we have, to draw out at length the several parts that concurred

curied to form this remarkable piece; we could indeed wish that the authentick accounts of so very memorable an event, had been more clear and explicit, but we must content ourselves with the materials we have.

On the 29th of July Prince Ferdinand forsook his camp on the Weser, and marched toward Hillen, a village considerably to his right, with the greatest part of his army: however he took care to leave on the brink of that river, a body under General Wangenheim; which extended to the town of Thornhausen, where they were intrenched, and supported by a considerable artillery. He had the day before detached the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, 28. with 6000 men, to make a compass towards the enemies left flank, and to post himself in such a manner, as to cut off the communication of their convoys from Paderborn.

The French were not inattentive to these movements; their generals immediately held a council of war; and the result was, that they gave compleatly into the snare that was laid for them. They saw, as they imagined, the allied army divided and disjointed; and now the happy moment presented itself, for the attack of General Wangenheim, who they knew was not strong, and who seemed at a great distance from the rest of the army, so that it appeared impossible that he could be relieved. This body being routed, as it easily might, it was obvious that they should then be able to place themselves between Prince Ferdinand's army and the Weser, and cut off his communication with that river; the great object at which they aimed, through

the whole campaign, and in which was involved the certain destruction of the allies.

Full of these ideas they left their advantageous post, and in eight columns passed the morass in their front, and advanced into the plain. The Duke of Broglie was to lead the attack, by falling upon that body that lay near the river, which seemed to present him an assured and easy victory. He marched on therefore, with great confidence; but as soon as he had gained an eminence which lay along his front, he was struck with the utmost surprise, when, instead of a few posts weakly guarded, he beheld the whole army of the allies drawn up in excellent order, extending from the banks of the Weser, quite to the morass, in the front of the late French camp. This was a stroke entirely unexpected: they believed the Prince to have been at Hillen; but he had marched up, and the whole army was joined in the night. This discovery for a while put a stop to the motions of the French; they were hemmed in between the allies, the morass and the river. Their situation was disagreeable, but it was now impossible to recede.

The allies finding the French slower than they expected, began to advance, and threatened the enemies center. This was composed almost wholly of horse; but it was the flower of their cavalry, who anticipated the shock of the allies, and began the engagement. The brunt of the battle was almost wholly sustained by the English infantry, and some corps of Hanoverians, which stood the reiterated charges of so many bodies of horse, the strength and glory of the French armies, with a

Aug.  
1.

resolution, steadiness and expertness in their manœuvre, which was never exceeded, perhaps never equalled. They cut to pieces or entirely routed these bodies. Two brigades of foot attempted to support them, but they vanished before the English infantry. Walgrave's and Kingsley's regiments distinguished themselves in a particular manner this day, nor were their commanders less distinguished. The enemies horse which composed their center, being entirely discomfited, and their right which attacked Wangenheim, having made no sort of impression, they thought of nothing but a retreat.

At this point of time the Prince sent orders to L. George Sackville, who commanded the whole British, and several brigades of the German cavalry, to advance. That cavalry formed the right wing of the allies, extended to the morass, and if it could have charged at the instant of the enemies retreat, such a shock at that time, and in that situation, would in all probability have left the French without an army in Germany. But the orders were not sufficiently precise, or they were not sufficiently understood by the English commander, so that there was some delay in waiting for an explanation. The critical minute passed away; the British cavalry lost their share in the glory of the action; and the French retreated in some order, favoured by the spirited and well judged efforts of the Duke of Broglie, and the advantages which the possession of Minden gave them.

What is remarkable, the French attributed their misfortune in this battle to the same error in their disposition, which lost them the battle of Blenheim; that of com-

posing their center almost wholly of cavalry, without any proper support of foot.

The battle was over; but then it was that the effects of Prince Ferdinand's admirable dispositions appeared in their full lustre. The French not having been molested by the British cavalry in their retreat, had an opportunity of regaining their former advantageous post. They had indeed lost the honour of the day, and missed the stroke which they had meditated. They had likewise lost a great number of men. But all these losses and disgraces might be repaired, and there seemed nothing decisive in the day of Minden. It had certainly happened, as it then appeared, if the Prince who foreseeing this, and neglecting nothing which could be provided, had not formed the plan of detaching away the Hereditary Prince in the manner already related. At five in the morning of that day, this young hero attacked a large body of the French under the Duke de Brisac; this body, though posted in a most advantageous manner, he entirely defeated, and obliged them to take refuge in Minden. The news of this blow came with an ill omen to M. de Contades, in the instant when the English infantry began to engage his center. The enemy himself could not help admiring the dexterity of the stroke under which he sunk: and full of astonishment at a conduct at once so daring and judicious, paid the just applause to a general who could detach with security so large a body from his army, when he was going to attack an enemy already much superior to him in numbers.

This happy stroke decided the affair, all the passes through which the

the French could draw succour or provision, were seized. They relinquished their strong post; they fled through Minden, and passing the Weser, retreated to the eastward of that river; thus losing all the advantages which they had made in the campaign, and forced to retreat through a country different from that through which they had advanced, and in which they had taken no measures to procure subsistence.

The loss of the French in this action amounted to about seven thousand men killed, wounded and prisoners; among whom were many officers of considerable rank. The loss of the allies was not more than two thousand. The English as they gained the greatest glory, so they were the greatest sufferers. Twelve hundred of the killed and wounded were of that nation. The Prince on the day after the battle paid the due honours to these illustrious corps, as well as to several of the Hanoverians who had behaved in the same gallant manner. He did justice to the merit of the officers; he distinguished their names; and even particularized so low as captains. To some in the most obliging manner he sent considerable presents; and he omitted nothing to shew that he knew what it is to be well served, and how to encourage the troops and officers to do their duty with spirit and cheerfulness.

Although the English had the greatest share in the honour of this signal day, and that the Prince acknowledged their merit in the strongest terms, yet a cloud was cast over their triumph. There were some expressions in the orders for the rejoicings, which were supposed to

convey a very severe reflection on Lord G. S. commander in chief of the English forces. The Prince required with an emphasis, which seemed particularly pointed, that his orders by his aids de camps for the future should be more exactly obeyed. In a manner still less to be misunderstood, he expressed his concern that the Marquis of Granby had not had the command of the British cavalry. Had he commanded, his highness made no doubt that the success of the day had been much more compleat and brilliant. The severe insinuation concerning the disobedience to orders, and the invidious compliment to a subordinate officer, were clear declarations.

The news of a victory so glorious to our troops, and of a censure so disgraceful to their commander, came at once to England. In proportion to the joy which filled all hearts, in proportion to the opinion of the great general to whom they owed so seasonable an advantage, was their indignation against the unfortunate commander to whom it was attributed that this advantage was not greater. The public as usual judged definitively upon the first charge. They never pardon a general whose error it is to fall short. In vain they are prayed to suspend their judgment, and to wait for a full discussion; the matter is already decided; they have a fact against an officer, and they look upon all reasoning in his favour, not so much as a defence of his conduct, as the exertion of eloquence and artifice to palliate a neglect of duty. This indeed makes the case of officers particularly hard; but then it always shews them what they have to do.

The merits of the matter are



still regarded in the same light by the public. But the heat, the eagerness, and curiosity of the first movements being over, the matter will be heard whenever it comes to be again discussed with less attention, but with less passion too. It is not for us to deliver any opinion in so nice a controversy. We have in points of less moment hitherto declined it; and we shall always decline it until the proper judges before whom it probably will come, shall have taught us what to think. There is indeed no doubt that if the cavalry of the allies right wing, situated as it was, had been brought to act at a critical time when it had orders to move, the battle of Minden had proved as decisive as that of Hochtet. But whether it was a fault in the giving or the delivering of the orders, or whether it was some misapprehension in him who received them, we cannot but sincerely pity a commander of such admirable talents, who by the error or the misfortune of a moment, lost an opportunity that would have ranked him for ever with the Marlboroughs and Brunswicks.

A few days after the battle his lordship resigned his command and returned to London. He was but a few days in London when he was deprived of all his military employments. The Marquis of Granby, whom the opinion of Prince Ferdinand, and the desires of the whole army had pointed out, succeeded him in his command. A generous and ardent courage, an affability of manners that flowed from no artifice, a manly freedom and openness of soul, a cheerful and unreserved conversation, a munificence that knew no bounds, so many qualities of the man and of

the soldier, endeared him to the whole army, and rendered English and foreigners, his inferiors, his equals and his superior in command, unanimous in his favour.

Whilst these changes were making Prince Ferdinand lost no time to improve his victory, by the pursuit of the French who retired in the utmost distress. The allies were not indeed able to overtake the main body of their army, but they harassed them extremely, and the French were obliged to sacrifice a great part of their army piecemeal to preserve the rest entire. The necessity of providing subsistence drove them towards Cassel. The Prince pursued them, obliged them to evacuate that place, and once more freed that poor distressed country from the French tyranny. The castle of Ziegenhayn after an hour's defence gave the allies about four hundred prisoners. Aug. 23. After this the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, equally conspicuous in the greater and the lesser operations of war, made a private march at night in order to surprize a corps of French irregulars commanded by the famous partizan Fischer, which were posted at Wetter, where it was convenient for the allies to encamp. This corps he entirely routed, killing a great number and taking four hundred. The French threw a garrison into Marburg, in hopes of putting some stop to the rapid career of the allies. In effect this did prove an obstacle for some days, but at length the castle surrendered, and the garrison consisting of between eight and nine hundred men became prisoners of war. Sept. 11.

Here a bound was set to the progress

gress of the allied arms. Not that they were stopped by any considerable obstruction from the main body of the French in that quarter, but from some effects in another quarter of the unsuccessful beginning of the campaign, from which the battle of Minden had not yet perfectly disengaged them. Munster was still behind them, and still in the hands of the enemy, who had a powerful garrison in that city. M. de Contades, who even after his defeat exceeded the allies in numbers, and had now no further view of an offensive campaign, sent a strong body under d'Armentieres, which was reinforced by some troops from the Lower Rhine, to near fifteen thousand men, to cover that place. Prince Ferdinand had before detached General Imhoff from Cassel in order to reduce it. On the approach of d'Armentieres, Imhoff was obliged to raise the siege.

Sept. 6. But being soon after reinforced, the French commander retired in his turn towards Wesel, the possession of which place has all along proved of infinite importance to the French in all their operations. The siege of Munster was again resumed, but the business threatened to be difficult and tedious. This however was the only rub which the allies encountered. In all other respects they were perfectly fortunate. They had driven their enemy two hundred miles before them, and at the end of the campaign, after all their efforts, and all their sanguine hopes of conquest, set them down just where they had begun it.

The event of the battle of Minden, and the subsequent misfortunes of the French arms, threw Versailles into the utmost confusion. The

news of that defeat arrived just as the King was taking horse to hunt. He retired silent and dejected into the apartment of Madam de Pompadour, and for some time saw none of his ministers. The Duke of Broglie and M. de Contades mutually accused each other, for the ill conduct of the day. The public acquitted Broglie. Belleisle and his general Contades lost all reputation: but the duke still preserved his employment and a considerable part of his influence at court.

As soon as the first confusion and surprize of so unexpected an event was a little abated; it was resolved to send reinforcements to their army in Germany, and at the same time to send thither some officer of experience and authority, who might judge, and compose if possible, the differences which subsisted between the commanders; as well as to assist in the deliberations for retrieving their affairs. Public misfortunes call great men from their obscurity. M. de Etrees was chosen on this occasion, and invested with the authority which he unwillingly accepted. When he arrived at the French camp, he could

Sept. 25. not avoid a sigh on viewing of the ruins of that army, which had triumphed under his command at Hastenbeck. However his behaviour to M. de Contades was polite and generous. The old Marechal told him that he was not come to take his command, but to serve under him; and whilst he assisted him with his advice, he would receive his orders.

Whilst the French endeavoured to piece up their broken fortune in Germany, they made some shew of

of pushing the other part of their scheme with vigour. All their ports were full of the preparations for an invasion of the British dominions. Men of war, transports and flat bottomed boats, now almost a word of ridicule, were prepared with great diligence. They talked of a triple embarkation. M. Thurot was to command a small squadron and several transports from Dunkirk, which it was believed were intended for Scotland. This man from the master of a merchant ship, became a captain of a privateer, in which capacity he greatly annoyed the English trade, and acquired a reputation. At a time when France does not abound with great men, his services in this way, and his daring spirit, recommended him to a command in the King's service.

The design against England, as the voyage hither is the shortest, was to be attempted from Havre, and some other ports of Normandy, in flat bottomed boats. The third embarkation, which was supposed against Ireland, was to be made from Vannes in the Lower Brittany, where a large body of troops was assembled, commanded by the Duke d'Aguillon governor of that province. This embarkation was to be covered by the fleet under M. de Conflans, which was preparing with great diligence in Brest. Had this design been such as it was represented, and had it been put into execution, there is no doubt but such an attempt upon both kingdoms, at three different places at once, must have thrown the whole into no small confusion. But excellent measures were taken on the part of England to frustrate their designs, whatever they might have been.

A squadron under Commodore Boys was stationed before Dunkirk. Admiral Rodney was sent to bombard Havre, which service he performed with success. Admiral Hawke blocked up the harbour of Brest with a strong squadron, whilst a lesser kept a watch upon that of Vannes. These precautions were continued the whole summer, during which time the French proceeded rather slowly, but after the battle of Minden had destroyed their hopes in Germany, they turned to this object with the greater attention. What issue it had we shall relate in its proper place. But their first attempts on the ocean proved as unsuccessful as their arms on land.

A great fleet was equipped at Toulon, which some destined for America, whilst others believed it was designed to unite itself with that of Brest to favour the invasion. Admiral Boscawen who commanded in the Mediterranean, blocked up this squadron, until some unfavourable weather and the foulness of his ships obliged him to return to Gibraltar to refit. The French took this opportunity to sail out, and they proceeded with great diligence to the freights. Aug. 14.

They had arrived very near Gibraltar before the admiral had notice of their approach; but notwithstanding that our ships were not perfectly prepared to sail, the admiral used such great expedition that in two hours after the account arrived the English fleet was out at sea.

The English fleet was composed of fourteen ships of the line besides frigates. The enemy had twelve of the line. They were superior in the bulk of their ships and in the number

number of men, if they were inferior in the number of vessels; and it is the opinion of many persons of judgment, that if they had formed a line of battle and fought Mr. Boscawen in order, they might very well have hoped for a better issue of this matter than they found. But the evil genius of France operating on the cowardice or incapacity of their commander, induced them to separate their fleet and fly. The English ships were newly refitted; they proved better sailors, and the men animated with the spirited example of their admiral, engaged the French ships as they could overtake them; and they overtook some of them off Cape Lagos in Portugal. A brisk engagement ensued. Two of the enemies

ships, the Ocean and the Redoubtable, were run on shore and burned. The first was the ship of M. de la Clue the French admiral, who escaped to land; but being grievously wounded, and as it is said having lost both his legs, he died soon after. Two other capital ships, the Centaure and Modeste, were taken.

The scattered remains of their fleet with difficulty got into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were soon after blocked up, and where they still remain. This action happened on the 18th of August; and it gave a great eclat to the British arms, which in the same month had triumphed so signally both by sea and land.

#### C H A P. V.

*Count Dohna disgraced. Wedel succeeded. The Russians enter Silesia. Battle of Zulichau. Russians take Frankfort on the Oder. General Laudon joins them. King of Prussia joins Wedel. Battle of Cunnersdorf. King of Prussia repasses the Oder. Soltikoff and Daun communicate. King of Prussia detaches General Wunich into Saxony. Parallel of the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.*

**A**S the King of Prussia's victory at Rosbach had given the Hanoverians an opportunity to free their country, it might be expected that the affair at Minden would have served to free his Prussian Majesty from some of the numerous armies that oppressed him. But as this battle was fought in the middle of the season for action, and as Munster still continued in the possession of the French, Prince Ferdinand could not venture at that time, to make any detachment from his army in the King's favour, without risking all the advantages which he had obtained from his victory. The King of Prussia was therefore left alone to struggle with

Austrians, Russians, Imperialists and Swedes.

The Russians, whose motions governed those of all the other armies, left their camp at Posna in Poland, and quitting the Vistula, drew near to the banks of the Oder. They were under the command of a Russian nobleman, Count Soltikoff. Count Dohna who had been ordered to oppose them, saw that their numbers were too considerable, and their posts too strong to be attacked with any prospect of advantage, so that he contented himself with observing their motions, and harassing their march. This conduct seemed more dilatory and timid than the circumstances, or the inclination

clinations of the King could bear. He is said to have reproached that general in so severe a manner, for a conduct in which he was in all probability very justifiable, that he took the first opportunity to resign his command, and under a pretence of recovering his health, retired to Berlin. The King immediately put General Wedel into his place, with positive orders to engage the Russian army at all events. To enable him to obey his commands, he reinforced him with several detachments from his own army. The positiveness of the King's orders on this occasion may perhaps be censured, but it must be owned that the time required a course next to desperate. His hereditary dominions were in the utmost danger, and nothing but some great and fortunate stroke could effectually prevent the junction of the Austrian and Russian armies, an event which of all others he had the greatest reason to dread.

Fortified in some measure by the reinforcements he had received, and in consequence of his orders, General Wedel resolved to attack the Russians on their march. They had got to Zulichau, and directed their course to Crossen in Silesia, to get before the Prussian army and to make good the passage of the Oder. The situation of the Russians was very advantageous; posted upon eminences, defended by a powerful artillery, and near seventy thousand strong. The Prussian army fell short of thirty thousand; and they had greater disadvantages than their inferiority of number to get over. They had a bridge to pass, and such a narrow defile to struggle through, that scarce a third of a

battalion could march in front. The ground was such that the cavalry could not support their infantry. Yet with all these difficulties the attack was long and resolute. But this resolution made their repulse, which all these disadvantages had rendered inevitable, far more bloody and distressful. Four thousand seven hundred were killed or prisoners; the wounded came to three thousand. General Wobernow, an officer of great ability, was killed, and General Manteuffel was wounded. The Prussians were obliged to retire, but they were not pursued, and they passed the Oder without molestation. The Russians seized upon the towns of Crossen and Frankfort on the Oder.

The King of Prussia since the beginning of the war, had never hitherto obtained an advantage where he was not personally present. His presence now became more necessary than ever. Since the action at Zulichau the Russians had penetrated a considerable way into his territories, and had taken possession of the important city of Frankfort upon the Oder. He therefore marched with ten thousand of his best troops, to join the broken army of Wedel, in order to drive this formidable and determined enemy from his country. Prince Henry commanded the remainder of his army, which was too well posted to fear any insult during his absence. The eyes of all were fixed upon his march, and his soldiers who remembered Zorndorf eagerly longed to try their strength once more with the same antagonists.

M. Daun was not unapprised of the motions of the Russians, or the designs of the King of Prussia. He knew that the great fault of the Russian

Russian troops, was the want of a regular and firm cavalry, which might be depended upon in a day of action. This defect was a principal cause of their misfortune at Zorndorf in the last year; a misfortune which disconcerted all the operations of that campaign. As this was the only want which the Russians were under, so it was that which Daun was best able to supply at a short warning. With this view he selected about twelve thousand of his horse, and there is no better horse than that of the Austrians, which, with about eight thousand foot, he placed under the command of General Laudohn, one of the ablest officers in that service. This body was divided into two columns, one of which marched through Silesia, and the other through Lusatia. By extreme good fortune and conduct, with little loss or opposition, they both joined the Russian army, and were received with transports of joy.

In the mean time, the King of Prussia, who was unable to prevent this stroke, joined General Aug. 4. Wedel at Muhlrose, and took upon him the command of the united armies. But still finding himself too weak for the decisive action he was preparing to attempt, he recalled Gen. Finck, whom he had sent some time before into Saxony with nine thousand men, in order to oppose the Imperialists in that country. With these reinforcements he was not able to raise his army to fifty thousand complete. That of the Russians, since the junction of Laudohn, was upwards of ninety thousand. They had besides taken a post, which they had so strongly entrenched, and defended with such a prodigious number of cannon, that it was extremely difficult and

hazardous to attempt them, yet under these accumulated disadvantages, it was absolutely necessary that he should fight. The detachments from Count Daun's army already menaced Berlin; Saxony, which he was obliged to leave exposed, had become a prey to the Imperialists; and the Russians, united with the Austrians, encamped before his eyes in Silesia, the best and richest part of his dominions. In short, his former reputation, his present difficulties, his future hopes, every motive of honour and of safety demanded an engagement; the campaign hastened to a decision, and it was evident that nothing farther could be done by marches and choice of posts. The sanguine temper of other generals has often obliged them to fight under disadvantages; but the King of Prussia's circumstances were such, that, from the multitude of his enemies, he was neither able to consult times nor situations. Rashness could hardly dictate any thing, which, in his condition, would not have been recommended by prudence.

When the attack was Aug. 12. resolved, the King's troops put themselves in motion at two in the morning, and having formed themselves in a wood, advanced towards the enemy. It was near eleven before the action began. The principal effort of the King of Prussia was against the left wing of the Russian army. He began, according to their usual method, with a fierce cannonade, which having had the effect he desired from it, he attacked that wing with several battalions disposed in columns.

The Russian entrenchments were forced with great slaughter. Seventy-two pieces of cannon were taken.

taken. But still there was a defile to be passed, and several redoubts to be mastered, which covered the village of Cunnerdorf. These were attacked with the same resolution, and taken one after another. The enemy made another stand at the village, and endeavoured to preserve their ground there, by pushing forward several battalions of horse and foot; but their resistance there proved not more effectual than it had done every where else; they were driven from post to post quite to the last redoubts. For upwards of six hours fortune favoured the Prussians, who every where broke the enemy by an unparalleled slaughter. They had driven them from almost all the ground which they had occupied before the battle, they had taken more than half their artillery; scarce any thing seemed wanting to the most complete decision.

The King in those circumstances wrote a billet to the Queen, to this effect, "Madam, we have beat 'the Russians from their entrenchments. In two hours expect to 'hear of a glorious victory." This news arrived at Berlin, just as the post was going out, and the friends of the King of Prussia throughout Europe, exulted in a certain and conclusive victory. Mean time Fortune was preparing for him a terrible reverse.

The enemy, defeated in almost every quarter, found their left wing, shattered as it was, to be more entire than any other part of the army. Count Soltikoff therefore assembled the remains of his right, and gathering as many as he could from the center, reinforced that wing, and made a stand at a redoubt, which had been erected on an advantageous eminence, in a place called

*the Jews burying ground.* Nothing was wanting to finish matters in favour of the King, but to drive the Russians from this their last hope. But this enterprize was difficult. It is confidently said, that the Prussian generals were unanimous in opinion, that they should not endeavour at that time to push any further the advantages they had obtained. They represented to the King, that the enemy was still very numerous, their artillery considerable, and the post which they occupied of great strength; that his brave troops who had been engaged for so long a time, in the severest action perhaps ever known, and in one of the hottest days ever felt, were too much exhausted for a new attempt; an attempt of such extreme difficulty as might daunt even troops that were quite fresh. That the advantage he gained would be as decisive in its consequences as that at Zorndorf; and whilst the enemy filled the gazettes of their party, with frivolous disputes of the field of battle, he would be reaping, as he did then, all the effects of an unquestioned victory. That the enemy would be obliged to retire immediately into Poland, and to leave him at liberty to act in other quarters, where his presence was full as necessary.

These reasons were very cogent; and for a few moments they seemed to have some weight with the King. But his character soon determined him to a contrary resolution. He could not bear to be a conqueror by halves. One effort more was alone wanting to that victory, which would free him for ever from the adversary, which had leaned heaviest on him during the whole war.

Once more he put ail to the hazard.

zard. His infantry still resolute and supported by their late success, were readily brought to act again. They drew on their bodies fainting with heat and labour to a new attack. But the enterprize was beyond their strength. The situation of the enemy was impregnable; and their artillery, which began to be superior to that of the Prussians, on account of the difficulty of the ground, which made impossible for the latter to bring up any other than a few small pieces, repulsed these feeble battalions with a great slaughter. With an astonishing, perhaps with a blameable perseverance, the Prussian infantry was brought to a second attack, and were a second time repulsed, and with a loss greater than at first. These efforts being unsuccessful, the affair was put to the cavalry. They made redoubled, but useless attacks; the horses were spent as well as those they carried.

It was just at that time when the Prussian horse was wasted by these unsuccessful efforts that the greatest part of the Russian, and the whole body of the Austrian cavalry, which had been hitherto quite inactive, and which was therefore quite fresh, rushed down upon them, broke them to pieces, forced them back upon their foot, and threw the whole into irreparable disorder. The whole army was seized with a panic; and in a few minutes those troops so lately victorious and irresistible, were totally dispersed and defeated. The King did every thing to restore the field, hazarding his person even beyond his former daring, and prodigal of a life which he seemed to think ought not to be separated from conquest. Thrice he led on his troops to the charge; two horses were killed under him; several

balls were in his cloaths. The efforts of skill, courage and despair were made, and proved ineffectual; a single error outweighed them all. Scarcely a general, hardly an inferior officer in the army was without some wound. That of General Seidlitz was particularly unfortunate; for to that wound the failure of the horse which he commanded was principally attributed. It was to the spirit and conduct of this able officer, that a great part of the success at Zorndorf was owing, in the last campaign. It is known, that if it had not been for a seasonable movement of the horse, the whole Prussian army had then been in great danger of a defeat.

The night and the prudent use of some eminences, which were defended as well as circumstances would admit, preserved the Prussian army from total destruction. However, their loss was far greater than any which they had sustained from the beginning of the war. All their cannon was taken. The killed, wounded and prisoners, by the most favourable accounts, were near twenty thousand. General Puttkammer was killed on the spot. These generals whose names are so distinguished in this war, Itzenplitz, Hulsen, Finck, Wedel, and Seidlitz, were among the wounded; as was the Prince of Wurtemberg, and five major generals. The enemy could not have fewer than ten thousand killed on their side. For hardly ever was a more bloody battle.

When the King of Prussia found himself obliged to quit the field, he sent another dispatch to the Queen expressed in this manner, "Re-move from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried



"carried to Potsdam. The town "may make conditions with the "enemy." We should in vain attempt to draw the picture of the court and city, on the receipt of such news in the midst of the joy, which they indulged for that which they had received but a few hours before. The terror was increased by the indistinct relation that soon followed, which gave them only to understand that their army was totally routed; that there was no account of the King, and that a Russian army was advancing to take possession of their city.

The day after the battle the King of Prussia repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin. From thence he moved to Fustenwalde, and placed himself in such a manner, that the Russians did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. He continually watched their army; a part of which instead of turning towards Brandenburg marched into Lusatia, where it joined that of the Austrians. Here the victorious General Soltikoff, for the first time, met M. Daun, and amidst rejoicings and congratulations, consulted about the measures for improving their success.

The Russian and Austrian armies thus united, scarce seemed from their strength and their victories to have any other deliberation left, than of what part of the Prussian dominions they should take immediate possession. The King was twice defeated with a vast loss. He was cut off from all communication with the army of his brother Prince Henry; yet to the astonishment of all the world, the superior, the victorious and united army acted upon the defensive, and were curbed in all their motions, and frus-

trated in all their designs by the inferior, the beaten and divided. Nothing ever shewed the genius of the King of Prussia more fully than his conduct after the battle of Cunnernsdorf. In a few days after so terrible a defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He supplied the loss of his artillery from his stores in Berlin. He recalled General Kleist with about five thousand men from Pomerania; in presence of two such armies as those of M. Daun and Count Soltikoff, he detached six thousand men from his small body, to the relief of Saxony, where the army of the Empire had availed itself of his absence to reduce the whole country. Hall, Wittemberg, Leipzig, Torgau, and at last Dresden itself had opened their gates to their Imperialists. With the remainder of his troops he put himself between the Russians and Great Glogau, covered that city which was the object of the enemy's designs, and saw them soon after, notwithstanding their two victories, obliged to return again into Poland; and to leave him free for the rest of the campaign.

What was done by the King of Prussia since that time, will be the subject of another chapter; after we have related the proceedings of the English and French in America, to which the order of time directs our present attention. But we can not dismiss the affairs of Germany, in which two such battles as those of Minden and Cunnernsdorf were fought, with events so different for the common cause, without observing something concerning the two generals who conducted them.

They are certainly in reputation the first in Europe, which probably never

never produced two greater men ; tho' they differ as much in their characters, and in the kind of talents they possess, as they agree in the greatness of their abilities for war. The King of Prussia rapid, vehement, impatient, often gives decisive blows ; but he often misses his stroke and wounds himself. Prince Ferdinand is cool, deliberate, exact and guarded ; he sees every possible advantage, he takes it at the moment, pursues it as far as it will go, but never attempts to push it further. Nothing in the man disturbs the commander. In him we do now see a person who is a great soldier ; it is the idea of a perfect general ; it is a general in the abstract. Ferdinand suffers his temper to be guided by his business. He never precipitates matters ; he takes them in their order and their course, and trusts nothing to fortune. The king on the other hand leads, and even

forces circumstances ; he does not endeavour to remove but to over-leap obstacles ; he puts all to the risque ; and by suffering fortune to play her part in his designs, he acquires a splendor and eclat in his actions, which mere wisdom could never give them. Prince Ferdinand is famous for never committing a fault. The King of Prussia is above all the world in repairing those he has committed. Like some of the great masters in writing, whenever he makes or seems to make a mistake, it is a signal to the observer to prepare for some great and admirable stroke of spirit and conduct. His errors seem to be spurs to his abilities. He commits an error, he repairs it ; he errs again, and again astonishes us by his manner of escaping. We should often condemn the commander, but that we are always forced to admire the hero.

#### C H A P. VI.

*Plan of the campaign in North America. Three expeditions. Ticonderoga and Crown Point abandoned. Col. Townshend killed. Expedition to Niagara. Col. Prideaux killed. Sir William Johnson defeats the French. Takes the Fort of Niagara. Consequences of this.*

THE theatre of our operations in America is of such a vast extent, that if we had persevered in the course we pursued for some time, in attacking but one place at once, the war would inevitably be spun out to an extreme length, without bringing on any thing decisive ; and it would have rendered our natural superiority of little use, by suffering the French to collect, as they had hitherto done, their strength into one single point, which enabled them to contend with us, with a force sufficient for the service in that country. This year another

method was followed. It was proposed to attack the French in all their strong posts at once ; to fall as nearly as possible at the same time upon Crown Point, Niagara, and the forts to the south of Lake Erie, whilst a great naval armament, and a considerable body of land forces should attempt Quebec, by the river St. Lawrence.

This plan was very advisable, as it tended to weaken by distracting the resistance of the enemy, and whilst we adhered to it, it was clearly impossible for the French to maintain their ground in any of these places

places which were attacked, without very weakly defending, or even deserting some of the others; and if by the means of such diversions any one of those places should fall into our hands, the campaign could not be said to be spent to no purpose. But besides the end in distracting the enemies defence, there was another proposed of no less consequence; which was to make a concurrence in all the various operations, so that whilst they divided the enemy, they might mutually support one another.

General Amherst who commands the American forces in chief, with the most considerable body, amounting in regulars and provincials to about twelve thousand men, was to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Lake George; the reduction of those forts would naturally lay open the Lake Champlain, where having established a sufficient naval force, he was by the river Sorel, which forms the communication between this lake and the great river St. Lawrence, to proceed directly to Quebec the capital of Canada. Here he was to make a junction with General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders, who having entered the river St. Lawrence at the opposite quarter, would probably have commenced the siege of Quebec, by the time that General Amherst might find it practicable to join them. It was not doubted that if this junction could be effected, the reduction of that city would follow of course.

The third of the grand operations was against the fort, near the falls of Niagara; a place of very great consequence both in war and in peace. The reduction of this was committed to Brigadier General Pri-

deaux, under whom Sir William Johnson commanded the provincials of New York and several Indians of the Five Nations, who were engaged in our service by the credit that gentleman has obtained among their tribes.

The object of this operation lay too remote from the others, to expect with any great confidence, that they would be assisted by its success in any other manner than by weakening the enemies forces. However it was hoped that if they should be fortunate enough to take Niagara, early in the season, the troops might be embarked on the Lake Ontario, and finding no longer any obstruction from Fort Frontenac, which was destroyed last year, might fall down the river St. Lawrence, and possibly either make themselves masters of Montreal, or by their approach at least, draw such a force to that part as greatly to facilitate our designs upon Quebec and Crown Point. But if this scheme in addition to its own end, should not facilitate either of the other two capital undertakings, it would probably, as it was the most important place the French had in that part of the world, draw all the troops they had upon the lakes to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on those lakes exposed to a fourth though inferior expedition, which was made against them by general Stanwix. In reality it afterwards had that effect.

The army under General Amherst was the first in motion. The Lake George, or as the French call it, Lake Sacrament, is a long but in proportion narrow water, about forty miles in length, and enclosed on either side with marshy grounds. This communicates  
by

by another long and very narrow freight with Lake Champlain. This freight is secured at each side by a fort; that to the side of Lake George is called Ticonderoga; that to the Champlain Lake is called Fort Frederick, or Crown Point; both extremely strong in their situation; and the former of which had repulsed our troops with a very considerable slaughter, as has been related amongst the events of the last year.

Amherst, after he had passed Lake George, arrived with very little opposition from the enemy before Ticonderoga; at first the French made some appearance, as if they meant to defend the place; but as they knew the strength of our forces, as they saw that the preparations for the attack were making with as much judgment as vigour, and as the enterprize which was preparing against Quebec did not leave them a force so considerable as they had there in the preceding campaign, they abandoned their fort in the night, having damaged it as much as they could, and retired to Crown Point.

General Amherst immediately set himself about repairing the fortifications of this post, which effectually secured the Lake George; covered our colonies, and was of such vast importance to enable him to push forward his offensive operations, or to favour his retreat in case of a reverse of fortune. The only loss of any consequence which the English army suffered, in making this valuable acquisition, was the death of Colonel Townshend, who was killed in reconnoitering, by a shot from the fort. The steady bravery, the promising genius, and the agreeable manners

of this officer, caused his loss to be considered as a very great one. They compared this melancholy event with the death of Lord Howe; they remembered how much these young soldiers resembled each other, both in their virtues and in the circumstances of their fate. Both dear to the troops, and having both lost their lives on an expedition against this place.

Although the general had reason to imagine, that the same reasons which had induced the enemy to abandon their fort and lines at Ticonderoga, would persuade them also to relinquish Crown Point; he took all his measures with the same care, as if he expected an obstinate defence at the fort, and attempt to surprize him on his march. He remembered how fatal security had proved to us in that part of the world upon many occasions.

The French abandoned the fort as it had been foreseen. The general retired with about three thousand five hundred men to the bottom of Lake Champlain, and posted himself at the island called Isle du Noix. He was still pretty strong on the lake, having several armed boats and sloops, with which he hoped to prevent the progress of the English into the interior parts of Canada. Amherst as soon as he had taken possession of Crown Point, used every Aug. 14. endeavour to attain a naval superiority on the lake, and in the mean time began to fortify this post as he had that at Ticonderoga. To this time the French were actually established in the heart of our territories; so that during a war of three years, we had in effect been only acting on the defensive. It was on the day on which Mr. Amherst took possession

possession of Crown Point, that he received the agreeable news of the reduction of Niagara by the troops under Sir William Johnson; and he had the pleasure and encouragement of seeing two of the great objects of the campaign accomplished, whilst he prepared himself to co-operate in the accomplishment of the third, which was to be decisive of the whole. The body which had been appointed for Niagara under General Prideaux, without any accident, arrived at the fort, which lies at the bottom of the lake towards the south-west.

This is, without exception, the most important post in America, and secures the greatest number of communications. For it is situated at the very entrance of a freight, by which the Lake Ontario is joined to that of Erie, which is connected with the other three great seas of fresh water, by the course of the vast river St. Lawrence, which runs through them all, and carries off their superfluous waters to the ocean. A little above the fort is the cataract of Niagara, which is esteemed the most remarkable in the world, for the quantity of water and the greatness of the fall. This fall would interrupt the commerce between the lakes, but for a road which the French have made up the hilly country that lies by the freight; so that there is here a good carrying-place, and not very tedious; for after a portage of about eight miles you re-embark, and proceed, without any interruption, to the Lake Erie.

As the great communication of those who go by water is along this freight, and carrying-place, so those who travel by land are obliged to cross it. The lakes are so disposed,

that without a somewhat hazardous voyage, the Indians cannot any other-wise pass from the north-west to the south-east parts of North America for many hundred miles. The fort of Niagara thus naturally commands all the Five Nations, and all those Indian tribes that lie to the northward of the lakes, as well as those that are scattered along the banks of the Ohio, Ouabache and Mississippi, and, according as it is possessed by the English or the French, connects or disjoins the colonies of Canada and Louisiana, protects or lays open our own, and is in all respects of so much consequence, that it was the opinion of persons the most conversant in American business, that this attempt ought to have been made much earlier; and that if such an attempt made at such a time had succeeded, it would have contributed very much to the security of those parts of our colonies which were the most exposed, and would have at the same time greatly facilitated all our offensive measures, and shortened the war.

From the time that the French were acquainted with this place, they were fully possessed with an opinion of its importance, both with regard to commerce and to dominion. They made several attempts to establish themselves here; but the Indians, who seemed more sensible of the consequences than we were, constantly opposed it. They obliged them to relinquish a fort, which they had built, and guarded this spot for a long time with a very severe and prudent jealousy.

But whilst we neglected, confiding in our strength, to cultivate the Indians, and the French, sensible of their weakness, omitted no endeavour to gain these savage people to  
their

their interests, and they prevailed at last, under the name of a trading house, to erect a strong fort at the mouth of the straight, on the very best harbour, not only on this but on any of the lakes; an harbour which is safe from every wind, and open for the whole year. A French officer, an able and enterprising man, had been a prisoner among the Iroquois for a long time, and having, according to their custom, been naturalized, he grew extremely popular amongst them, and at last acquired his liberty. He communicated to the then governor of Canada, the plan of an establishment at Niagara, and he himself undertook to execute it. He returned amongst the Iroquois, and pretending great love for their nation, which was now his own, told them that he would gladly come to make frequent visits to his brethren, but it was proper for that purpose, that they should allow him to build an house, where he might live at ease, and according to his own manner; at the same time he proposed to them advantages in trade for this establishment. A request which seemed a compliment to those to whom it was made, was readily granted. The house was built. By degrees this house extended itself; it was strengthened by various additions; and it grew at last to a regular fortress, which has ever since awed the Five Nations, and checked our colonies.

July 20. The siege of this place had not been long formed before General Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a cohorn. As soon as this accident happened, which threatened to throw a damp on the operations, an express was sent to General Am-

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herst, who, always attentive to the service, lost no time to send an officer of character to command in his place. But the command which in the interim devolved upon Sir William Johnson, could not have been better bestowed. He omitted nothing to continue the vigorous measures of the late general, and added to them every thing his own genius could suggest. Respected by the regular troops, dear to the provincials, almost adored by the Indians, possessed of that genius for acquiring popularity amongst all kinds of men, and that versatile disposition, which we so seldom see united with disinterestedness and integrity, he employed those talents solely for the benefit of his country. The troops remembering that it was under that general, the first advantage had been obtained over the French, pushed on the siege with so much alacrity, that in a few days they had brought their approaches within an hundred yards of the covered way.

The French were alarmed at the imminent danger of this interesting place. They therefore collected all the regular troops and provincials, which they could draw from all their posts about the lakes, and to those joined a large body of savages, in order to give the English battle, and to raise the siege. They amounted in all to 1700 men.

When General Johnson was apprized of their approach, he ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post on the road to his left, by which the French were to take their route. He placed his Indians on his flanks. Whilst he took measures to receive the French, who came to relieve the place, he posted

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a strong body in such a manner as to secure his trenches from any attempt of the garrison during an engagement.

In this disposition he waited to receive the enemy. At nine in the morning the engagement began by a violent and horrid scream of the enemies savages, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, perhaps the most horrid sound that can be imagined, which is said to have struck a panick into the troops of General Braddock, and was one of the principal causes of that defeat, by which our endeavours in America was so long frustrated; but on this occasion it had no effect. The enemy was so well received by the troops in front, and by the Indians on their flanks, that in less than an hour's time their whole army was ruined. The pursuit was hot and bloody; and it continued for five miles. Seventeen officers were made prisoners, among whom were the first and second in command.

July 25. This action was fought in sight of the fort; and it was no sooner concluded in favour of our troops, than the general summoned the garrison to surrender; sending in a list of the prisoners, and remonstrating on the

ill effects of their holding out longer, particularly with regard to the Indians. The capitulation was signed that night. The garrison, consisting of about 600 men, surrendered prisoners of war, and were conducted to New York. The fort and stores were given up to the English troops.

This was the second very important service performed by General Johnson in this war, and a second time he had the good fortune to make the commander in chief of the enemy his prisoner. It must not be omitted to the honour of this gentleman, that though he was not regularly bred a soldier, the most compleat officer could not have made more excellent dispositions for the battle, or have conducted the siege from the beginning to the end, with a more cool and steady resolution, or with a more compleat knowledge of all the necessary manœuvres of war. The taking of Niagara broke off effectually the communication, so much talked of and so much dreaded, between Canada and Louisiana, and by this stroke, one of the capital political designs of the French, which gave occasion to the present war, was defeated in its direct and immediate object.

## C H A P. VII.

*The expedition against Quebec. The Isle of Orleans occupied. Description of the town and harbour of Quebec. Situation of the French army. Action at the Falls of Montmorenci. General Wolfe sickens. The camp removed to Point Levi. The troops go up the river. The battle of Quebec. General Wolfe killed. French defeated. M. de Montcalm killed. Quebec surrenders. Movements of General Amherst on Lake Champlain.*

THE consequences which attended the reduction of the fort of Niagara, as well as those upon Lake Champlain, were very interesting; but the great and central operation to which all the rest tended, and to which even those were to be only subservient, was that against Quebec, the capital of Canada; and as this was to be the decisive stroke, it was proper that the greatest force should have been employed against it. If we reckon the maritime force, there is no doubt that we employed a greater number of men against Quebec, than against the Champlain forts; but the land forces, from some cause, fell much short of the number originally proposed, for they did not exceed 7000 men, regulars and provincials, though the original plan intended 9000 for that expedition, independent of the junction of those under General Amherst, whose assistance on the occasion was taken for granted. In this expedition General Wolfe commanded the land forces. The fleet was under Admiral Saunders.

26th. The whole embarkation arrived in the latter end of June at the Isle of Orleans, a few leagues from Quebec, without any accident whatsoever, notwithstanding the ill fame of the river St. Laurence, and the reports of its

dangerous navigation, probably spread for political purposes. They landed upon the isle of Orleans, which is formed by the branches of the river St. Laurence. This island is about twenty miles in length, and seven or eight in breadth, highly cultivated, and affording every kind of refreshment to the soldiers and sailors after their tedious voyage.

As this island extends quite up to the basin of Quebec, it was necessary to possess it in order to act against the town; for the most westerly point of this island advances towards an high point of land on the continent, called Point Levi. Both of these shut up the view of the northern and southern channel, which environ the isle of Orleans, so that the harbour of Quebec appears to be a basin landlocked up on all sides. The possession of both these points were necessary, as they might be employed either with great advantage against the town, or much to the annoyance of the besiegers; for whilst the enemy continued masters of those, it was impossible for a ship to lie in the harbour of Quebec. When these posts were possessed, which was done with little difficulty, the harbour and town of Quebec, appeared full to the view, at once a tempting and discouraging sight.



For no place seems possessed of greater benefits of nature; and none of which nature seems more to have consulted the defence.

Quebec, says F. Charlevoix, can boast of a fresh water harbour, capable of containing an hundred men of war of the line, at one hundred and twenty leagues distance from the sea. It lies on the most navigable river in the universe. The river St. Laurence up to the Isle of Orleans, that is, for about a hundred and twelve leagues from its mouth, is no where less than from four to five leagues broad; but above that isle it narrows, so that before Quebec it is not above a mile over. Hence this place got the name of Quebeis or Quebec, which, in the Alogonquin tongue, signifies a strait.

The city is the seat of the governor and the intendant, and the supreme tribunals of justice for all the French North America; it is also an episcopal see, and a place of considerable trade. It is large in extent, and elegant in many of its buildings both public and private. It consists of an upper and lower town; the lower, which is narrow, is built upon a strand, at the foot of a lofty rock, upon which the upper town stands. This rock extends itself, and continues with a bold and steep front, westward along the river St. Laurence for a considerable way. Another river from the north west, called St. Charles, falls here into the former, washing the foot of the rock on which Quebec stands; the point on which the town is built thus becomes a sort of peninsula by the junction of these rivers; so that whoever attacks Quebec, must either make his approaches above the town, and overcome the precipice

which I have mentioned, or cross the river St. Charles, and attempt it upon that side. The former of those methods must appear to a prudent commander wholly unadvisable, and the latter extremely difficult. If the former method should be attempted, they would have that dangerous precipice to overcome, defended by the enemies whole force, which the attack would draw to this quarter. On the other hand the country from the river St. Charles to the northward for more than five miles is extremely rough, broken and difficult, full of rivulets, gullies, and ravines, and so continues to the river of Montmorenci, which flows by the foot of a steep and woody hill. On the side of the river St. Laurence is a bank of sand of great extent, which prohibits the approach of any considerable vessel.

In this advantageous situation was the French army posted, upon what was deemed the only accessible side of Quebec, all along from the river St. Charles to that of Montmorenci, entrenched at every attackable spot, with the river and sand bank above mentioned in their front, and thick impenetrable woods upon their rear. It is impossible to imagine a stronger post; a post at once more defensible in itself, or better calculated for succouring the city, on which side soever it should be attacked. Thus posted, they greatly exceeded in number the besiegers, being about ten thousand men, under an able, and hitherto fortunate commander, M. de Montcalm, who, though he was superior in number to the English, resolved to risque nothing, and wisely relied on the natural strength of the country.

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When Wolfe saw the situation of the town, the nature of the country, the number of the troops, and their position, though of a sanguine temper and highly adventurous, he began to despair ; but, however another commander might have thought inaction in such circumstances justified to himself or even to the world, by such strong appearances, Wolfe resolved to leave nothing unattempted, but amidst the choice of difficulties which lay before him, to pitch upon those where the valour of his troops might be employed with the best prospect of success.

As soon as he had secured the west point of the isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, he erected batteries there of cannon and mortars, on the high ground, from the point of Levi, which looks towards the town; these fired continually upon the place: Admiral Saunders was stationed below in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite to Montmorenci; Admiral Holmes was stationed above the town, at once to distract the enemy's attention, and to prevent any attempts from the enemy against the batteries that played upon the town.

After this wife disposition was made of the fleet, General Wolfe caused the troops to be transported over the north channel of the river St. Lawrence, to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view of passing that river, and bringing the enemy to an engagement. Some heights which commanded the enemy's intrenchments, and a ford above, and another below the falls, encouraged him to this attempt: but, upon reconnoitring the ground, the opposite shore was found so steep and woody, that he could not hope to put his design in execution, which was by moving towards the enemy's flank, to draw

them to an engagement. To bring the French to an action was his single object. He had found that any attempts to assault the city would prove to no purpose, whilst the fleet could only batter the lower town, and must suffer greatly by the cannon and bombs of the upper, whilst they were employed in this ineffectual service; for after the reduction of the lower town, the passages to the upper were extremely steep, and moreover so well entrenched, that this advantage would prove little towards the reduction of the place.

The only point left therefore, was by every means to entice or force the enemy to an engagement; and to this end no means were omitted by sending detachments up the river, and by every appearance of a design to attack the town on that side. But the Marquis de Montcalm, in chusing his post, was well apprised of its importance. He knew sufficiently the nature of the country up the river, and he trusted to it; and therefore kept himself closely in his post, disposing his parties of savages, in which he was very strong, in such a manner, as to make any attempt upon him by surprize absolutely impossible. In the mean time, from the town fireships and boats were let down the stream to destroy the shipping, which as they almost wholly filled the channel, were greatly endangered. But by the extraordinary skill and vigilance of admiral Saunders, every vessel of this kind sent against them was towed ashore without doing the least mischief.

The general finding that all his efforts to decoy the enemy to an engagement had proved unsuccessful, and, sensible that they desired nothing more than to act defensively,

until the season itself should fight for them, and oblige the English to retire, he came at last, in spite of all difficulties, to the resolution of attacking them in their entrenchments on the side of Montmorenci. The place where the attack was to be made, was chosen with great judgment, as the only place thereabouts in which the artillery could be brought into use; as there, and there only, the greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once, and that there the retreat in case of a repulse was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Having determined upon the place where the attack was to be, which was at the mouth of the river Montmorenci, the best dispositions for it were made, both on the July 30. part of the admiral and of the general. But notwithstanding that the whole was conducted with equal vigour and prudence, it was totally defeated by one of those accidents which so frequently interpose to the disgrace of human wisdom, and which demonstrates that she is far from being the sole arbitress of war.

The English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders, immediately after their landing, to form themselves on the beach; but instead of forming themselves as they were directed, from the hurry and noise of their landing, or from an ill-governed ardour, they rushed impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. In this disorder, they were met by a violent and steady fire from the entrenchments, by which they were thrown into more confusion, which obliged them to shelter

themselves behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach.

The general perceiving that it was impossible for these grenadiers to form under so severe a fire, that the night drew on, a violent tempest was gathering, and the tide began to make, saw clearly that he had nothing further left than to order a retreat, with as little disadvantage as possible. He therefore called off those troops, and having formed them behind Brigadier Monkton's corps, which was on the beach in excellent order, the whole repassed the river without molestation, the general exposing his person with that intrepidity, which distinguished him both during the attack, and the retreat.

The loss in this check was not inconsiderable; and the event on the whole was such, as to discourage any further attempts upon that side. They returned to the old measures. The general again sent some bodies above the town, and some men of war sailed up the stream for more than twelve leagues. They received intelligence that the enemy had amassed some magazines of provisions to the interior country, and they proposed, by getting between them and the town, to draw the French army from their entrenchments, to the long-desired engagement; but if they failed to compass this, they might at least destroy the ships of war which the enemy had in the river, and help to open a communication between them and General Amherst, on whom their last expectations were fixed, and who, they flattered themselves, was on his march to their assistance.

But though they succeeded in destroying some of the enemies magazines, there was nothing of great

moment in this. They could not come near the men of war. However they received intelligence from some prisoners, of the success of Sir William Johnson against Niagara; they learned likewise, that the French had smoothed the difficulties in the way of General Amherst, by abandoning Crown Point and Ticonderoga. But this intelligence, otherwise so pleasing, brought them no prospect of the approach of any assistance from that quarter. The season wasted apace. The general fell violently ill, consumed by care, watching, and a fatigue, too great to be supported by a delicate constitution, and a body unequal to that vigorous and enterprising soul that it lodged. It was not enough for him to escape from so great an expedition uncondemned and unapplauded; to be pitted, was, he thought, but a milder censure: and he knew that no military conduct can shine, unless it be gilded with success. His own high notions, the public hope, the good success of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, oppressed his spirits, and converted disappointment into disease. As soon as he had a little recovered, he dispatched an express with an account of his proceedings to England, written indeed in the stile of despondency; but with such perspicuity, clearness, and elegance, as would have ranked him among our best writers, if his military exploits had not placed him among our greatest commanders.

He resolved, when he sent away his account, to continue the campaign to the last possible moment; and after a deliberation with his officers, determined, that any further attempts at Montmorenci were to little purpose, and that their princi-

pal operations should be above the town, in order, if possible, to draw the enemy to an action. But the design of Wolfe was deeper, and more particularly directed than it had been before. The camp at Montmorenci was broke up, and the troops were conveyed to the south-east of the river, and encamped at Point Levi. The Squadron under Admiral Holmes made movements up the river for several days successively, in order to draw the enemies attention as far from the town as possible. This succeeded in some measure; for, though it could not persuade the Marquis de Montcalm to quit his post, it induced him to detach M. de Bougainville with 1500 men to watch their motions, and to proceed along the western shore of the river, whilst the English army directed its march the same way on the eastern bank.

When General Wolfe saw that matters were ripe for action, he ordered the ships under Admiral Saunders to make a feint, as if they proposed to attack the French in their entrenchments on the Beauport shore below the town, and by their motions to give this feint all the appearance of a reality which it possibly could have. This disposition being made below the town, the general embarked his forces about one in the morning, and with Admiral Holmes's division went three leagues further up the river than the intended place of his landing, in order to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design. Then he put them into boats, and fell down silently with the tide, unobserved by the French centinels posted along the shore. The rapidity of the current carried these boats a little below the intended place of attack. The ships followed

them, and arrived just at the time which had been concerted to cover their landing. Considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and it required excellent heads both on the part of the marine, and the land service, to preserve a communication, and to prevent a discovery and confusion.

As the troops could not land at the spot proposed when they were put on shore, an hill appeared before them extremely high and steep in its ascent; a little path winded up this ascent, so narrow that two could not go abreast. Even this path was entrenched, and a captain's guard defended it. These difficulties did not abate the hopes of the general, or the ardor of the troops. The light infantry under Colonel Howe laying hold of stumps and boughs of trees, pulled themselves up, dislodged the guards, and cleared the path; and then all the troops surmounting every difficulty, gained the top of the hill, and as fast as they ascended formed themselves, so that they were all in order of battle at day break.

Montcalm when he heard that the English had ascended the hill, and were formed on the high ground at the back of the town, scarcely credited the intelligence, and still believed it to be a feint to induce him to abandon that strong post, which had been the object of all the real attempts that had been made since the beginning of the campaign. But he was soon, and fatally for him undeceived. He saw clearly that the English fleet and army were in such a situation, that the upper and lower town might be attacked in concert, and that nothing but a battle could possibly save it. Accordingly he determined to give

them battle, and quitting Beauport passed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops opposite to ours.

He filled the bushes that were in his front with detachments of Indians and his best marksmen, to the number of about 1500; his regular forces formed his left; his right was composed of the troops of the colony supported by two battalions of regulars. The rest of the Indians and Canadians extended on that side, and attempted to outflank the left of the English, which was formed to prevent that design, in a manner which the military men call *Potence*; that is, in a body which presents two faces to the enemy. Here Brigadier General Townshend commanded six regiments, and the Louisbourg grenadiers were disposed in a line to the right of this body, extending to the river. A regiment was drawn up behind the right for a reserve. It was formed in eight subdivisions with large intervals. The light infantry under Colonel Howe protected the rear and the left. The dispositions on both sides were judicious, and the engagement on both sides began with spirit.

The English troops were exhorted to reserve their fire; and they bore that of the enemy's light troops in front, which was galling, though irregular, with the utmost patience and good order, waiting for the main body of the enemy, which advanced fast upon them. At forty yards distance our troops gave their fire, which took place in its full extent, and made a terrible havock among the French. It was supported with as much vivacity as it was begun, and the enemy every where yielded to it; but just in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, General Wolfe, in whose life

life every thing seemed included, fell; General Monkton, the next to him in command, fell immediately after, and both were conveyed out of the line; the command now devolved on General Townshend. It was at a very critical time. For, though the enemy began to fall back, and were much broken, the loss of the two generals was a very discouraging circumstance, and it required great temper and great exertions to support the advantages that had been gained, and to push them to their proper extent. General Townshend shewed himself equal to so arduous a duty; the troops preserved their spirit, and each corps seemed to exert itself with a view to its peculiar character. The grenadiers with their bayonets, the Highlanders with their broad swords, and the rest of the forces, with a steady and continued fire, drove the enemy in great disorder from every post, and completed their defeat. During the whole action, Colonel Howe with his light infantry covered the left wing in such a manner, as entirely to frustrate the attempts of the enemy's Indians and Canadians upon that flank.

The field now seemed to be completely decided, when a new enemy appeared, which threatened to bring on a fresh engagement, and to put all again to the hazard. M. de Bougainville, whom the feigned movements of the English troops had drawn up the river, turned back on discovering their real design, and now appeared on the rear of the army, with a body of 2000 men. But fortunately the main body of the French was by this time so broken and dispersed, that the general was able to establish his rear, and to turn such an opposition on that side, that the enemy retired after a very feeble attempt.

In this decisive action our troops lost about 500 men; on the side of the enemy, at least 1500 were killed. But however glorious this victory was, and however important in its consequences, it must be admitted that it was very dearly bought. Soldiers may be raised; officers will be formed by experience; but the loss of a genius in war, is a loss which we know not how to repair. The death of Wolfe was indeed grievous to his country, but to himself the most happy that can be imagined; and the most to be envied by all those who have a true relish for military glory. Undebted to family, or connections, unsupported by intrigue or faction, he had accomplished the whole business of life at a time when others are only beginning to appear; and at the age of thirty-five, without feeling the weakness of age or the vicissitude of fortune, having satisfied his honest ambition, having compleated his character, having fulfilled the expectations of his country, he fell at the head of his conquering troops, and expired in the arms of victory.

The circumstances that attended the death of such a person, are too interesting to be passed over in silence, and they were indeed such as spoke the whole tenor of his life. He first received a wound in the head; but, that he might not discourage his troops, he wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and encouraged his men to advance; soon after he received another ball in his belly; this also he dissembled, and exerted himself as before; when he received a third in his breast; under which he at last sunk, and suffered himself, unwillingly, to be carried behind the ranks. As he lay struggling with the anguish and weakness of

of three grievous wounds, he seemed only solicitous about the fortune of the battle. He begged one, who attended him, to support him to view the field; but as he found that the approach of death had dimmed and confused his sight, he desired an officer, who was by him, to give him an account of what he saw. The officer answered, that the enemy seemed broken; he repeated his question a few minutes after with much anxiety, when he was told that the enemy was totally routed, and that they fled in all parts. Then said he, "I am satisfied;" and immediately expired.

Without the same advantages, the enemy also had an heavy loss in this battle, which no doubt, contributed to their defeat. M. de Montcalm, commander in chief, was killed on the spot; an officer who had done the highest services to his country, throughout the whole American war, and perfectly supported his reputation in this last scene of it, having made the most perfect dispositions that human prudence could suggest, both before the battle and in the engagement. It is something remarkable that in both armies, the first in command should be killed, and the second dangerously wounded. But General Monkton happily recovered, the French officer died a little after the battle.

Five days after the action, the enemy seeing that the communication between the town Sept. 18. and the army was cut off, and that the English fleet and troops were preparing with all vigour for a siege, surrendered the city of Quebec upon terms of honour to the garrison, and advantage to the inhabitants, who were preserved in the free exercise of their

religion, and the possession of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition. The fortifications of the city were in tolerable order; the houses almost totally demolished. A garrison of 5000 men under General Murray, were put into the place, with a plenty of provisions and ammunitions for the winter. The fleet sailed to England soon after, fearing lest the setting in of the frosts should lock them up in the river St. Laurence.

Thus the capital of French America was rendered to the English, after a most severe campaign of near three months; and perhaps, if the whole be considered, there never was an enterprize of such difficulty carried on with a more gallant perseverance, or accomplished with more vigour and ability. A city strong in situation and fortifications, was to be attacked. An army greatly superior in number to the besiegers, was posted under the walls of that city in an impregnable situation. That army was to be forced to battle against the inclinations of a wise and cautious commander. A theatre of more than five leagues was to be filled, and operations of that extent to be carried on in the eye of the superior army, by less than 7000 men. In this contest with so many difficulties, one may say, with nature itself, the genius of the commander shewed itself superior to every thing. All the dispositions to that daring but judicious attempt, near Sillery, which at last drew Montcalm from his entrenchments, were so many master pieces in the art of war. But it is certain, that these things, notwithstanding the extraordinary abilities of the general, could never have been compassed, had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity,

mity, diligence, and skill, which never could have taken place, but from that perfect love to their country, that animated all those that were concerned in this expedition. Here was no murmuring nor discontent, nor absurd jealousy; no mean competition between the land and sea-service; but the most zealous endeavours to second each others efforts, and the most generous inclinations on each side, to give a due praise to their mutual services.

When the news of this decisive action arrived in England, we all remember, though it is very difficult to describe, the various and mixed emotions with which every one was affected. But two days before this came, was received the express which General Wolfe had sent off after the affair of Montmorenci. When the general doubted, the public thought they had reason to despair. But whilst this gloom was fresh, and in the midst of the general despondency, a second express arrives, and brings all at once an account of the victory, the taking of Quebec; and the death of General Wolfe. The effect of so joyful news, immediately on such a dejection, and then the mixture of grief and pity, which attended the public congratulations and applauses, was very singular and affecting. The sort of mourning triumph, that manifested itself on that occasion, did equal honour to the memory of the general, and to the humanity of the nation.

A little circumstance was talked of at that time, and it deserves to be recorded, as it shews a fineness of sentiment, and a justness of thinking, in the lower kind of people, that is rarely met with

even amongst persons of education. The mother of General Wolfe was an object marked out for pity by great and peculiar distress; the public wound pierced her mind with a particular affliction, who had experienced the dutiful son, the amiable domestic character, whilst the world admired the accomplished officer. Within a few months she had lost her husband; she now lost this son, her only child. The populace of the village where she lived unanimously agreed to admit no illuminations or firings, or any other sign of rejoicing whatsoever near her house, lest they should seem by an ill-timed triumph, to insult over her grief. There was a justness in this, and whoever knows the people, knows that they made no small sacrifice on this occasion.

The nation, which never suffers any public service to pass unrewarded, proceeded to honour the merits of the living and of the dead. The minister himself made the motion for this purpose in the House of Commons, and all the force of eloquence was displayed in setting off these services in their proper light. A magnificent monument was voted for the deceased general in Westminster Abbey; the living generals and admirals received the greatest of honours, the thanks of their country by their representatives.

It is not known with certainty in what manner the French disposed of the remainder of their army after the battle of Quebec. It is probable that they retired towards Montreal and Trois Rivières, the only places of any consequence which they have left in Canada. In order to deprive them of subsistence



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 sistance in any attempt they might be induced to make towards the recovery of Quebec in the winter, the country along the river was laid waste for a very considerable extent. A measure, which for the sake of humanity, we could have wished not to have been found necessary.

Whilst the operations were thus successfully carried on in the river St. Laurence, General Amherst was not wanting in his endeavours on the side of Lake Champlain. Though the retreat of the French from Crown Point and Ticonderoga had left him entirely master of Lake George, he found that the command of Lake Champlain was still an object of some difficulty. Mr. Bourlemaque, who commanded in that part, had retired to the Isle de Noix, at the bottom of the lake, where he had three thousand five hundred men strongly entrenched; he had likewise four stout armed sloops, by which he could easily defeat any attempt by boats.

General Amherst found it necessary to maintain a naval superiority upon the Champlain, before he could hope to push his operations any further; but this was a work of so much time, that it made it absolutely impossible to attain the great end of the campaign, the communication with General Wolfe, who was left in the manner we have seen to the exertion of his single strength. The naval preparations were not perfectly accomplished before the 10th of October. They consisted of a great radeau, eighty four feet in length, and twenty in breadth, which carried six twenty-four pounders; the rest consisted of a brigantine and a sloop.

Covered by these the army was embarked in boats Oct. 11. in a most excellent disposition, and proceeded a considerable way upon the lake; but as the season was far advanced, and the weather growing cold and tempestuous, he judged it highly dangerous to venture his troops much upon the water in open batteaux; for the waves run as high on this lake as at sea, in an hard gale of wind. Besides, he could not hope at this advanced season to act at such a distance as the Isle de Noix with any effect; he therefore wisely postponed his operations on that side to another year, and contented himself for the present with the efforts of his little marine, which exerted itself with great activity; they blocked up two of the enemies strongest vessels in a bay, but the French Oct. 15. abandoned them in the night, and sunk them in a deep water, the crews making their escape; these they were in hopes to weigh up. The French appearing no where to oppose them, the armed sloops returned to Crown Oct. 21. Point soon after the troops, which were disposed in winter quarters.

The memorable and vigorous campaign of 1759, which made full amends for the inactivity of the former, was thus happily closed. By the taking of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and above all Quebec, the French, in the little remaining part of Canada, are invested upon every side. The troops which they have under Mr. Levy at Montreal, and those under Mr. Bourlemaque at Isle de Noix, can neither be recruited with men, nor properly supplied with military stores, all communication with France being cut off. So that in the opening of the

the next campaign, if they are attacked with vigour from the side of Quebec, whilst General Amherst advances with his body by Lake Champlain, of which he has now the entire dominion, the resistance will be no more than sufficient to give reputation to the conquest; and it will depend more upon our

own sentiments of convenience what part of North America we shall leave to France, than to any efforts they may make in that part of the world; happy if our European system should so far concur, as to leave us free to conclude a peace in America upon its own merits.

### C H A P. VIII.

*Prince Henry's march into Saxony. General Febla defeated. King of Prussia enters Saxony. Prussians defeated at Maxen. Again defeated at Meissen. M. Daun occupies the camp at Pirna. Munster surrenders to the allies. Hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeats the Duke of Wurtemberg at Fulda. March of the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick to Saxony.*

WE took notice in the preceding part of our narrative of that movement of the King of Prussia, by which he got between the Russians and Great Glogau, and thereby baffled their design upon that important place. This movement, at once daring, prudent, and necessary, hindered the Russians from taking winter quarters in his dominions; but at the same time it unavoidably cut off all communication with the army of Prince Henry.

That Prince, seeing that he could not second the operations of the King his brother on the side of Silesia, contrived another expedient of co-operating with him, which was immediately to direct his march towards Saxony. There was no object, the possession of which was more interesting; on that account it was very proper; but this march answered also another end; for it drew the attention of M. Daun to the side of Saxony, and disabled him from assisting the designs of the Russians against Glogau, either

with his whole army, or with any considerable detachment from it. The whole country of Lusatia, through which this projected march lay, was in a manner overspread with the enemy. M. Daun with the main army of the Austrians lay at a place called Sorau, opposite to the Prince's camp. Five bodies of Russians occupied as many advantageous posts between the Bober and the Neissa. General Laudohn possessed the whole country along the Spree with several Austrian corps. To get ground M. Daun it was necessary to make a vast circuit, and to march between the Austrian and Russian armies for more than sixty English miles.

Before the Prince entered upon this arduous design, by several bold movements he obliged M. Daun to retreat from Sorau to Gorlitz, and from Gorlitz as far as Bautzen, keeping himself as much as possible between the Prince and Saxony. But his royal highness having perceived the direction in which M. Daun was moving, made

a com-

a compass to the northward of the Austrians, into the Lower Lusatia, passed the Neiss at Rothenburg, and marching with the utmost expedition arrived at Hoyers

Sept. 25. Werda in two days from Zittau. This rapid march brought them quite unexpected upon a body of five or six thousand Austrian irregulars, commanded by General Vehla, who were situated in all security behind the town. They were routed with no small slaughter.

Having dislodged this corps, the Prince's army had leisure to repose themselves after such a fatiguing march, for two days; and then continued their progress towards the Elbe,

Oct. 2. which river they crossed at Torgau, having received notice that M. Daun had crossed it before them near Dresden. Thus was the grand theatre of the war once more transferred into Saxony, and that miserable country, continually harassed, continually tossed from hand to hand, the sport of violence and fortune, suffered equal distresses from its deliverers and its enemies.

The Prussian army, from the beginning of this war, has been particularly distinguished for its marches; and there is certainly nothing, in all the various operations of war, which more particularly distinguishes good troops and able and spirited leaders. But this march of Prince Henry over such a tract of country, almost every where occupied by the enemy, in so short a time, and with so little loss, is perhaps one of the most extraordinary, and the best conducted, of the marches that have been made by the Prussian, or any other army.

This fortunate stroke, together with the retreat of the Russians, afforded some hope, that notwithstanding his repeated disasters, the King of Prussia might still conclude the campaign to his advantage. The detachments under Finck and Wunsch had no sooner entered Misnia, than they attained a superiority over the united armies of Austria and the empire; all the places which in so short a time they had seized, in as short a time were reduced to the obedience of their former masters: Wunsch had engaged their army, and defeated one of its wings. This victory gave them the possession of every thing to the gates of Dresden, the only town which remained to the enemy of all those they had taken. They found themselves unable to prevent Prince Henry from passing the Elbe; they found themselves unable to prevent General Hulsen from coming to his relief with a considerable detachment; they found themselves unable to prevent the King from joining himself to those; when after Nov. 2.

obliging the Russians to evacuate Silesia, he marched to their relief, leaving General Itzenplitz with a part of his army, to keep the Russians from availing themselves of his absence. On this the army of the empire retired. Marshal Daun fell back towards Dresden. All the King of Prussia's posts were left unmolested, and after all his losses, and all his necessary detachments, he still saw himself at the head of a gallant army of sixty thousand men, in high spirits, and ready to execute the most desperate of his orders, notwithstanding the advanced season, and the great extremity of the cold.

It is true that M. Daun was superior to him in numbers, and yet more so in situation. He could at any time take possession of the famous camp at Pirna, where he could not be attacked with any prospect of success; but then the freezing of the Elbe, the snow on the mountains which divide Bohemia from Saxony, and the continual molestation which might be expected from the Prussian parties, made this situation as dangerous, in some respects, as it was desirable in others.

It was the opinion of many, that these advantages on the side of the King of Prussia, well pursued without aiming at more, would in a short time infallibly have obliged M. Daun to relinquish his strong post, and to retire into Bohemia, abandoning Dresden, and with it all the fruits of his victorious campaign. But the King, possessed by an idea of the ill situation of the Austrians, thought that advantages of greater moment and more decisive, might be drawn from it. He knew that the passes into Bohemia were so difficult, that by some posts properly chosen and strongly guarded, the subsistence of the Austrians might be made impracticable, and even their retreat rendered so difficult, that M. Daun would find himself compelled to fight at a disadvantage, and to put to the hazard of the field all that his caution and prudence had been so long and so painfully procuring.

Upon this plan, the King having obliged M. Daun to retreat as far as Plauen, advanced himself as far as Kesseldorf: and ordered General Finck with a strong corps to turn the Austrians, and seize the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, through which alone it seemed possible for

the Austrians to communicate with Bohemia. This was so successfully executed, that there appeared no doubt that the King had effectually secured one of his principal objects, and had placed Daun between two fires.

Whilst the Prussians enjoyed this security, M. Daun, who was aware of their design, had so occupied all the eminences about this rough and dangerous place, and all the passes into it, that the Prussians were hardly attacked, when their defeat seemed inevitable. It is probable that they had got too far into these defiles, and had not taken proper measures to secure a retreat, or any sort of communication with the grand army. They became too late sensible of their situation, and they made, for a whole day, the most intrepid efforts to disengage themselves from it; but they were foiled in every attempt, with considerable loss of men, and of the most part of their artillery.

Night put a stop to the engagements; the Austrians employed it effectually to entangle the Prussians, by guarding with double strength and vigilance, every avenue through which it was possible for them to escape. So that when the morning Nov. 26. appeared, they saw the hills covered on every side with great bodies of their enemies, and every defile presented a wall of bayonets, through which it was impossible to penetrate. Thus galled with the losses of the preceding day, in which it is said they had exhausted almost all their ammunition, stripped of the greatest part of their cannon, surrounded by the enemy on all quarters, no resource, no prospect of relief appearing, the army lost all hope, and all spirit. To make any efforts in this condition, General

General Finck thought would only be to throw away unprofitably the lives of so many brave men, which might be reserved for a more hopeful occasion; he therefore, notwithstanding the known rigour of his master, the apparent shame of the thing, and the thousand circumstances of embarrassment that must have arisen to a man of honour at such a juncture, came to a resolution of surrendering the whole army prisoners of war. Nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, composing near twenty thousand men by the Austrian account, above twelve by the Prussian confession, sixty-four pieces of cannon, many standards and colours, were taken on this occasion.

It was unquestionably the greatest blow which the Prussians had felt from the beginning of the war; considering the critical time, the numbers taken, and the loss of reputation, which arose from the manner in which they were taken. It is no wonder that such an extraordinary advantage, thus cheaply obtained, would greatly have elevated the friends of the house of Austria. They had put the change upon the Prussians, they had caught their enemy in the very trap which they had laid, as they thought, with such address for them. They had now received a full indemnification for the capture of the Saxon army, which had surrendered in much the same manner, and very near this place, in the year 1756.

The King of Prussia had not time to recover from this stroke, under which he was yet staggering, when he received another blow, and a severe one. General Dürcke was posted at the right of the Elbe, opposite to Meissen, but on  
Dec. 4. the approach of a large bo-

dy of Austrians, they prepared to retreat over the river into that place into which they thought their retreat secure; but having been obliged by an hard frost to withdraw their bridge of boats, a thaw supervening, when they attempted to lay a bridge of pontoons, so many great fragments of ice floated in the river, that they found it impracticable; they were therefore under the necessity of passing over their army in boats. Whilst they struggled with these difficulties, their rear guard was attacked by the Austrians with great fury, and all the men that composed it, together with the general, were killed or made prisoners. The loss of the Prussians on this occasion is said to have been three thousand killed and taken; and this second surprize brought a new discredit, as well as a great detriment to the Prussian arms.

M. Daun was not so carried away with this flood of success, as to depart in the least degree from his usual cautious management. Two advantages were now obtained, which, with a very few efforts might be improved to the entire destruction of the King of Prussia. At least, many generals would have thought so, but M. Daun thought, that the same conduct, which, with no risk, and with little loss, had reduced the King so low, was the most likely, if pursued, to bring on his entire ruin. He resolved to give that monarch no sort of chance to recover his fortune; Daun after the two great victories of the Russians his allies, after the two great victories he had himself newly obtained, retired behind Dresden; and as if he had been beaten, as often as he was victorious, he took refuge in the impregnable camp at Pirna, having

having so disposed matters, that the King of Prussia, now too weak to send out any great detachments, could not prevent his communication with Bohemia.

Whilst the King of Prussia carried on his unsuccessful campaign in Saxony; through all the rigours of the severest winter for many years felt in Europe; the army of the allies kept the field with better fortune. It is true; things had been so disposed by the obstinate resistance of Munster, and the reinforcements which arrived in the French army, that Prince Ferdinand did not find himself in a condition to force them to a decisive action; and therefore the situation of the two armies had continued much the same for a considerable time. At length Munster, after a series of operations, sometimes a siege, sometimes a blockade, now broken off, and Nov. 20. now resumed, at last surrendered, and the garrison capitulated for their liberty.

Not long after this, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, all whose enterprises are distinguished with a peculiar éclat and splendor, that mark them for his own, performed a service that curbed the French, even more than the loss of Munster. Prince Charles of Bevern was also engaged in this design.

The Duke of Wurtemberg had renewed his treaty of subsidy with France, and having recruited and augmented his troops, he lay at Fulda, a great way to the right of the French army. The Hereditary Prince formed a design to attack him at that distance.

On the 28th of November, taking a small, but well chosen corps of horse and foot, and disengaging them from their baggage, he arrived in two days at Fulda, where the

Wurtembergers enjoyed themselves in full security. *A feu de joye* had been ordered for that day; the troops were all in their best cloaths; the Duke had invited all the ladies in the town to his table, and to a ball, which he intended to have given that very day; but the Hereditary Prince disconcerted their measures, both of war and diversion. A large party of the Wurtemberg troops were posted in a plain before the town. The Hereditary Prince fell upon them unawares in their front and flank, and drove them in to the town, into which he closely pursued them. Here they made some appearance of maintaining their ground for some minutes, but they were soon drove out on the other side, and hotly pursued by the Prince of Brunswick; without the town they were met by Prince Charles of Bevern who had made a compass about the place, and attacked them vigorously as soon as they had got out of it. Four battalions made some resistance; and were all cut to pieces or made prisoners; the rest, with the Duke himself, covered by the resistance of these battalions, made a shift to escape. Above a thousand prisoners were made on this occasion; and the Prince returned to the camp of the allies, after having effectually disabled this corps from performing any thing considerable; and this action was of the greatest consequence, as, by the disposition of the corps at Fulda, there was an appearance as if the French meant to form a communication with the army of the empire, for the mutual extension and security of their winter quarters.

This enterprise was only the prelude to another, which promised to be much more extensive in its consequences.

quences. The season was now grown too severe to suffer the allies to push any further the advantages they had obtained over the French; at the same time it disabled the French from attempting any thing considerable against them. Besides these advantages of the season, by possessing Munster, the allies were no longer obliged to keep so large a body of men in Westphalia. These were the considerations which suffered Prince Ferdinand to turn his eyes to the distressed state of the King of Prussia's affairs. After the two great blows which that Monarch had suffered, there was no hope of dislodging M. Daun with his single force; and he was utterly unable to avail himself as heretofore, of the rigour of the season, to strike a decisive blow. Prince Ferdinand, distant as he was from his distressed ally, and so near to an enemy superior in numbers, did not hesitate to send him succours, to enable him, if possible, to make a final effort. He detached therefore 12,000 of his best men, and placed them under the command of the Hereditary Prince, with whose vigour and diligence he was perfectly acquainted, and under whom he knew the soldiers would endure any hardship with cheerfulness. They

Oct. 11. marched from Korsdorff, and in the depth of the late severe season, without losing a man by sickness or desertion, in fifteen days, marched near three hundred miles, and joined the King of Prussia at Freybourg.

This junction raised for a while the spirits and hopes of the Prussian army, but, in effect, it did more honour to the abilities of the Hereditary Prince, than service to the King. The season which fought

equally against all sides, the inaccessible camp at Pirna, and the caution of M. Daun, rendered it impossible to the King, notwithstanding this reinforcement, to make any attempt. So that after several movements in hopes of bringing the Austrians to an engagement, he was obliged at length to desist, and to suffer the shattered remains of his army to repose in winter quarters, after the fruitless fatigues of so long, so laborious, and so bloody a campaign.

The King of Prussia did not derive the benefits that were expected from this detachment; the French had no sooner notice of it, than they attempted to avail themselves of the weakness it caused in the allied army. The Duke of Broglie was now at the head of the French troops; he had lately returned from Versailles, having ruined the character of M. de Contades, established his own, removed his rival, and, in spite of seniority, had acquired the marshal's staff, and the command of the army. He thought he had now an opportunity for an action of eclat to distinguish his entrance into command. He attempted to attack Prince Ferdinand by surprise. Dec. 24. But finding him perfectly prepared, and all his posts well guarded, he thought it most prudent to retire to his former quarters; and with this abortive attempt closed the operations of the German campaign, from whence France had entertained such sanguine hopes; leaving to Prince Ferdinand the glory of taking Munster in the presence of one of their armies, and of securing his own posts against all their efforts, after he had, from an inferior number, detached 12,000 men three hundred miles from his camp.

## C H A P. X.

*The preparations at Vannes and Brest. The English fleet driven from their station. The action near Belleisle. French fleet defeated. War in the East Indies in 1758. French fleet under M. d'Acbe twice beaten. M. de Lally takes Fort St. David's, and repulsed at Tanjour. Lays siege to Madras. Obligated to raise the siege. Conclusion of the annals of 1759.*

THE severity of the winter could not put a stop to the operations of the land armies; it had no more effect upon the operations at sea, which went on with vigour, in spite of the inclemency of the season. The invasion projected by France, which the engagement off Cape Lagos had retarded, was by no means laid aside.

The preparations for a naval equipment in the harbour of Brest, and for transporting a body of forces from Vannes, went on continually. The winter did not delay these preparations, because it was hoped that in that season, the British fleet might be obliged to take refuge in their own harbours; and thus might afford an opportunity for the French fleet to come out unopposed, and to execute the object of their destination before the British navy could be in readiness to encounter them.

In fact, they were not wholly disappointed in their expectations. A violent storm forced Sir Edward Hawke to quit his station off Brest. He came with his whole fleet to anchor in Torbay.

Nov. 14. The French fleet availed itself of his absence to put to sea. The whole English nation was alarmed; but it was an alarm which produced no hurry or disturbance, but vigorous, cool, and settled methods for defence.

And now the event of the whole war was put to the issue; for upon

the good or ill success of this stroke every thing depended. Nov. 14. Admiral Hawke lost not a moment's time to put again to sea, and to seek the French fleet. Both squadrons put to sea on the same day; Sir Edward Hawke from Torbay, M. de Conflans from Brest. There was a difference of but one ship of the line in their forces.

It is impossible here to pass over the gallant behaviour of one of our admirals, as it helps to mark the genius and spirit of this happy time; and as this is one of the finest instances of it. Admiral Saunders came in to port from his Quebec expedition immediately after Hawke had sailed. After such a long voyage and so severe a campaign, unbroken by fatigue, and still insatiated with glory, he determined immediately to set sail again, and partake the honour and danger of the coming engagement. For this purpose no time was to be lost, and he had no orders. But he thought the exigence of his country sufficient orders; and he knew that at this time the letter of military discipline would never be set against its spirit. He therefore set sail without waiting for orders with ten ships; but fortune did not favour the generosity of his intentions, and he did not join the British fleet time enough for the engagement.

As Sir Edward Hawke concluded that the first rendezvous of the enemy's fleet would be at Quiberon,



he directed his course with all diligence for that bay. But here again, fortune for a while seemed to declare for the French; for a strong wind blown in an easterly point, drove the English fleet a great way to the westward; but at length it became more favourable, and bore them in directly to the shore. About eight o'clock the headmost ships discovered the enemy bearing to the northward, between the island of Belleisle and the mainland of France.

Hawke saw at last what he had so long, and so ardently wished for, (though hitherto in vain) the enemy in his reach. But yet there were such difficulties in his way, as would have checked a very cautious commander, or perhaps any commander in circumstances less critical to the public safety. On the slightest inspection of the chart it will appear, that all this sea is fown thick with sands and shoals, and shallows and rocks; our pilots were by no means well acquainted with it; and the wind blew little less than a violent storm, and the waves ran mountain high. In these circumstances they were to attack a very strong squadron of the enemy on their own coast, with which they were perfectly acquainted. All these difficulties only animated the English admiral. In one of the finest ships in the world, commanding the flower of the British navy, and seconded by some of the most tried and bravest officers in the service; and above all not dubious of himself. He ordered the ships nearest the enemy immediately to chase, and, by engaging them, to give time for the rest of the fleet to come up.

M. Conflans had two choices, either to fly, or to stand and fight it out. But he followed neither per-

fectly; for some time he appeared as if he meant to fight; but after giving the British ships time to come near him, when it was too late, he crowded all the sail he could carry; at the same time he shewed an attention to keep all his squadron together.

At half an hour after two, the action began with great fury. In two hours the enemy had lost three ships of the line, one struck, two were sunk outright. Hawke ordered his ship to reserve her fire, to pass by all the others, and to be laid alongside of the *Soleil Royal*, the best ship in the French navy, and commanded by M. de Conflans; the master remonstrated on the almost inevitable danger of the coast. Hawke answered, "You have done your duty in this remonstrance; now obey my orders, and lay me alongside the French admiral." A French ship of 70 guns, generously put himself between them; Hawke was obliged to bestow here the fire he had reserved for a greater occasion, and at one broadside sunk her to the bottom. The headmost of the English ships fired on the enemy as they came up to them, and then passed on to others, leaving those behind to improve their success, and destroy or take them; and by this method they had got up quite to the van of the enemy, and would have totally destroyed their fleet, had not night interposed to save them. Before night came on, the enemy's fleet was much dispersed, but in the eagerness of the pursuit, two of the English ships unfortunately run upon a sand, called the Four, and were lost. The enemy fled in to their own coast. Seven ships of the line threw over board all their guns, and escaped into the river Villaine; about

about as many more got out to sea, and made for other ports.

Nothing could be conceived more dreadful than the night which succeeded this action. A violent storm blew all night long. It was a pitchy darkness; a dangerous coast surrounded them on almost all sides. A continual firing of distress guns was heard, without knowing whether they came from friend or enemy; and on account of the badness of the coast and the darkness of the night, our people were equally unable to venture to their assistance.

When morning came on, they found the French admiral had run his ship, and another called the *Heroes*, on shore; the first was set on fire by the enemy, the other by our seamen. Thus concluded this remarkable action, in which the French had four capital ships destroyed, one taken, and the whole of their formidable navy, in which consisted the last hope of their marine, shattered, disarmed, and dispersed. The long threatened invasion which was to repair their losses in every part of the world, was dissipated, and the credit of their arms broken along with their forces. The behaviour of the English captains and seamen, on the contrary, added as much to the glory of the British arms, as the safety of their country. Perhaps there never was a naval engagement of such extent, in which no captain was accused, nor even in any degree suspected of misbehaviour or cowardice; in which those who engaged, and those who did not, gave proofs that they were equally ardent in the service of their country.

Those who think such matters deserving of their notice, have observed that this decisive naval en-

gagement, the surrender of the Prussian troops at Maxen, and the taking of Munster, happened on the same day, the 20th of November.

This was the conclusion of the French affairs in Europe. The issue of the campaign in America had not been more favourable to them. Although the events in the East Indies belong properly to the last year, yet, as the accounts did not arrive until this, and that the actions there were of great importance, and equally fortunate on our side, it is proper that we should take some notice of them here.

The English had by no means that superiority over the French in the East Indies, which they had in America. It was here the French seemed to have made those efforts, by which they hoped in some degree to ballance their losses in other parts. They had a very strong squadron under Monsi. de Ache in those seas. M. de Lally, an officer of credit, and of greater rank than had usually been sent on that service, commanded a body of 2000 Europeans, a great army, in a country where the name of an European is itself a strength. In the beginning, their success seemed proportioned to their forces; they took the fort and city of St. David's. But in a very short time the ill star of France, which in no part of the world sets well on their affairs, began to influence them here. M. d' Ache in two naval engagements was worsted, and prevented from co-operating with the land-forces for the rest of the campaign. And had the spirit and conduct of Admiral Pocock been as well seconded by some of his captains as it was by others, there is great reason to believe, that the French naval power had been as effectually destroyed

in those seas, as it has been in those of Europe.

Notwithstanding these checks, it was necessary that M. Lally should act. But it was not only the disgrace of the French fleet, but an extreme want of money which delayed his operations. A Prince of the country, the King of Tanjour, appeared the only resource which was open. To this Prince he applied for a considerable sum of money, which being resolutely refused, he carried the war into his dominions, and laid siege to his capital city. But after lying several days before it, and after having even made a practicable breach, the skill of some English gunners, the want of provisions and ammunition, and the disorders which reigned in his army, obliged him to return without the money, and with the mortification of being beaten from a place, only fortified after the Indian manner.

This failure, in their pecuniary expectations, and their repulse from an Indian town, were bad encouragements to the undertaking of an enterprise against an European enemy, and a fortification in some degree regular. But having seized upon a Dutch vessel, as it is thought much with its own consent, which contained a large treasure, they set out at length to besiege Madras. But here their success was no better than at Tanjour, though their strength was greater, and their efforts much more obstinate.

Colonel Draper and Major Brereton defended the place with the utmost skill and bravery. Mr. Pigot likewise with equal generosity and prudence, seconded their endeavours by the supplies of stores and ammunition, which were admirably distributed, and co-operated with the

military with a firmness and intrepidity, by which he obtained an honour equal to any in the defence of the place. Whilst the town was defended with great spirit within; parties were continually sent out, which so infested the roads through which the enemy's convoys were to pass, that their army in the trenches was infinitely weakened by the detachments which they were obliged to send out. After a siege of more than two months, they were obliged to abandon their enterprize, and by that means renounce for ever all those sanguine hopes, which they had entertained from the forces in this part of the world. The English, on the contrary, went on from success to success. Whilst they defeated the French on the Eastern coast of the great peninsula of India, on the western they took the great and opulent city of Surat from the powers of the country, with very little loss.

General Lally left Madras in the utmost transports of rage and despair, which a man of honour and ability in his profession can feel, who is ill seconded by his troops, neglected by those who ought to support him, and cheated by the villainy of contractors; and of all those who turn war into a low traffick. His letter is a strong and very striking picture of these agitations; and certainly it is worthy of remark that every where there should appear something more unaccountably wrong and weak in the management of the French, than has been in the conduct of that or almost any other nation at any time. It seems to argue an essential and radical fault in some superior part of their government, more easily indeed visible in its consequences, than discoverable in its cause.

In Europe they received offers of peace from the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia. But as they did not expect, from their situation, very advantageous or honourable terms, they resolved to act, in one instance, the Roman part, and still hold out, determined to hazard the last extremities; perhaps, hoping something favourable from the fortune of their allies, since their own had deserted them; and resolving to contract their plan, and to make one strong effort in one part, rather than unprofitably to waste their strength upon several inferior objects. This effort could be made with any prospect of success only in Germany. But the supplies necessary for this great charge, were difficult to a nation, whose trade was wholly destroyed. On this occasion they did not scruple to break in upon the public faith, and to find supplies for one year in an expedient, that struck at the sources of all future credit. They stopped the payment on many public bills and funds\*. The King threw in his own plate into the public stock as an example, and a request that others should contribute in the same manner from their private fortune, to the necessities of the state; tho' several of the nobility, and many churches and convents sent in their plate, there was yet a general backwardness to give into this method of supply, and to trust the public with

so considerable part of their substance at the instant when they saw it so notoriously break its faith in other particulars.

However, these resources, such as they are, will enable them to keep the war on foot. They turn their whole attention to Germany, where they have very greatly augmented their army, and placed it under a general, from whom they have some hopes, after their repeated disappointments, and the frequent changes they have made. They propose also another army under the Prince de Soubise; if they can compass this latter project, as it is believed they may, the system of Germany is still in very imminent danger. For notwithstanding the tried goodness of our troops, and the admirable commander at the head of them, it is certain, even with any reinforcements we may be able to send, we shall find it very difficult to contend with two armies, supposing that we shall have no other than French armies to contend with, and that the King of Prussia should be able, as he has hitherto been, to find employment for the many, the powerful, and the implacable enemies that surround him.

It is certain he is much reduced; and that his resources are nearly exhausted. These are facts which cannot be concealed; and yet some glimmering of hopes may be still preserved, when we consider the

\* The French court have stop't payment of the following public debts, viz.

1. The three kinds of rents created on the posts.
2. Those constituted upon the chest of redemptions.
3. The coupons of bills on the same chest.
4. Those of the two royal lotteries.
5. The reimbursement of bills drawn to bearer on the same chest.
6. The bills of the two royal lotteries.
7. The rents created on the two sols per pound of the tenth penny.
8. The reimbursement of the capitals of rents.
9. The payments of bills dischargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities.
10. Those of the new actions on the benefit of the farms.
11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,333,000l.

admirable talents for war and government, which that monarch possesses; and when we consider even the events of the last (to him) unfortunate campaign; where after having suffered four capital defeats, and having obtained no one considerable advantage, he has yet continued in some sort superior in the field; the enemy has not been able to make the least impression upon his dominions; and he has, at last, more than divided Saxony with them; the city of Dresden is all that they possess in that country, and the acquisition of which has been the only fruit of four campaigns, and four victories in one campaign, and the efforts of the united forces of Austria, Russia, and the Empire, to say nothing of France and Sweden.

As for Great Britain, she has only to fear from her connections. In no one year since she was a nation, has she been favoured with so many successes, both by sea and land, and in every quarter of the globe; nor have her officers, both by sea and land, ever done more honour to their country, by their skill and bravery. And with regard to the internal administration, it seems to say, that whilst France became bankrupt, without delay or murmuring there has been more than six millions borrowed in England at a very easy rate; and that the interest on this immense sum has been made good by a single tax upon malt, which will scarce be felt by the people. By this the resources of England

may be imagined; especially if we consider, that highly as we are taxed for the necessary charges of the war; we have not been prevented from great and expensive voluntary exertions of public spirit and beneficence. The cities of London and Westminster, and after their example other towns, made a large subscription for enlisting soldiers. Subscriptions were also carried on to a great amount, for cloathing the enemy's prisoners, abandoned thro' the neglect or poverty of their sovereign; and for administering to the relief of the families of those who had fallen in the battles of Quebec and Minden. Thus actuated by the warmest patriotism, which far from extinguishing, seemed to kindle a beneficence towards our enemies in their distress.

The condition of Europe, which all people thought would have been decided in this campaign, is nearly as dubious as ever; and the difficulties which oppose themselves to a peace are rather augmented than diminished. Here then we close the scene, and conclude the events of the present year; in the next we hope, notwithstanding appearances, after so many scenes of horror, to have the more pleasing task of relating the steps taken to a general peace, on terms as particularly advantageous to our own country, as the mixed interests of Europe, and the various fortunes of the powers embarked in the same cause, will admit.

## T H E

## C H R O N I C L E.

## J A N U A R Y.

1<sup>st</sup>. **T**HE society for promoting of arts and manufactures in the Strand, presented his Grace the Duke of Beaufort with a gold medal for sowing the greatest quantity of acorns. Philip Carteret Webb, Esq; with a silver medal, for sowing the next quantity. And John Bernay, Esq; with a silver medal for the third quantity.

A silver medal was also presented to Lady Louisa Greville, for the finest drawing.

Several houses were consumed by fire at Limehouse.

Extract of a letter from St. Jago de la Vega, in Jamaica, dated October 7.

On Monday last was published in council, his majesty's repeal of the act passed in this island, in the year 1754, for removing the several records, books, papers, &c. belonging to the several offices, from the town of St. Jago de la Vega to the town of Kingston. In consequence of which, thirty wains laden with the records and escorted by a party of foot soldiers, left Kingston, at one o'clock on Wednesday morning, and being met in the Ferry-road by a detachment of the troops of this town, were by them conducted here, where they arrived a little after nine, amidst the acclamations of a multitude of people.

On this occasion a grand entertainment was given, an ox was roasted for the populace, and at night a general illumination, and sundry fire-works. The following places, viz. Kingston, Savana-la-Mar, Montego-Bay, and Port Antonio, are ordained legal ports of entry and clearance for ships for the island of Jamaica.

Extract of a letter from the same place, dated October 21.

This week the governor, council, and assembly passed an act for dividing the island of Jamaica into three counties, and for appointing justices of assize, and oyer and terminer, in two of the aforesaid counties.

Letter from New-Jersey, dated October 28.

This day his excellency our governor returned from the treaty at Easton, where he had been attending with the governor of Pennsylvania, near three weeks. There were present at the treaty 500 Indians, about 200 of whom were chief warriors, and of thirteen different nations. There were also present two Indian messengers from the Indians settled on the Ohio, who brought a message in writing signed by sixteen chiefs of the Ohio Indians, expressing their desire to have peace with the English, and their intention to accede to this treaty.

The conferences were carried on with great harmony. The Indians solemnly

solemnly promised to return all the English prisoners. A message was sent to the Ohio Indians, accompanied by two English officers, a chief of the confederates, and several other Indians, informing them what had been done at this treaty, and inviting them to accede to it. And peace was solemnly ratified by a large piece of belt, which was delivered by the two governors to the confederate chiefs, and by them handed round to all the Indians present.

In the course of this treaty, his excellency our governor satisfied all Indians that had, or pretended to have, any claim of land in the provinces of New-Jersey, except English or private rights; and releases thereof were executed and acknowledged in presence of several of the chiefs of the confederate nations, who attested the same, and were afterwards published in open council; and his excellency governor Bernard gave a large belt to the Confederate Chiefs, to be a perpetual memorial, that the province of New Jersey was now wholly discharged from all Indian claims.

Commodore Keppel sailed from Kinsale, in Ireland, November 12, with the following forces, viz.

Bougeux man of war, Captain Knight, of 74 guns; Nassau, Capt. Sayer, of 70; Dunkirk, Capt. Digby, of 60; Litchfield, Capt. Barton, of 50; Prince Edward, Capt. Fortescue, of 40; Roman Emperor, Capt. Newson, of 20; Saltash sloop, Capt. Sterling; Fire Drake bomb, Capt. Orrock; Furnance bomb, Capt. Falketer; Cambridge and Lydia tenders, and transports, having on board Forbes's and another regiment.

Extract of a letter from New-York, dated November 20.

A proclamation is issued by the governor of Halifax, importing, that as the enemy have been compelled to retire from St. John's river in the bay of Fundy; a favourable opportunity is thereby given for the peopling and cultivating, as well the lands vacated by the French, as every other part of that valuable province. He therefore declares, that he will be ready to receive any proposals that may be hereafter made to him, for effectually settling the vacated or other lands in that province; 100,000 acres of which produce wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, &c. which never need manufacturing, as no part has failed of crops these hundred years. Another 100,000 acres are cleared, and stocked with English grass, planted with orchards, gardens, &c. The timber on the whole is beech, black birch, ash, oak, pine, fir, &c. The lands are so intermixed, that every single farmer may have a proportionable quantity of arable land, grass-land, and wood-land, and they are all situated about the bay of Fundy, upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen.

We hear from Dublin that the remarkable meteor mentioned from so many distant parts, was seen at Island-Bridge, near that city, on Sunday the 26th of November, at fifteen minutes past eight at night, almost at due east; it seemed like a pale moon, moved from south to north with a prodigious velocity, and dispersed or broke into many starry sparkles; its duration was not above three seconds.

A Dutch ship was lately brought into Stangate-Creek, that refused to bring

bring to, and engaged the Maidstone privateer a long time, and killed three of her people; her firing as a neutral ship makes her a good prize. — Had not the Volunteer privateer been at hand, of much superior force, she had destroyed the other privateer entirely.

12th. Late at night, died greatly lamented, her Royal Highness, Anne Princess Royal of England, Princess Dowager of Orange and Nassau, and Governante of the United Provinces in the minority of the present Stadtholder.

Her Royal Highness was in her fiftieth year. She was married March 25, 1734, to the late Prince of Orange, by whom she hath issue, Prince William, Hereditary Stadtholder of the United Provinces, born March 8, 1748, and Princess Caroline, born February 28, 1743. By her will, the King her father, and the Princess Dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, are appointed honorary tutor and tutoress to her children, and Prince Lewis of Brunswick acting tutor.

The morning after her Royal Highness's decease, the States General and the States of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and, upon the notification of this event being made to them, they proceeded to confirm the regulations that had been made for the minority of the Stadtholder; and his Highness Prince Lewis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he was received and seated with all the respect possible, and took the oaths, as representing the Captain-General of the Union. After which, his Highness communicated to the assembly, the act of her Royal Highness, by which he was appointed guardian of her

children; and that in consequence of it, he had taken care of their persons, and would provide for every thing belonging to them. This ceremony being over, Prince Lewis was likewise invited to the assembly of the States General. A resolution was prepared and taken by their High Mightinesses, whereby they acknowledge and agree to the resolution of Holland, relative to Prince Lewis's representing the Captain-General. Every thing passed with great order and tranquility, and to the satisfaction of the people.

In the evening, the different colleges of the government made formal deputations to the Prince of Orange and Princess Caroline, who were assisted by Prince Lewis as their guardian and representative, and who answered in their presence for them both.

Just before her Royal Highness died, she gave a key to one of her court, desiring him to bring her a paper, which he would find in a place she named; which being brought accordingly, she signed it. This was her daughter's contract of marriage with the Prince of Nassau Weilbourg. She afterwards caused another paper to be brought to her, which she also signed; and desired that it might be delivered according to its address as soon as she should leave the world. This second paper was a letter to the States General, in which she intreated all the confederates to consent to the marriage of her daughter, and not to make any change in the regulations she had made, with regard to the tutelage of the young Prince and his education.

This letter also mentioned, that as the Prince of Nassau Weilbourg was not of the established religion, [that is, a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist]



it was stipulated in the contract of marriage, that all the children born of the marriage, should be baptised and educated in the established religion of Holland.

These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make a proper improvement of the education she had caused to be given them, and to live in good harmony; then embracing them with the utmost tenderness, she gave them her blessing. After this, she conversed with the greatest calmness with her principal courtiers for a few hours, and soon after expired.

The day before the Princess Royal died, the assembly of the States of Holland passed a formal resolution to fit out 25 men of war, instead of 18, and orders were immediately dispatched to the officers of the admiralty to get them ready as fast as possible.

13th. Mrs. Borrett, of Buntingford, in Hertfordshire, was brought to bed of three sons.

A vessel in the service of the ordnance, laden with stores for the ordnance-office, lying at anchor a little below Gillingham, took fire, and notwithstanding all possible assistance was sent from the dock-yard at Chatham, she was burnt to the water's edge, and all the stores, &c. chiefly cordage, consumed, to the value of 3 or 4000l.

15th. Two English officers, in quality of commissaries, arrived at Ostend, in order to treat with the governor of Dunkirk concerning a general exchange of French and English prisoners.

Six pirates from Suffex were brought under a strong guard of soldiers, and confined in the Marshalsea prison, upon the oaths of

their accomplices, having piratically plundered a Danish ship, some time since, which had on board the Marquis Pignatelli, ambassador extraordinary from his Catholick Majesty to the court of Denmark. The lords of the admiralty had proffered a reward of 500l. for the discovery of any of the persons concerned in this fact.

John Watkins, known by the name of Black John, died 17th. at Brikol, aged 78, who on his being prevented from possessing an estate in Gloucestershire, to which he is said to have been heir, made a vow never to be shaved, which he kept to his death, and a little before his exit, desired he might not be shaven. He was a beggar for about fifty years last past, and often lodged in a glass-house, though he had a room in the city, in which two hundred weight of silver and halfpence, and a considerable quantity of gold was found, all acquired by begging.

An order from the secretary's office at Whitehall, 18th. was sent down to all the sea-ports in England, to examine all passengers that may arrive in any ship which comes from Portugal, on account of the late affair at Lisbon. All the Jesuits colleges in that city are invited by troops, in order to cut off from those fathers, all manner of access and communication with one another.

The Count d'Affry presented his credentials to the 19th. States General as ambassador from the court of France.

Mr. Secretary Pitt, by his Majesty's command, presented to the House of Commons, the copy of a convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, concluded and signed at London, January 17, 1759,

and

and also the copy of a convention between his Majesty and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, signed the same day. — By this convention, 19,000 of the troops of Hesse are to be taken into the pay of Great Britain, instead of 12,000, the number lately employed in the British service; and the Landgrave is to receive, besides the ordinary pay of these troops, the sum of 60,000*l.* in consideration of his immense losses in support of the common cause.

Died lately Samuel Cox, of Hanslope, in Bucks, aged 93; his relief is 99. They had been married 70 years, and their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, amount to 153.

Admiralty Office. Whitehall.

Extract of a letter from Captain Tyrrell, of his Majesty's ship Buckingham, dated in the Old Road, St. Christopher's the 9th of November 1758, to John Moore Esq; commander in chief, &c. at the Leeward Islands.

" Agreeable to your orders, I failed on Thursday night from St. John's Road; the next morning I got between Guadalupe and Montserrat, and gave chase to a sail we espied in the N. W. which proved to be his Majesty's sloop the Weazle; and upon enquiry, having found that she had not met his Majesty's ship Bristol, I ordered Captain Boles to come on board, for directions for his farther proceedings.

While his orders were writing out, we discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, W. S. W. standing to S. S. W. Upon which we immediately gave chase; with all the sail we could possibly croud. About two o'clock we discovered that they were conveyed by a French man of war of 74 guns, and two large frigates.

About half an hour after two, the Weazle got so close, as to receive a whole broadside from the 74 gun ship, which did her little or no damage. I then made the signal to call the Weazle off, and gave her lieutenant orders not to go near the 74 gun ship, or the frigates, as the least of the latter was vastly superior to him in force, by following which advice, he could not come to fire a shot during the whole action, neither indeed could it be of any service.

Whilst I made all the sail I could, they were jogging on under their forefalls and topfalls; and when we came up within half a gun's shot, they made a running fight, in firing their stern chase, and the frigates sometimes raking fore and aft, annoyed me pretty much, but retarded their way so much, that I got up with my bowsprit almost over the Florissant's stern. Finding I could not bring him to a general action, I gave the Buckingham a yaw under his lee, and gave him a noble dose of great guns and small arms, at about the distance of half a musket shot, which he soon after returned, and damaged my rigging, masts, and sails, pretty much. The largest frigate being very troublesome, I gave him a few of my lower deck pills, and sent him a scouting like a lusty fellow, and he never returned to the action again. The Florissant likewise bore away, by which means he got under my lee; and exchanged three or four broadsides, (he endeavoured to keep at a distance from me) which killed and wounded some of my men; and I presume we did them as much damage, as our men were very cool, took good aim, were under very good discipline, and fought with a true English spirit.

An unlucky broadside from the French made some slaughter on my quarter-deck, in which I got wounded, losing three fingers of my right hand, and a small wound over my right eye, which, by the effusion of blood, blinded me for a little while: I at the same time got several contusions over my body by splinters; but I recovered immediately, and would not go off the deck till the loss of blood began to weaken me. The master and lieutenant of the marines got dangerously wounded at the same time.

I called to my people to stand by and do their duty, which they promised with the greatest cheerfulness. I just ran down, and got the blood stopped, and ran upon deck again; but finding the straining made my wounds bleed afresh, I sent for my first lieutenant, and told him to take the command of the deck for a while. He answered, that he would, and run alongside the *Florissant*, yard-arm and yard-arm, and fight to the last gasp; upon which I made a speech to the men, exhorting them to do their utmost, which they cheerfully promised, and gave three cheers.

I went down a second time much more easy than before. Poor Mr. Marshal was as good as his word; he got board and board with the *Florissant*, and received a broadside from her, which killed him as he was encouraging the men; and thus he died, an honour to his country, and the service. The second lieutenant then came upon deck, and fought the ship bravely, yard-arm and yard-arm. We silenced the *Florissant* for some time; upon which she hauled down her colours, and after that, fired about eleven of her lower tier, and gave us a volley of

small arms, which our people returned with great fury, giving her three broadsides, she not returning even a single gun. Capt. Troye, at the same time, at the head of his marines, performed the service of a brave and gallant officer, cleared her poop and quarter-deck, and drove her men like sheep down the main deck; our top-men were not idle, they playing their hand-grenades and swivels to excellent purpose. It is impossible to describe the uproar and confusion the French were in.

It being now dark, and we having every bit of rigging in the ship cut away, she seeing our condition took the opportunity, set her fore-sail and top-gallant-sails, and ran away. We endeavoured to pursue her with what rags of sails we had left, but to no purpose. Thus we lost one of the finest two-deck ships my eyes ever beheld.

I cannot give too great encomiums on the people and officers behaviour, and I hope you will strenuously recommend my officers to the Lords of the Admiralty, as they richly deserve their favour. Notwithstanding the great fatigue the ship's company had had all day, they cheerfully staid all night, knotting and splicing the rigging, and bending the sails.

I flatter myself, when you reflect, that one of the ships of your squadron, with no more than 65 guns (as you know some of our guns were disabled last January, and not supplied) and but 472 well men at quarters, should beat three French men of war, one of 74 guns, and 700 men; another of 38 guns, and 350 men; and one of 28 guns, and 250 men. If we had had the good luck to join the *Bristol*, it would have crowned all.

Capa

Capt. Boles being on board the Buckingham, I gave him directions to go down and superintend the lower deck, which he performed with great alacrity.

As we have been so greatly damaged in our masts, yards, sails, and rigging, particularly our masts, I thought proper to send the carpenter of the Buckingham, as he can better give you an account by word of mouth, of what fishes we shall want, than many words of my writing.

Before I conclude, I cannot help representing to you the inhuman, ungenerous and barbarous behaviour of the French during the action. No rascally piccaroon, or pirate, could have fired worse stuff into us, than they did, such as square bits of iron, old rusty nails, and, in short, every thing that could tend to the destruction of men; a specimen of which, please God, I shall produce to you upon my arrival."

I send you inclosed a list of the slain and wounded.

Killed, 1 officer, 5 seamen, 1 marine. Much wounded, 3 officers, 9 seamen, 3 marines. Slightly wounded, 2 midshipmen, 26 seamen, 3 marines. Died of their wounds, 1 midshipman, 1 seaman.

N. B. The officer killed was Mr. George Marshal, first lieutenant; and the officers wounded were, Capt. Tyrrell; Mr. Matthew Winterborne, master; and Mr. Harris, lieutenant of the marines.

Admiral Boscawen laid before the parliament, (pursuant to order) an account of the number of men prest into his Majesty's service from Christmas 1754, to Christmas 1757; also an account of the number of men and boys pre-

sted during that time. This was done with a view to the framing a bill now depending for the more effectual manning the royal navy.

The news from Holland, 26th, by the mail of this day, is, that a formal declaration hath been made, That if either the province of Holland, or the trading towns in it, should, without the consent of the States General, fit out and send to sea, 18 or 25 ships of war, to protect their trade, as they may pretend, (which they are not empowered to do by the act of Union) such ships of war will be treated as pirates: and that, if the States General should send a fleet to sea, for the same pretended purpose, it will be considered as a declaration of war.

The following letter was received from the Honourable Commodore Keppel by the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt. 27th.

S I R,

I arrived here with the Squadron under my command the 28th of December past in the evening; and the next morning, agreeable to his Majesty's instructions, I attacked with the ships, the fort and batteries on the island of Goree, which were soon reduced to desire to capitulate; and the governor's demands were, to be allowed to march the French troops out of the garrison with the honours of war. His terms I absolutely rejected, and began a fresh attack; it was, however, but of very short duration, when the island, forts, garrison, &c. surrendered at discretion to his Majesty's Squadron.

Lieutenant Colonel Worge had his troops embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, in good order and readiness,

readiness, at a proper distance, with the transports, to attempt a descent, when it should be found practicable or requisite.

Two days after the surrender of the island, I ordered it to be delivered up with the cannon, artillery, stores, and provisions, &c. found in it, to the officer and troops, Lieutenant Colonel Worge thought fit to garrison the place with; and the Colonel is taking all imaginable pains to settle and regulate the garrison in the best manner, and as fast as things will admit of.

The inclosed, Sir, is the state of the island, with the artillery, ammunition, and provisions found in the place at its surrender.

French, made prisoners of war, 300.

Blacks in arms, a great number; but I am not well enough informed as yet to say precisely.

The loss the enemy sustained, as to men, is so very differently stated to me, by those that have been asked, that I must defer saying the number till another opportunity.

Iron ordnance, of different bores, 93; one brass 12 pounder; iron swivels mounted on carriages, 11; brass mortars mounted on beds, two of 13 inches; ditto, one of 10 inches; iron, one of 10 inches. In the magazine, powder, 100 barrels. Provisions of all species for 400 men for four months.

[The isle of Goree is about two English miles in compass. It lies N. W. and S. S. E. within cannon shot of the continent. It is almost inaccessible, being surrounded with rocks, or inclosed with a ridge of black and round pebbles and stones, except a small bay to the E. N. E. The anchorage is good round the isle, especially in this little bay.

The soil is a red sandy mould, and unfit for pasture.]

Letter from Capt. Barton, of the Litchfield man of war, stranded on the coast of Barbary, at a place called Veadore, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, dated December 4.

I am sorry to inform you that on the 29th of November his Majesty's ship Litchfield, of 50 guns, and 350 men, was cast away here. We have lost the first lieutenant, captain of the marines, and his lieutenant, with several officers and seamen, amounting to the number of 130. There is of us on shore, two of my lieutenants, and other officers and seamen, amounting to 220. It blew so hard when we came on shore, that the ship soon went to pieces, and we could not save provisions or any other necessaries. For these two days past we have been on shore, and have subsisted on drowned sheep and hogs, and water and flour hardened on the fire. A great number of men lamed by the bruises received against the rocks by the violence of the surf. The poor sufferers were extremely ill used by the natives when they got ashore. The Somerset, a transport with troops, and a bomb ketch, which were in company with the Litchfield, are said to have shared the same fate.

Letter from Samuel White, Esq; the British consul at Vigo, dated December 17.

Four days ago came in here a French privateer called La Favorite, Capt. Sarnel, who, on the 27th past, fell in with an English brig, pink-stern, about 100 tons burthen, boarded her, and found only two Genoese. Seeing the vessel all bloody on the deck, and that all the papers

papers had been thrown overboard, he suspected they had murdered the captain and crew; and taxing them with the fact, they confessed that they had killed the captain, his son, and every soul, being seven in all. The cruel way they perpetrated this massacre was as follows: Each of these villains was in different watches, one in the master's, the other in the mate's. He that was in the mate's watch went down with them to sleep, and waited till he found them all fast, then cut all their throats, stabbed them, and left them all dead. The captain being on the deck, knew nothing of this. This fellow then came upon the deck, and told his comrade what he had done below; upon which, they both at once fell on the captain, and cleaved him down with a hatchet; being not quite dead, they finished him with a musket; and the man at the helm, they cut in two; and so made an end of them all but the captain's son, who was left three days crying for his father. The third day they said, that as he squalled like a cat, they would dispatch him likewise; so they cut the child in two. The vessel is sent to Bayeaux in France, with these two villains in her. She was, they say, the Peggy, Capt. Forman; was coming from Carolina to Lisbon; and had got within 60 leagues of the rock of Lisbon, when this horrid barbarity was perpetrated.

His Majesty's ships Royal 29th. George and Namur, sailed from Spithead, in order to come into harbour; but just as they got abreast of the platform, the wind took them short, and the Namur ran aground; the lighters and boats in the harbour came instantly to her assistance; the upper-deck guns

were got out, the water and bear aboard staved, and the ship made as light as possible, and shored; but as the water left her, it being ebbing tide, she took a list to the star-board side, and lay in that manner till eleven at night, when they warpt her into the channel without much damage.

At Mr. Bray's a foundry in Hosier-Lane, near West-Smithfield, a Spanish shell, by lying too near the forge, as they were melting copper, burst with an explosion so extraordinary, that five men who were at work, though they were no otherwise hurt, did not recover their hearing for some minutes. The whole neighbourhood were alarmed by the report, and the glass in some windows were much shattered. When the pieces were collected, they weighed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  less than when the shell burst.

The latest accounts from Spain, say, that ever since the death of the Queen, the King hath kept himself immured at Villa Viciosa, where he shuts himself up in a chamber, abandoning himself to grief and melancholy in a manner, of which there are few examples. He will not hear of any business. He often passes thirty, sometimes sixty hours, without taking any food, or even the least rest, but by intervals; laying himself down across chairs. His constitution, naturally good, is daily impaired by this kind of life. He is much wasted; and a slow fever, which sometimes increases much, wears him insensibly. He hath never suffered himself to be shaved, nor put on clean linen since the fifth of September. He remains unmoved by the most respectful, and the most vehement representations. The care and skill of

the ablest physicians have produced no effect. The nation, naturally devout, hath recourse to saints and relics. Amidst these melancholy circumstances, he hath, however, been prevailed with to make his will. The count of Valdeparaiso performed the office of notary on that occasion, and the Duke of Bejar, high-chancellor, signed it for the King. The infant Don Lewis stays constantly at the palace of Villa Viciosa; but he doth not see the King, who will see nobody. His Royal Highness amuses himself, from time to time, with hunting, to avoid, perhaps, falling into his disorder.

The mountain, called General's-Berge-Sund, near Stockholm, in Sweden, lately tumbled down with a dreadful concussion; it overwhelmed two loaded waggons, with their drivers, and the enormous pieces that fell from it rolled to the distance of many hundred paces.

+ There was sold lately in Smith-field market, a calf, only nineteen weeks old, for five pounds seven shillings and six pence, and weighed 316lb. This calf was bred by Mr. Sutton, of Downham, near Bille-ricay, in Essex.

His Majesty hath been pleased to order, that a form of thanksgiving for the ceasing of the distemper amongst the cattle, be composed, and sent throughout the kingdom, to be used in all churches and chapels on Sunday the eighth of February next.

As a singular instance of the exceeding great luxuriancy in vegetation of some plants this last wet summer, the following account of a radish now in the possession of Roger North, Esq; of Rougham, in Norfolk, may justly merit the attention of the public. The diameter of the

spread of the leaves cross the tuft or top, measured three feet eleven inches; the length of the root is two feet six inches and a half; the girth, near the top of the root, twenty inches and a half; at the bottom ten inches; and the whole plant when fresh, weighed sixteen pounds four ounces. This grew in the garden of Mr. William Davy, of Inglethorp, in Norfolk.

A gentleman in the county of Galway, in Ireland, hath kept, at his own expence, for above thirty years past, eighteen poor children, whom he compleatly cloaths, and gives them their education, in reading, writing and arithmetic, at the expence of only twelve pounds a year, which is a less cost than a small pack of hounds.

As the importation of Irish provisions is continued by act of parliament, it may be useful to many poor families to know the method of making the salt butter palatable, by taking from it any rankness or disagreeable taste, it may acquire by long keeping. The quantity proposed to be made use of, either for toasts or melting, must be put into a bowl filled with boiling water, and when the butter is melted, skim it quite off; by this method it is so separated from any gross particles, that it may require a small addition of salt, which may be put into the cold water, that is made use of in melting butter for sauce; and tho' the butter is oiled by hot water, it becomes a fine cream in the boiling for sauce.

Letters from Lisbon of the 30th ult. advise, that a most dangerous and wicked conspiracy against the life of his most faithful Majesty, having been happily discovered, a number of persons had been arrested by the

the King's order, of whom the following are the principal, viz.

Duke de Aveiro, marquis of Tavora, father, marquis of Tavora, son, Joseph Maria, son of the said marquis, Joseph Maria, brother to the said marquis, the Count de Atouguia, Manuel de Tavora, marquis de Alloria, Don Manuel de Souza, Nuno de Tavora, John de Tavora, with all their families.

A placart has been published, in which the King makes known his most providential escape on the third of September last, when he was attacked, at eleven o'clock at night, near the palace, by three of the conspirators; armed with three blunderbusses; loaded with large shot; one of the blunderbusses missed fire, but the others made two large holes in the back of the carriage the King was in, and wounded him in the arm, of which his Majesty is now happily recovered, without the least hurt remaining.

The same placart promised certain honours and rewards for the discovery of any of the criminals, with a pardon to any of the accomplices, except the principals.

His most faithful Majesty has resumed the government of the kingdom.

And the following persons have, we hear, been since taken up, viz. the Count de Harlogie, the Marquis de l'Orne, Don Emanuel de Souza Caljary, and Don Antonio da Costa, grand justiciary of the kingdom; together with some of the chief Jesuits.

In the proclamation which the King published, to inform his subjects of the conspiracy, it is said, amongst other things, 'That the authors of this horrible plot had spread a report beforehand, that the King would not live long, and

even fixed the time of his death to the month of September 1758.'

They write from Franckfort, that on the second instant, at ten in the morning, the regiment of Nassau presenting themselves as if they only wanted to pass through the city, a detachment of the garrison went to meet them, by way of ceremony, as is usual, and conducted them as far as Saxenhausen-gate; but instead of proceeding further, the said regiment took post there, seized the grand guard, and likewise mastered the gunners guard. Soon after, the regiments of Beauvoisins, Rohan, Rochefort, Bentheim, and Roy Deux Ponts, came and occupied the principal places; and thus, while the inhabitants least suspected it, the French troops made that imperial city the head quarters of the Prince of Soubise.

This treacherous incroachment upon the privileges of a free imperial city, is highly resented throughout Germany; and even the court of Vienna seems displeased at it, the Empress having wrote in very strong terms upon the subject, to the court of Versailles; but as this city has always appeared favourable towards the King of Prussia, her imperial Majesty's sincerity may be suspected, especially if the French should hold the possession they have thus taken.

There died lately the following remarkable persons.

Mr. Vilant, professor of civil history in the university of St. Andrew's, aged 99.

William Barnes, at Brodie-house, Scotland, aged 109, he had been a servant in the Brodie family ever since 1681.

Katherine Mackenzie, at Foxles-Castle, in Rosshire, aged 118, on December 14.



Janet Blair, of Monimusk, in Aberdeenshire, aged 112.

Alexander Stephens, in Bamfshire, aged 108.

Janet Harper, at Bain's-Hole, Scotland, aged 107.

Thomas Bonn, at Litchfield, aged 82, said to be the original from whom Mr. Faquhar took his character of Scrub, in the *Beaux Stratagem*. He was servant in Sir Tho. Bidulph's family great part of his life.

Katherine Mackenzie, in Ross-shire, aged 103.

A certain artist at Vienna has constructed an automaton, dressed in the habit of an Austrain gentleman, with a pen in one hand, and a standish in the other: after dipping the former in the latter, he strikes upon a sheet of paper a kind of spiral line, and in the spaces between appears the following inscription: *Augustæ domui Austriacæ et imperatori Deus nec metas nec finem ponet*: That is, 'That God has not set either bounds or period to the august house of Austria, or to the Emperor.' His imperial Majesty has bought the piece, and settled a considerable pension on the inventor.

There have died in the said city and suburbs, during the year 1758, 1554 men, 1551 women, 2004 male children, and 1685 female; in all 6798; the number of christenings amounts to 5267. So that the number of burials exceeds that of christenings by 1531: the number of burials in the year 1758 exceeds that in 1757 by 239; and that of the births is less by 117.

The number of burials in Amsterdam last year was 7189 (which is 900 less than the year before) christenings 4270, weddings 2417, vessels arrived in the Texel 1326.

The number of burials last year in Paris, was 21,120; christenings 19,369; marriages 4089; foundlings 4969.

Letter from Whitby, dated January 23, 1759.

Yesterday a very extraordinary fish was brought in here by our fishermen, which broke into three pieces as they were hauling it into the coble. It was eleven feet four inches long, exclusive of the tail; had a head like a turbot or bratt; was about a foot broad near its head, but not above four or five inches near the tail, and not any where more than three inches thick. The thickest part was its belly, and it gradually diminished away towards the back, which was sharp, and had all along it one continued fin, from the head to the tail. It was covered with an infinite number of white scales, which stuck to, and dyed every thing that it touched; and might be said in some sort to resemble the quicksilvered back of a looking-glass. It appeared, when laid on the sand, like a long oak plank; and was such a fish as nobody here ever saw before, which caused a vast concourse of people round it during the whole day.

LIONEL CHARLTON.

## F E B R U A R Y.

At six this evening George 1st. Guest of Birmingham, who had laid a considerable wager that he walked a thousand miles in twenty-eight days, finished his journey with great ease. It should seem that he had lain by for bets, for in the two last days he had 106 miles to walk, but walked them with so little fatigue to himself, that to shew his agility,

agility, he walked the last six miles within the hour, tho' he had six hours good to do it in.

The following odd accident happened on new-year's day last: several gentlemen being out a fox-hunting, unkennelled, a fox near a place called Wellington, in Shropshire, and pursued him as far as the Clee-Hill, near Ludlow; upon which hill are a number of coal-pits, so that travellers are obliged to use much caution on some parts of the hill, for fear of falling in. Upon the top of this hill the hounds had the fox in view, almost tired, and close at his heels, when in the sight of numbers of sportsmen (who were obliged to keep off for fear of the pits) the fox threw himself into one of them, and the dogs being quite lost on the scent, no less than six couple of the foremost threw themselves after him; five of them were killed on the spot, and the rest much hurt. Several workmen were in the pit (which was near 60 yards deep) who were very much frightened at so unusual an affair.

2d. Eight desperate fellows, part of a gang of fourteen living in and near Thaxted in Essex, were committed to Chelmsford goal; one of whom has since turned evidence. These villains, besides robbing on the highway, have been the terror of the country round by breaking into houses in the dead of the night, using the frightened people cruelly, and taking from them plate, linen, jewels, and money. It is computed that this gang has raised by plunder upwards of 10,000l.

3d. Extract from this day's London Gazette.

Lisbon, Jan. 29. On the first instant, the count de Obiros, and the count de Ribeira-grande, were sent

to the castle of St. Julian, and guards placed at the doors of their respective dwelling-houses; but in general, it is thought that these two gentlemen are not implicated in the conspiracy, but rather that they may have been too free of speech. On Thursday the fourth instant, the dutchess of Aveiro, the countess of Atouguia, and the marchioness of Alorna, and their children, were sent to different nunneries. On Friday, the 11th instant, eight jesuits were taken into custody. A council was appointed by the King, for the trial of the prisoners, composed of the three secretaries of state, the person acting as chief justice in the room of the duke of Alagoens, who is still indisposed, and five other judges, the solicitor for the crown being present. The whole process was closed on Thursday the 9th instant. The marchioness of Tavora, wife to the general of horse, was brought on Wednesday the 10th, from the convent das Grilas, to the place where the other criminals were confined; this lady was one of the chief instruments in this conspiracy.

Saturday the 13th instant, being the day appointed for the execution, a scaffold had been built in the square, opposite to the house where the prisoners were confined, and eight wheels fixed upon it. On one corner of the scaffold was placed Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, and on the other corner the effigy of Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo, who is still missing; these being the two persons that fired at the back of the King's equipage. About half an hour after eight in the morning, the execution began. The criminals were brought out one by one, each under a strong guard. The marchioness

nels of Tavora was the first that was brought upon the scaffold, where she was beheaded at one stroke. Her body was afterwards placed upon the floor of the scaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young Joseph Maria of Tavora, the young marquis of Tavora, the count of Atouguia, and three servants of the duke of Aveiro, were first strangled at a stake, and afterwards their limbs broken with an iron instrument; the marquis of Tavora, general of horse, and the duke of Aveiro, had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bare-headed to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when Antonio Alvarez Ferreira was brought to the stake, whose sentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were exposed to his view; the combustible matter, which had been laid under the scaffolding, was set on fire, and the whole machine, with the bodies, were consumed to ashes, and thrown into the sea.

A reward of 10,000 crowns is offered to whoever shall apprehend the person of Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo.

The embargo was taken off the shipping the 16th instant; the three English men of war, the merchant ships under their convoy, and the Hanover packet, which sailed the 31st of December, are the only ships that have gone out of this port from the 10th of December to the day the embargo was taken off.

The King and the royal family assisted on Monday the 15th instant, at a Te Deum sung at the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Livramento, in thanksgiving for his most faithful

majesty's happy recovery. As this was the first time that his majesty had appeared abroad, great demonstrations of joy were shewn by the people, to whom the King was pleased to give the satisfaction of waving his handkerchief, first in one hand, then in the other, to shew that he had the use of both. Te Deum for the King's recovery has also been sung in all the churches and chapels throughout the kingdom.

We are likewise informed by private letters from Lisbon, that on the 6th ult. all the estates and effects of the Jesuits in the kingdom of Portugal were sequestered, since which they have begun to make an inventory of all the estates, moveable and immoveable, money, jewels, &c. of the society, each of whom is allowed but 10 sols a day for his subsistence: and they have even already begun to sell some of their effects by auction, and to let some of their land estates to farm, tho' none of these proceedings have as yet been authorized by any bull from Rome.

The same letters add, that the duke d'Aveiro confessed when put to the torture, and persisted in it till the last, that he was drawn into the conspiracy against the king by the three Jesuits (one an Italian, the others Portuguese) who had been dismissed from being confessors to the royal family. These three are confined in separate prisons, and have no mercy to expect; but the government will punish none of the members of this society till they know the whole number concerned in the plot, one of whom is, it seems, the father rector of the Jesuits college of St. Patrick; for after a long examination by the secretary of state, he had been committed to prison.

Hague,

Hague, Feb. 6. The first of this month there came here a fresh deputation from the merchants of Amsterdam; who on receiving advice that the cargoes of the Dutch West-India ships detained by the English, which took in their cargoes in the manner called *overschippen*, would be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, and that the admiralty had given them only till the 26th instant to produce proofs to the contrary, have petitioned the States General to use their intercession, representing to them the impossibility of their furnishing the proofs required in a short time, and that as St. Eustatia has but one road where the ships have no other way to take in their cargo but that of *overschippen*, this is, to take the goods out of the French boats to put them on board the Dutch vessels, such a sentence of the admiralty would give the coup de grace to the trade of that colony.

At the court of King's 7th. Bench, the case was debated in relation to the affair of Mr. Beardmore, under sheriff for the county of Middlesex; when he was found guilty of a contempt of court, in not discharging the duty of his office, by causing the sentence of Dr. Shebeare to be duly executed.—The fact was, Dr. Shebeare, by the sentence of the court of King's Bench pronounced upon him, was to have stood in and upon the pillory; but it was proved that he stood upon the pillory only.

15th. Died Geo. Cha. Emilius, posthumous son of the late prince of Prussia, at Berlin.

17th. A court martial, General Noel president, was held for the trial of two officers of distinction, who contest the honour of heading the troops that were left at

St. Cas, after the death of General Dury. The officers are the colonels Cary and Lambert.

Notice was this day given from the war office, that, for the future, whoever intends to purchase a commission in the army, should first inform himself, whether the commission, for which he is in treaty, may be sold with the King's leave: and, in all instances, where it shall be found that any money, or other consideration, has been given for a commission, not openly sold with the leave of his majesty, the person obtaining such commission will be superfluous.

The stationers company 22d. have given 50 l. and the fishmongers company 100 l. to the marine society, their second subscription. Each company gave 100 l. before.

The Ruby, a transport ship from St. John's, with 400 French prisoners, was lost off the westward islands. Only seventy of the people were saved.

By the new treaty with the King of Prussia, his Prussian majesty is to receive the same subsidy as last year which was 670,000 l.

And by the treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, that prince in consideration of the immense losses he hath sustained by his steady adherence to the common cause, is to receive a subsidy of 60,000 l.

Amongst the variety of the uncommon vegetable productions in the last year, the following seems not the least extraordinary, viz. a turnep which was pulled up at or near Tudenham, in Norfolk, weighed upwards of 29 pounds.

A gentleman who lately came from Chester informs, that one Tho. Siddal, a gardener in the suburbs

of that city, has now in his possession a potato, which he lately dug out of his own garden, that weighs seventeen pounds four ounces avoirdupois, measures in circumference thirty-eight inches, and in length forty-seven inches and an half.

Reading, Feb. 10. Among the many remarkable instances of the forwardness of the present spring, we are well assured, that in the parish of Caversham near this town, there is now a nest with young thrushes nearly fledged. At Sunnyfide and Bishop Wearmouth, near Sunderland, they have gooseberries, as large as peas, upon the bushes, which seem to stand and be in a thriving condition.

Birmingham, Feb. 19. On Monday se'nnight a mare of Mr. Stokes's, of Kinsale, in Staffordshire, died; she fell ill the day before, and, on being opened by Mr. Clewes, a farrier of the same place, who had the care of her, had in the rectum, or gut nearest the fundament, a stone which weighed a pound and ten ounces, being larger than the passage would receive, and in the colon or large gut was found another stone, which weighed one pound fourteen ounces and an half, and measured twelve inches round. They are like Brazil bowls, and when struck together sound like pebble stones.

Letters from France give an account, that the count de St. Florentine was harangued on the 8th inst. at his audience in the Louvre, by a young girl of nine years and a half, living on his estate at Chateau-neuf, who was born deaf and dumb, and who had been by that minister committed to the care of the Sieur Pe-

reire, remarkable for his talent of learning the dumb to speak.

In the evening between seven and eight o'clock, Mrs. 23d.

Walker, wife of the late Mr. Leonard Walker, timber merchant, of Rotherhith, was barbarously murdered at her own house, by Mary Edmonson, her niece, about twenty years of age. The particulars are as follows: Mrs. Walker sent into Yorkshire the beginning of the winter, for this niece, to come and live with her as a companion, but her behaviour not answering her aunt's expectation, her aunt told her she should go to some good service as soon as the spring came on. A fortnight before the murder, the niece, at night, went into the yard, and made a noise by throwing down the washing-tubs, and then run in and told her aunt, that four men broke into the yard; but upon alarming the neighbours none could be found. This fatal evening the niece went backwards and made the same noise as before, and the deceased missing her niece some time, and hearing a noise went backward, to call assistance: upon which her niece, who had hid herself, seized her aunt, and with a case knife immediately cut her throat, and she died in a few minutes; her niece then dragged her out of the wash-house into the parlour, took her aunt's watch from her side, some silver spoons, and the bloody knife, and hid them under the water tub; her apron being soaked with blood, she put under the copper, and put on a clean one; and then to hide her guilt, cut her own wrist across, and went out and cry'd, her aunt was murdered by four men, who gag'd her, and in endeavouring to save her aunt, they cut

cut her across her wrist. But the gentlemen in the neighbourhood having a strong suspicion of her being the person, they secured her, and upon examination, she confessed the fact. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict wilful murder against her; upon which she was committed to the new goal in Southwark.

24th. Came on at doctors commons, before Sir Thomas Salisbury, Knt. judge of the high court of admiralty, the trials of a number of Dutch ships taken by men of war and privateers; when the cargoes of upwards of 50 of them were condemned as legal prizes. Appeals were lodged against the sentence by the owners of most of them.

Died Mr. Bedell, late an ironmonger in Old-street, aged 100.

At ten at night, was felt at Liskeard in Cornwall, a slight shock of an earthquake, which extended north and south six miles, and about four leagues east and west; it was a vibratory motion, and continued about two or three seconds. George Thomson, esq; apprehensive of what it was, went out to observe the air, and saw multitudes of blood-red rays converging from all parts of the heavens to one dark point, but no luminous body. The phenomenon disappeared in 15 minutes.

28th. The treaty between England and Denmark, which had for some time been negotiating, is broke off; his Danish majesty being determined to adhere to his neutrality.

The Pope has issued a decree, allowing the bible to be translated into the language of all the catholic countries.

They write from Madrid of the 6th of February, that the news they had received five or six days before from Villa Viciosa, where the King resides, had thrown the whole city into the greatest consternation, by representing the King at the very point of death; but that this crisis had been followed with a calm which had dissipated their fears; that the King had been for a whole day in as favourable a way as could be desired, and that the letters on the 6th instant had brought an account that his majesty had slept very well.

One Susanna Hannokes, an elderly woman of Wingrove near Aylesbury, was accused by a neighbour for bewitching her spinning wheel, so that she could not make it go round, and offered to make oath of it before a magistrate; on which the husband, in order to justify his wife, insisted upon her being tried by the church bible, and that the accuser should be present: accordingly she was conducted to the parish church, where she was stripped of all her cloaths to her shift and under-coat, and weighed against the bible: when, to the no small mortification of her accuser, she outweighed it, and was honourably acquitted of the charge.

A very tragical affair happened some time ago at St. Eustatia: A Negro who was at work on a ship in the harbour, having had some words with a white person, in his passion stabbed him; upon which another Negroe told him, that he would certainly be put to death; and that, if he had killed twenty, they could do no more to him: thereupon the fellow, in a fit of desperation, immediately jumped over-board,

board, and swam to shore, with a knife in his hand; and the first person he met with happened to be an English sailor, whom the villain instantly cut across the belly, so that his bowels appeared: this done, he in a moment ran into a woollen-draper's shop, and stabbed a young fellow sitting behind the counter; he then ran into the street, and wounded desperately one or two others. By this time the people were greatly alarmed; but the fellow being desperate, every body shunned him: the governor offered a reward to any one who would take him alive, and a sailor undertook it, armed with a musket; but if he found it impracticable, he was to shoot him.—The Negroe, who was then at the wharf side, alone, saw him coming, and met him with great resolution; he made an essay to stab the sailor, by giving a sudden leap upon him, but the tar avoided it, and struck at him, with the butt end of his musket, and broke his arm: upon which, with great intrepidity, he got his knife into the other hand, and made another push at the sailor, but with as little success as the former; and by another blow, he was, with the assistance of some other persons who had gathered, secured alive. He was immediately brought to trial, and condemned; and next day hung upon a gibbet, in irons, alive, where he continued in the greatest agonies, and shrieking in the most terrible manner, for near three days. His greatest cry was, water, water, water; it being extreme hot weather, and the sun full upon him.

The city of Petersburg has suffered prodigiously from the mildness of the winter; the sledges that usu-

ally supplied the inhabitants with all the necessaries of life from immense distances, have been rendered useless for want of frost and snow to level the roads; provisions have therefore risen to the most extravagant prices, and the poor citizens have felt all the calamities of a famine, notwithstanding the abundance with which the people in the country are every where supplied.

### M A R C H.

The Hon. Commodore 1st.  
Keppel, with the *Torbay* of 74, *Nassau* of 64, *Fougeux* of 64, and *Dunkirk* of 60, arrived at Portsmouth. They sailed from the island of *Goree* about the 27th of January, and left all quiet.

Died the Rev. Mr. Tate, rector of Burnham, near Windsor, aged 98.

Advice was received at the Admiralty from Capt. 3d.  
Hood, of the *Vesta* of 32 guns, and 220 men, that on the 21st of February he fell in with the *Bellona* a French frigate of the same force from Martinico, with dispatches from the governor for the French court; and that after a desperate engagement of four hours, he had taken her and brought to Spithead. The *Vesta's* lieutenant found more than 30 dead upon the deck, when he took possession of the *Bellona*, and the French acknowledged they threw 10 or 12 overboard. When she struck she had only her foremast standing without either yard or top-mast; and when Capt. Hood brought to, all his own top-mast fell over the side; the lowermost mast would likewise have gone, had not the weather proved very fine. The *Vestal*

Vestal had five killed and 22 wounded. When Capt. Hood first gave chase, the Trent was about four miles to leeward, and gave chase at the same time; when the engagement began the Trent was out of sight; when the Bellona struck the Trent was about the same distance off as at first setting out. The Bellona left Martinico the 16th of January, in company with the Florissant, and a frigate of her own force. They were all chased by a part of Commodore Moore's squadron, from whom the Bellona got clear by superiority of sailing; but did not know how it fared with her companions. The English troops landed on the very day that she set sail.

General Abercrombie arrived at Portsmouth, in the Kensington man of war from North-America.

Advice was received from 4th. Harwich, that the Dutch mail of the 23d ult. was unluckily thrown over-board by a mistake. The vessel that brought it was Dutch, and being boarded by a privateer, hastily concluded it must be an enemy; but, upon enquiry, found it to be an English cruizer, Capt. Gilby of London.

A native of Norway has proposed a scheme for catching cod in the open seas, and for curing them as fast as they are caught, in such quantities as to load four ships in as many days.

M. Boreel, M. Vander Poll, and M. Meerman, the ministers from the States General of the United Provinces arrived in town from Holland. Their secret instructions are, 1. That those gentlemen are to insist on the speedy release of the Dutch vessels. 2. That they are

not to recede from a point of the draught of the declaration of Jan. 25. And 3. Not to agree to any innovation in the article of contraband, but adhere to what is expressed in the treaty of 1674.

Gum Senegal, with which the Dutch have for a long 7th. time supplied the English at an extravagant price, is now purchased by them to supply the French; and this day no less than 276 cwt. was entered at the custom-house on their account.

Sandfort corn-mills, near 9th. Hurst, in Berks, were consumed by fire; damage 1500l.

At a sessions of admiralty, at the Old-Bailey, Nicholas Wingfield and Adams Hyde were capitally convicted; Thomas Kent, Thomas Wingfield, Thomas Lewis, and John Ayre, acquitted. Dr. Hay, one of the commissions of the admiralty, and his majesty's advocate-general, sat as judge of the court, in the room of Sir Thomas Salisbury whose lady is dead; Mr. Justice Wilmot, and Mr. Justice Noel, and several doctors of the civil law, were upon the bench. These prosecutions were carried on at the expence of the crown, in order to vindicate the honour of the nation; and the council in support of the indictments were the attorney and solicitor general, Mr. Gould, Dr. Bettefworth, Mr. Hussy, and Mr. Nash. Mr. Stowe, and two other gentlemen, were for the prisoners. It appeared upon the trials, that Nicholas Wingfield and Adams Hyde, the masters of two privateer cutters, had feloniously and piratically boarded the ship De Reisende Jacob, assaulted Jurgan Muller, the master thereof, and robbed him of twenty



twenty casks of butter, value 20 l. on Aug. 11, 1758. Thomas Wingfield and Thomas Kent were acquitted, because no evidence appeared against them that could affect them, in relation to the fact. Thomas Lewis and John Hyre were indicted for piratically and feloniously boarding and robbing the ship *Two Brothers*, commanded by Klaas Henderike Swartd, of five casks of indigo, value 100 l. on November 17, 1758. But as there was the strongest and most corroborating proof that they were not at sea on that day, not could possibly be guilty of the fact, they were acquitted.

A fire broke out in his Majesty's rope-yard at Woolwich in the open day, which instantly gained in such a manner upon the workmen, that had it not been for immediate help from the docks, the whole yard must have been consumed, to the almost irreparable damage of this nation. It broke out by the boiling over of a tar-kettle.

10th. Joseph Halsey was tried for the murder of Daniel Davidson on the high seas, about 100 leagues from Cape Finisterre, found guilty, and immediately sentenced to the usual punishment of such crimes. The court afterwards passed sentence on the forementioned convicts, and then adjourned.

The ship which Halsey (who was but twenty-three years of age) commanded, during the illness, and after the death of Capt. Gallop, sailed from Jamaica in July last, in company with a large fleet, under convoy of two men of war, one of which was the *Sphinx*. Soon after they left Jamaica, the ship proving leaky, they were obliged to keep one hand at work constantly at the

pump. Davidson being sickly, and not able to clear the ship during his half hour, Halsey not only compelled him to pump till he had cleared it, but pump his [Halsey's] half hour besides. Soon after, Halsey put the ship's crew to short allowance of water and bread, giving three quarts to the hands that were well, and 5 pounds of bread each, and but one quart to the sick, and five pounds of bread between two. He was continually beating Davidson, who desired to be sent on board one of the men of war, in exchange for one of their hands, which Halsey refused, saying, he would torment him a little further before he should have any relief, and that he had no cloaths fit to go on board the man of war, to make the request, and refused the offer made by two masters of vessels, that had come on board to lend him cloaths. Some time after, Davidson, tired with being so much beat, and wanting necessaries, threw himself overboard; which Halsey seeing, went over after him, and brought him on board again, saying, he should not think to get off so, and he would have a little more tormenting of him yet. And the day before he died tied him up to the shrouds for an hour, and beat him unmercifully; and afterwards struck him on the breast with a pitch-mop, and beat him off the quarter deck; after which he was helped down below, and was found dead the next day. Another bill of indictment was found against him for the murder of John Edwards, by striking him with a handspike on his breast, belly, &c. of which he languished and died; but being convicted of the other murder, he was not tried for that fact.

X At the same sessions Capt. William

liam Lugen was tried for the murder of a black infant; he had sailed upon the slaving trade from Bristol, and had taken in about 200 Blacks upon the coast of Africa, and was carrying them to Carolina, among whom was a woman with a young child. The woman, in the voyage, happened to die of a flux, and the child being very ill of that distemper, the crew belonging to the ship very naturally committed the care of the poor infant to the people of its own colour; but they, like true savages, handed it upon deck, and refused to admit it amongst them; their reason was, because they believed the distemper to be infectious, and dreaded it as we do a plague. The infant, then, in a very miserable condition, lying exposed to the broiling heat of the sun, and in the agonies of death (for the surgeon declared it could not live the day out) the captain ordered it to be thrown overboard. The captain appeared to be a man of great humanity in other respects, though, in this instance, he seems to have forgot the tenderness of his nature, and, as the court very justly observed, took upon himself to determine upon a case of life, which Providence alone could only decide. He was however acquitted, as there could be no premeditated malice in the case.

An additional duty of 5 per cent. is laid upon all dry goods, including all East India goods, tobacco, sugar, grocery and brandy; foreign spirits, foreign linens, and foreign paper; also 1 s. a pound on coffee, and 9 d. on chocolate; all which duties are to be applied towards paying the interest of the sums raised, and to be raised, for the current service of the year.

A violent storm did incredible damage to the shipping, as well as to the houses and churches all along the western coast, more particularly at Falmouth, where many vessels drove from their anchors, and suffered considerably. Some lost their masts, others went upon the sand, and one or two filled with water. In this storm nineteen persons in a passage-boat from Pool to Wareham, were forced upon the beach, thirteen of whom perished in endeavouring to recover the shore. Nothing could be more dismal than to see the poor souls half buried in the mud, with the sea beating over them; without being able to afford them any relief, and their piercing cries were terrible.

The Dorsetshire man of war was paid at Spithead, 12th. when many of the sailors, by means of the late act in their favour, were enabled to remit their money to their families or friends. It is said, that no less than 16000 l. have been remitted in this manner, in little more than three months, by the few ships crews that have been paid in that time, which sums used mostly to be squandered in riot and debauchery. *Blessed be the good man that promoted this benevolent law.*

About eighty Highlanders wounded at the battle at 13th. Ticonderoga, in America, set out from Portsmouth in waggons, in order to be sent, some to hospitals for cure, others to Chelsea hospital, and the rest to return to their own country. Some of them were so lacerated by the slugs and broken nails which the enemy fired, that they are deemed incurable.

The two gold medals, 14th. given annually by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, chancellor of

of the university of Cambridge, were adjudged to Mr. Hawes of Jesus, and Mr. Cowper of Corpus Christi College, bachelors.

Joseph Halsey, who had been reprieved till, then, was carried from Newgate to Execution-Dock, where he was executed about ten o'clock, pursuant to his sentence. He behaved, whilst under condemnation, with great intrepidity and resolution, always persisting in his innocence; which he did to the last; and therefore could not be persuaded to think of death; but, when the warrant came down, he gave up all hope, and with great resignation submitted to his fate, though very desirous of life. His body was afterwards brought to Surgeons-hall,

15th. One John Hiffey, who had been tried at Reading assizes, and found guilty of an assault upon his own daughter, with an intent to commit a rape, was sentenced to stand on the pillory, and suffer a year's imprisonment.

17th. A fine brass statue of General Blakeney, done by the celebrated Van Nost, was set up in Dublin, on a marble pedestal in the center of the Mall.

19th. The price of wheat, which had risen considerably the week before, on account of the act for taking off the prohibition on exportation, fell 3 s. a quarter.

Nothing can yet be said with certainty, with respect to the fate of the Jesuits, though it is reported, on the one hand, that the Pope has requested that they may not suffer in the habit of their order, and on the other, that the King of Portugal has requested the Pope to take upon himself the chastising of the clergy under arrest, that are concerned in

the late conspiracy against his person, but nothing, it seems, has been determined as yet on this subject.

Mr. Haynes, a carpenter in St. John's-street, being 20th. seized with a giddiness; while his wife was employed in rubbing the part affected, his hair came off from his head and eye-brows.—The same accident happened some years ago to Mr. Stanley, of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

Mrs. Moss, of Broad-street-buildings, was brought 22d. to bed of three sons.

The following acts were signed by commission, an act for taking off the prohibition of 23d. corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch—for punishing mutiny and desertion—for regulating his majesty's marine forces, while on shore—for indemnifying persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for employments—for explaining an act of the 22d of his present majesty, for the more easy recovery of small debts in the borough of Southwark—to seven road bills, and seventeen private acts.

Fifteen waggons with small arms went from the Tower, for the use of the militia in the west of England.

The society of merchants and insurers of ships having received information that several neutral ships have been plundered of their cargoes by pretended English privateers, have renewed their reward of one hundred pounds for detecting and convicting all such pirates, over and above the reward offered by the lords of the admiralty.

Died Mr. John Bristowe, of Griefdale, Cumberland, aged 101; he was the survivor of seven children, whose ages amount to 599.

Nicholas Wingfield and  
28th. Adams Hyde, condemned at  
the late sessions of the high court of  
admiralty, held at the Old Bailey,  
were executed at Execution-Dock,  
where they behaved with a becom-  
ing decency.

August 17, 1758, the cause relat-  
ing to the capture of the Dutch ship  
called the Maria Theresia, came on  
to be heard before our court of ad-  
miralty, when the following sen-  
tence or decree was pronounced by  
that court, viz.

" That the goods ought to be  
" presumed to belong to enemies,  
" or to be otherwise confiscable, and  
" condemned the same as lawful  
" prize;" but pronounced the ship  
to belong to the claimant, and de-  
creed the same to be restored with  
freight.

From the first part of this sen-  
tence or decree there was an appeal  
brought, which came on to be heard  
before the following lords, viz.  
Lord Sandys, Earl of Cholmondeley,  
Lord Mansfield, Earl of Thomond,  
Earl Cornwallis, Viscount Fal-  
mouth, Mr. Vice Chamberlain, Lord  
President, Lord Lyttleton, Earl of  
Harwicke, Earl of Holderness,  
Chancellor of the Exchequer, Geo.  
Grenville, Esq; and Duke of Argyle;  
Who pronounced, that such part  
of the sentence be reversed, as is  
complained of by the appellant; the  
ship being restored with the acquies-  
cence of the captor, and the cargo  
not being proved to be the enemy's  
property, and appearing to belong  
to the subjects of the United Pro-  
vinces; with costs against the cap-  
tor, but no damages, as the appeal  
was brought so late before the lords.

The embargo on ships,  
29th. laden with provisions, in Ire-  
land was ordered to be taken off.

From the London Gazette,  
March 31.

We hear from Copenhagen,  
that letters received there from  
Tranquebar, on the coast of Coro-  
mandel, dated June 25, 1758, say,  
That a fleet of eleven French men  
of war came on that coast the 27th  
of April: That the next day the  
English fleet, under Admiral Pocock,  
passed by that port, on sight of  
which the French squadron weighed  
anchor and put to sea: That the  
English pursued them, and in the  
afternoon a very brisk engagement  
began; in which, it was said, the  
French has lost 900 men, and the  
English two ships, and a great many  
men; and that after the action, a  
French ship of 74 guns run aground:  
That the French and all their mili-  
tia, under the command of Lieute-  
nant General Lally, marched to  
Fort St. David's, and Goudelour.  
That the latter was taken by capi-  
tulation, and Fort St. David's was  
likewise obliged to surrender, after  
a severe bombardment; and that  
thereupon the French were making  
all necessary preparations for attack-  
ing Madras, after they had made  
themselves masters of Tanjour, or  
that their demands there should  
have been complied with. Subse-  
quent letters, dated likewise from  
Tranquebar, of August 27, farther  
say, that the French marched the  
25th of June to Tanjour, where  
they arrived the beginning of Au-  
gust, and made an attempt upon  
that place, in which, to their great  
surprize, they were not able to suc-  
ceed, those in Tanjour having car-  
ried on a negotiation with them for  
some time, and taken their measures  
so well, that the French found them-  
selves in great distress for want of sub-

subsistence, and were attacked furiously on all sides; and though they had made a breach sufficient for fifteen men to enter abreast, yet they were obliged, for want of provisions and ammunition, to decamp and abandon Tanjour the 18th of August, leaving behind them five large pieces of cannon. Their loss in men, however, was not very considerable. That during the siege of Tanjour, both the French and English fleets were cruising off the coast of Coromandel, and were alternately in the road of Carical, till the 3d of August, when they came to an engagement, which lasted two hours, and was very brisk. That the loss of the French therein was very great, and they found themselves obliged to retire to Pondicherry, where they remained. That the English were come to Carical, where they had taken two or three French barks, which were going by. And that, on the 20th of August, General Lally returned with his army to Carical, and on the 23d, marched by Tranquebar, in his way to Pondicherry.

A court martial was held on board the Torrington, at Sheerness, 31st. to enquire into the conduct of the captain of the Dolphin, in her late action with the Marshal Belleisle privateer, on the coast of Scotland; when it was fully proved, by the officers of the Solebay, that he had done his duty as a good officer, and he was honourably acquitted of the whole and every part of the charge exhibited against him.

Letters from the honourable Edward Hay, his majesty's envoy extraordinary at the court of Portugal, to the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated Lisbon, March 11, men-

tion that all was quiet there at that time.

Warrants were issued out, during the course of the month, for pressing seamen, and able bodied landmen; these warrants set forth, that it is absolutely necessary, in the present critical situation of affairs, when attempts may be made to invade these kingdoms, that no time should be lost in the immediate equipment of his majesty's fleet. Several hundreds of the ablest pensioners of Greenwich hospital have been draughted out upon the present emergency, to serve on board the guardships; by which a number of able sailors will be gained to the navy.

There is advice from Lisbon, that one of the judges who passed sentence upon the conspirators against the life of his Portuguese majesty, was massacred in his own house with three of his servants; that an attempt had been made upon the life of M. Carvalho, secretary of state, which had failed, though the doors of three of his apartments had been broke open by the assassins, who had entered the house at the windows; and that papers had been dispersed through the city, threatening the life of the King.

The Portuguese minister at Rome had caused the sentence against the conspirators to be printed in Italian in his own palace, and distributed copies of it to all the foreign ministers, and to the best friends of the Jesuits, to convince them of the guilt of the latter, who in return, industriously report, that the King of Portugal hath fled his kingdom, to avoid being torn in pieces by his subjects, who are all up in arms.

The secretary of the admiralty in Holland, gave notice the beginning of

of the month, that a Dutch man of war would be stationed at Helvoetsluys by the 20th, to take all ships under convoy, bound for the coast of Normandy, &c. Two men of war were, at the same time, appointed convoy of the West India fleet.

As the Pope has granted the Empress Queen of Hungary, a bull for raising ten per cent. upon the revenues of all ecclesiastics within her dominions, in order to enable her to carry on the present war, the King of Prussia has most justly resolved to impose the same tax upon all the popish ecclesiastics within his dominions.

To the instances already given of the forwardness of the spring, may be added the following. In the yard belonging to Mr. Moore, cooper, in Newport-street, Worcester, there is an apricot-tree, the greatest part of which is in full blossom; and on the other trees are several apricots, some larger than filberds, and others full as large as common nuts.

At an entertainment given by the master of the Taibot Inn, at Ripley, in Surry, on Shrove Tuesday last, to twelve of the neighbours, inhabitants of the said parish, the age of the whole amounted to one thousand and eighteen years: what is still more remarkable, one of the company is the mother of twelve children, the youngest of whom is sixty; she has within this fortnight walked to Guildford and back again, which is twelve miles, in one day: another has worked as a journeyman with his master (a shoemaker, who dined with him) forty-nine years: they all enjoyed their senses, and not one made use of a crutch.

Several persons of distinction at  
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Bath having lately received anonymous letters, threatening their lives in case they did not deposit sums of money in particular parts of that city; his majesty has been pleased to promise his most gracious pardon to any one concerned therein, who shall discover his accomplices; and the corporation of Bath promise a reward of one hundred pounds to any person making such discovery.

A man, who was lately driving a waggon over Sheepscomb-field, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, perceiving one of the hinder wheels to sink very deep in the ground, examined the place, and found the wheel broke a large stone urn, in which was a large quantity of old Roman copper coin; and upon digging farther, two more urns were discovered near the same spot, full of coin of the same metal. The word GALLIENVS appears in legible characters upon several of the pieces.

Thirteen persons were drowned on February 24, by the oversetting of a wherry on its passage from Southampton to Heath. Thirteen persons soon after also perished, as they were going from Poole to Ower, in Dorsetshire, in the passage-boat.

Letter from Leghorn, dated February 17.

We learn that the malecontents in Corsica, having seized the Lieutenant Mancino, a famous partisan of the republic of Genoa, who had cut them out a great deal of work, they hanged him up within sight of Bastia, with an inscription upon his breast, denoting him to be an enemy to the country. The commissary of the republic, by way of reprisal, would have hanged one of the malecontents that was prisoner

at Bastia; but Paoli, their general, found means to save his life, by assuring the commissary, that if he carried things to that extremity, two Genoese officers, which he had in his custody, should undergo the same fate.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I send the following account of an affair, which, in my opinion, is as strange as was ever noticed.

As I had heard frequent complaints from the neighbours hereabouts of a strange dog which had done much damage, I had the curiosity to go out in pursuit of him. I accordingly, last Monday morning went out with my gun to some woods about four miles and a half from Pomfret, and having walked about for near two hours, I saw a black and white dog come up to me, about as big as a common fox hound. I waited for him, and stayed till he had smelt all round me, and walked off from me a little way to a cart, which was returning from Pomfret market, loaded with butchers meat. I then followed him, when I saw him with great ferocity leap into the cart, and return with a leg of mutton, which he laid down, and then leapt up again and brought a leg of pork towards me, and descended a place, which only appeared like common ground, being covered with furze. He then returned to look for the mutton, which when he missed, he foamed at the mouth, and to all appearance, seemed very angry, but returned to his cavern, where he stayed for about ten minutes, all which time I was attentively watching his coming up, with the muzzle of my gun close to the hole where he descended,

and as I heard him coming up, I discharged my piece, which struck him in the breast, and killed him. When I and some more friends went the next day in search of this place, we found it about six feet long, and two high, where we found several carcases of dead sheep, and other things, which this surprising animal had lived on some time; there are several farmers of substance will assert this fact, having suffered great damages from this dog, and who are as glad of its death, as, Sir,

Your humble servant,  
AMICUS.

## A P R I L.

Mary Edmonson was this 2d. day executed for the murder of her aunt; of the perpetration of which crime we have already given an account. It appeared from the testimony of her brother-in-law, that this young woman had never behaved amiss, that she was soon to have been married to one Mr. King, a clergyman, at Calverly, in Yorkshire, and that she was sent to London with her aunt, to learn a little experience before she became his wife. The proofs against her were circumstantial, and not positive, but very strong ones; therefore our account of the murder, given before, must be read with proper allowances, as only what was then surmised. It is said there she confessed the fact; but, on the contrary, she denied it to the last moment. About nine o'clock, she was brought handcufft, in a post-chaise, with Mr. Hammet the keeper, from the Stockhouse prison at Kingston, to the Peacock in Kennington lane, where the hangman hal-

haltered her ; she was directly put into a cart, and carried to Kennington-common, and executed 12 minutes before ten o'clock. She denied the murder, and died very unconcerned, never shedding a tear in her way from Kingston, nor at the gallows. But, after some time spent in prayer, spoke to the following effect : " It is now too late with God, and you, to trifle ; and I assure you, I am innocent of the crime laid to my charge. I am very easy in my mind, and suffer with as much pleasure as if I was going to sleep. I freely forgive my prosecutors, and earnestly beg your prayers for my departing soul, &c." After the execution, her body was carried to St. Thomas's Hospital, and delivered to Mr. Benjamin Cowell, surgeon, pursuant to an order from the high sheriff.

The bank of England hath given notice, they will, for the future, issue out bank notes and post bills, for ten pounds and fifteen pounds each.

We hear from Gloucester, that one Haines, who had married the daughter of farmer Ewer, a man of 80 l. a year estate, which he intended, to divide among his seven children had formed a design of getting the whole by poisoning all but his wife. He made use of his own father as an instrument in this villainy, who having procured him a quantity of arsenic, he first administered it to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the symptoms of a fever and sore throat, and were treated accordingly, the eldest of whom (a young man just of age) died. Some time after this, he purchased three apple cakes at the market, and putting arsenic in them, gave them to the

other three children, who being instantly taken ill, caused a suspicion, and Haines was apprehended and examined, when the whole scene of villainy was discovered. He has since, however, made his escape ; but his father is now in goal, and ordered to remain in prison till next assizes to take his trial as an accessory.

Admiralty-office. His majesty's ships Southampton and 3d. Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, on the 28th inst, came up with the French frigate of war the Danae, of 40 guns and 330 men, which after a brisk engagement, was taken, having between 30 and 40 men killed, and a great number wounded. The Southampton had one man killed and eight wounded ; among the latter was Capt. Gilchrist ; who being shot through the right shoulder with a pound ball, has been put ashore at Yarmouth. The Melampe had 8 men killed and 20 wounded.

His majesty's ship the *Æolus*, Capt. Elliot, on the 15th of March came up with and took La Mignone, a French frigate of 20 guns and 143 men, commanded by the Chevalier de Tranfanville. Her captain and 70 men were killed, the second captain's thigh shot off, and about 25 wounded. On board the *Æolus* were two wounded.

Two gentlemen passengers from Holland, landed at Margate. They affirm they were in the evening boarded in sight of the North Foreland by an English privateer cutter, whose crew in disguise, confined the captain and crew of their vessel in the cabin, and then plundered it of goods to the value of 2000 l. demanded the captain's money and took what the passengers had.



Died Mrs. Savory, of Old Palace-Yard, aged 104.

4th. Thomas Thornhill, esq; paid, to the marine society 12l. which he received for a third part of a fine inflicted on a person for laying dirt and rubbish in Leicester-fields; whereby a lady's coach was overturned, by means of which she received a contusion on her head, which was the occasion of her death.

The following bills were signed by commission this day.

A bill for granting to his majesty a subsidy of poundage on certain dry goods imported, and an additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate; and for raising a certain sum by annuities and a lottery.

[Five per cent. additional on all dry goods imported, and 1 s. per pound on coffee and chocolate.]

—for the free importation of live cattle from Ireland for a limited time.

[For five years to commence from the first of May 1759.]

—for the free importation of Irish tallow.

[For the same time, but an entry to be made thereof at the custom-house, and to be landed in the presence of an officer, under penalty of paying the duty.]

—for more easy collecting sheriffs post fines.

—for making the river Stroud-water, in Gloucestershire, navigable.

And to several road and private bills.

6th. At the sale of the late Earl of Arran's curiosities in Covent Garden, the gloves given by King Henry the eighth to Sir Anthony Denny, were sold for 38 l. 17 s. the gloves given by K. James I. to Edward Denny, esq; (son of Sir Anthony) for 22 l. 1 s. the

mitten given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Edward Denny's lady, for 25 l. 4 s. and the scarf given by King Charles the first, for 10 l. 10 s. all which were bought for Sir Thomas Denny, of Ireland, who is lineally descended from the said Sir Anthony Denny, one of the executors of King Henry VIII.

The steeple of Great Billing church in Northamptonshire was demolished by lightning, and some stones of a very large size driven to a great distance with astonishing force. The pews in the church were likewise very much shivered.

Died, Geo. Fred. Handel, 12th. esq; a great musician. He was born in Germany in 1685, and had been in England 50 years.

The hon. house of commons adjourned till Monday se'nnight.—The house before it broke up granted 25,152 l. for the better fortifying the town and dock of Plymouth; 10,000 l. for fortifying the harbour of Milford; 6937 l. for better fortifying the town and dock of Portsmouth; and 708 l. for securing Chatham dock.

The right hon. the lords of appeal heard council on the ship America, Lewis Ferrett, taken by his majesty's ship the Squirrel, Hyde Parker, esq; commander; when their lordships pronounced, that the ship America, in question in this cause, having been freighted on French account, and employed in a voyage to St. Domingo, a French settlement in the West Indies, and having delivered her outward bound cargo with permission of the French governor there, and her homeward bound cargo having been put on board after a survey, and subject to the payment of the several duties, customs,

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customs, and penalties, agreeable to the laws of France, and the master having destroyed the bill of lading, and many other of the ships papers, and the cargo found on board being admitted to be the property of French subjects, declared, that the said ship ought, by law, to be condemned in this case as a French ship; and therefore affirmed the sentence, condemning the ship and cargo as a prize.

13th. A most cruel murder was committed on the body of John Walker, at one Darby's, near Hales-Owen, by Birmingham, where the deceased, and one Nathaniel Gower, as bailiffs, were in possession of the said Darby's goods, on a distress for rent. About nine that evening, the said Darby's two sons came into the house, and with a broom hook, and bludgeon, fell upon the said bailiffs, and Gower escaping, they cut and beat the deceased, till he was almost killed; then stripping him naked, thrust him out of the house, and with a wagon whip cut him almost to pieces. Gower made the best of his way to Hales-Owen, from whence some persons went to the deceased's relief, who found him in a close near the said house, weltering in his blood, and with great difficulty carried him to Hales-Owen, where he immediately expired. Upon searching Darby's house, early next morning, he, his wife, and two sons, were secured, but not without great danger to the apprehenders, one of whom narrowly escaped being killed with an ax, with which the old man struck at him. They were all four, on Saturday, committed, by the Rev. Mr. Durant, to Shrewsbury goal, upon proof of the fact, and of old Darby's standing by,

and all the time encouraging his sons in perpetrating this scene of villainy. The deceased's coat, and waistcoat, and breeches, were, at the time of taking the murderers, found in the house, all bloody.

Admiral Boscawen, with his fleet, and Rear-Admiral 14th. Cornish, with his fleet, and the East India ships, sailed from St. Helens, for their respective stations.

Two large sea monsters 15th. were seen in the river Ribble, at Preston, Lancashire, on which some men went out in boats, with pitchforks, and killed one of them, which weighed between 6 and 700 weight, and had teats, which they squeezed milk out of; and they said it was the sweetest milk they ever tasted.

Copy of a letter from the 16th. Hon. Capt. Barrington, of his majesty's ship Achilles of 60 guns, to Mr. Cleveland, dated at Falmouth, April 16, 1759.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my arrival here, with the Count de Florentin, of 60 guns, and 403 men, from Cape François, bound for Rochefort, commanded by the Sieur de Montay, whom I took on the 4th instant, in lat. 44. 15. sixty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre, after a close engagement of two hours, in which I was so fortunate as only to have two men killed, and 23 wounded, with my masts, and sails, and rigging, much cut and damaged.

The loss on the enemy's side was very considerable, having all his masts shot away, with 116 men killed and wounded, amongst the latter, the captain, with a musquet-ball through his body, of which he died two days after.

I must beg you will acquaint their lord.

lordships of the very gallant behaviour of my officers and people upon this occasion.

P. S. Three of my wounded are since dead, as likewise a great number of the enemy's."

17th. This day Mess. Boreel, Vanderpol, and Meerman, deputies from the States General of the United Provinces, had a private audience of his majesty.

20th. The remains of the late Mr. Handel were deposited at the foot of the Duke of Argyll's monument in Westminster-Abbey; the bishops, prebends, and the whole choir attended, to pay the last honours due to his memory; and it is computed there were not fewer than 3000 persons present on this occasion.

21st. A mother wrote a letter to a gentleman, to offer up her daughter as a prostitute, being about fourteen years age. The gentleman neglecting to take notice of the first letter, received a second; he then from curiosity appointed an interview. The child was brought by another woman, and the gentleman chusing rather to protect than ruin innocence, caused them both to be committed to Bridewell. Dreadful as this crime is, it is to be feared, that it is oftener practised than detected.

23d. Some fishermen at Chertsey caught a sturgeon, which was seven feet and a half long, and weighed upwards of 200 wt. It has been sent by the lord mayor as a present to his majesty.

24th. A sharp action happened this day at Yarmouth, occasioned by some different parties of light horse, quartered there, who were marching out of town, and disputes running high, they decided it sword in hand, in which many

men and horses were desperately wounded.

At the anniversary meeting of the governors of the London hospital, the collection at church and feast amounted to 1066l. 2s.

Upwards of 200l. was collected for the Middlesex hospital.

Were executed at Exeter, 25th. Charles Darras, Lewis Bourdecq, Fleurant Termineu, Pierre Pitroll, and Pierre Lagnal; five Frenchmen, for the murder of Jean Manaux, their countryman and fellow prisoner, on board the Royal Oak man of war. The provocation Manaux gave them, was his discovering to the agent their forgery of passes, to facilitate their escape to France. On the 25th of January last, when they were ordered down to their lodging place, Darras, with a boatswain's whistle calling the other French prisoners, dragged Manaux to a part of the ship distant from the centry, and after stripping him, tied him to a ring-bolt with small cord, then gagged him, and with the others gave him about sixty strokes with an iron thimble, about as big as a man's wrist, tied to the end of a rope. Manaux, by struggling, got loose, and fell on his back; upon which Lagnal got upon his body, and jumped on it several times, till he broke his chest, Pitroll keeping his foot on his neck. When they found he was dead, they conveyed his body by piece-meal through the necessary into the water, because the throwing it overboard would have alarmed the centry. Next day twenty-seven of the French prisoners being brought on shore, one of them gave information of the murder. The five ruffians were sentenced to be executed on the 2d of April, but were respiteed till the 25th, and in the mean time

time a Romish priest was permitted to visit them.

The collection for the 26th. Magdalen charity amounted to 437l. 15s.

The trial of James Stephenson, for the murder of Mr. Elcock an attorney, who attempted to break into his room to seize him after being arrested, came on at Chester, when the jury brought in their verdict special, because of the supposed illegality of the arrest, the sheriff having, as is commonly practised, signed his warrant for apprehending Stephenson, with a blank for the names of special bailiffs, which were afterwards inserted by Mr. Elcock, one of whom did arrest the prisoner; but whether this was, or was not, a legal arrest, is a point of law to be decided by the judges.

On Wednesday the 14th of 30th. March, the birth of a royal Princess was made known to the people of Constantinople, and the following evening public rejoicings began on account of this happy event. The illuminations, which exceed all that were ever remembered in that city, continued for a week, and were followed by fire-works, which were played off three nights together on the canal before the seraglio. All possible care was taken to prevent accidents or disorders during these rejoicings; and, for this purpose, all the taverns, which are very numerous, were shut up upon pain of death.

Admiralty-office. On the 27th, Capt. Faulkner, of his majesty's ship Windsor of 60 guns, discovered four large ships to leeward, who, on being chased, drew up in a line of battle; Capt. Faulkner engaged the sternmost, on which the rest made sail and run, and then the ship that was engaged struck. She proved

the Duke of Chartres, pierced for 60 guns, had 24 twelve pounder's mounted, and 194 men, twenty-eight of whom were killed, and eighteen wounded; the Windsor had one killed, and six wounded. The lading consists of sixty tons of gun-powder, 150 tons of cordage, flour, sail cloth, wines, &c. The other three ships were of 70, 54, and 24 guns, armed as the former, and all bound to Pondicherry, on account of the French East India company.

Died Mary Hall, sexton of Bishop-hill, York city, aged 105; she walked about and retained her senses till within three days of her death.

The prohibition of exporting gun-powder, salt-petre, arms, ammunition, &c. was ordered to be continued, from the 29th instant, for the space of six months.

We hear that Mademoiselle La Conde (nearly related to the Prince of Conde) renounced the errors of the church of Rome, and embraced the protestant religion, in St. Patrick's church, Dublin; and was, with a great number of others, confirmed at St. Peter's church by the Bishop of Clogher the next day.

Letters from Pennsylvania advise, that at a treaty held at Easton, in October last, peace was concluded and ratified between the lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, and the governor of New Jersey, on the behalf of their respective provinces, and the rest of his majesty's subjects in America, of the one part; and the eight confederate Indian nations, and the Indians called the Delawares, the Unanimes, the Minisinks, the Wapings, and the Mohiccons, of the other part; which peace hath since, by the intervention of Brigadier General Forbes, been acceded to, ratified and confirmed, by the

several nations of Indians living on the Ohio.

Letters from Stockholm advise, that on the 27th ult. in the evening, about seven o'clock, a sun, about four feet in diameter, appeared to the west, which lasted two minutes, and cast as clear a light, as if it had been noon day; and about half an hour before the rising of the moon, there appeared two rainbows.

We have an account from Providence in America, that no less than 11,588 squirrels had been lately shot in that country within ten days, and that at producing the heads, 1500 horses were at the tavern. The heads of the said squirrels measured twenty-nine bushels and a half.

Friday morning the second of February last, a pretty smart shock of an earthquake was felt at Boston in New-England, and in the neighbouring towns. And a shock of an earthquake was also felt, about the same time, preceded by the usual rumbling noise, at Portsmouth in Piscataqua.

### M A Y.

1st. Mr. Armstrong, under sheriff of the county of Tyrone in Ireland, was fined 100l. and sentenced two years imprisonment, for suffering William Barret, who was ordered for execution for a capital offence, to escape with life; this Barret hung the usual time, till the sheriff thought he was dead, but by means of a collar, he saved himself, and got clear off.

A terrible accident happened to a ship from Holland, Capt. Maver commander, by a spark falling into the powder, as he was saluting the town of Dundee, in entering that harbour, which blew up the

ship, and all in it, except the mate and one boy that escaped, without knowing by what miraculous providence.

The following are the messages lately sent to the house of commons.

GEORGE R.

"His majesty being desirous that a proper strength may be employed in the settlements of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, recommends to this house, to enable his majesty to assist the said company in defraying the expence of a military force in the East Indies, to be maintained by them, in lieu of the battalion commanded by Colonel Adlerscron, withdrawn from thence, and now returned to Ireland."

G. R.

GEORGE R.

"His majesty, being sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North-America have exerted themselves in defence of his majesty's just rights and possessions, recommends it to this house to take the same into consideration, and to enable his majesty to give them a proper compensation for the expences incurred by the respective provinces in the levying, cloathing, and pay of the troops raised by the same, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces, shall justly appear to merit."

G. R.

Four hundred and fifty-seven pounds seven shillings 3d. was collected for the support of the Small Pox hospital.

A young man in the shameful disguise of a conjurer, with a large wig, an hat of an extraordinary size, and an old night gown, was committed to Bridewell, being charged with having used subtle craft to deceive and impose upon his majesty's subjects.

9th.

9th. Elizabeth Cartwright, who had been tapped twenty-nine times for a droply, and had had 1959 pints of water taken from her, was discharged from the Westminster hospital.

This evening a young African Prince appeared publicly at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. This youth was committed some time since to the care of an English captain, to be brought over for education, but the captain, instead of performing his promise, sold him to a gentleman in London. The father of the Prince being lately dead, and the captain being upon the coast, was at that time desired by his subjects to bring the young Prince home; but he giving no satisfactory answer, was seized, imprisoned, and ironed, and then confessed the truth; upon which an order was sent to a merchant in that trade, to procure the Prince's enlargement, which was done by purchasing him of the gentleman who bought him; and he is soon to return to his native country.

There was collected at church, and the feast of the sons of the clergy, 70s. 1. 9s. 9d. which with what was collected at the rehearsal 337l. made the whole collection 1042l. 9s. 9d. exclusive of a draught of 100l. given by Sampson Gideon, esq; for the corporation.

14th. About thirty impressed men on board a tender at Sunderland, forcibly made their escape. The bravery of their leader is remarkable, who, being hoisted upon deck by his followers, wrestled the halbert from the centinel on duty, and with one hand defended himself, while with the other he let down a ladder into the hold for the rest to come up, which they did, and overpowered the crew.

The fane on the top of Salisbury spire, erected in 1673, being decayed, was blown down. It measured three feet six inches in length, and two feet three inches in breadth, made of oak an inch thick.

The decree of the admiralty court in Scotland, releasing the Dutch ship the Stravorse Lynbaan of Rotterdam, Tammie Hillbrands, master, taken by the Boscawen privateer of London, Capt. Harden, is suspended, and a rehearing granted before the court of sessions. This ship was taken by the Boscawen on the 18th of June last, in the north seas, and was brought into Leith. Her cargo consisted of sugar, cotton, and indigo, apparently the produce of the West India islands; and from many circumstances, there was room to believe, that the whole was the property of the subjects of the French King.

Five hundred pounds were collected for the support of 16th. the city of London Lying-in hospital.

The King has been pleased to grant to Sampson Gideon, 19th. jun. esq; and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, the dignity of a baronet of this kingdom.

The following message, 21st. from his majesty, was presented to the house by Mr. Secretary Pitt.

GEORGE R.

“ His majesty relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous

rous

Yous that this house will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year 1759, and to take all measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require." G. R.

In consequence of the above message, a vote of credit for 1,000,000l. will be granted.

The following answer from 22d. Major General Amherst, to the Right Hon. the Speaker of the house of commons, who, in obedience to the commands of that house, had transmitted to the major general their thanks for the services he had done to his King and country in North-America, was read by the Speaker.

New-York, April 16, 1759.

SIR,

"I had the favour of receiving your obliging letter of the 6th of December, inclosing a resolution the house of commons came to that day, in a packet from Mr. Wood, on the third of April.

"It is with the deepest sense of gratitude I received that highest mark of honour, the thanks of the house; and I hope my future conduct in the service of my country will best acknowledge it, and render me more deserving of so great an honour.

I must beg leave to return you, Sir, my most sincere thanks for the gracious manner in which you have been pleased to signify to me the resolution of the house.

I am, with the utmost respect, Sir, your humble, and most obedient servant, JEFF. AMHERST."

A bill to oblige debtors under 23d. der a certain sum, after continuing a limited time, in execution,

to deliver upon oath their estates for the benefit of their creditors, passed the house of peers.

This day came on before 24th. the lords commissioners of appeal for prizes, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, the merits of an appeal from the court of Admiralty in Doctors-Commons, concerning the right of property in the Dutch ship the Novam Aratrum, and her cargo, taken by the Blenheim privateer, James Merryfield, commander; when their lordships were pleased to restore the ship, and that part of the cargo proved to be Dutch property, and ordered a specification of the other part of the cargo in one month, which, it is imagined, will turn out to be the goods of our enemies the French. This specification is what the Dutch have constantly refused to make; but now, if they do not comply, the goods will all be forfeited to the captors.

The Worcester stage-waggon took fire, occasioned by the bursting of a bottle of aqua fortis, by which the valuable loading was mostly consumed; damage 5000l.

2,250,000l. was granted 25th. by parliament out of the sinking fund towards the supplies of the present year; also 180,076l. out of the same for the quarter ending April 5, 1759; 75,308l. overplus of 1758; 100,000l. granted formerly for Russia, but not used; and the remainder of the sum granted for cloathing the militia, &c. in 1757.

Admiralty Office. Capt. 26th. Lockhart of his majesty's ship Chatham of 50 guns, Capt. Colby of the Thames of 32 guns, and Capt. Harrison of the Venus of 36 guns, on the 18th in the morning, in Hodiern bay, saw a French frigate, and, after two hours chase, she

she carried her top-mast away. Soon after the Thames came up, and gave her close and brisk fire; but she did not strike till the Venus raked her, and gave her some broadsides. She proves to be the *Arethusa* frigate, commanded by the Marquis Vandreul, 32 guns mounted, and 270 men, from Rochefort for Brest; and is esteemed the best sailing frigate in France. She had 60 men killed and wounded. Capt. Colby had four men killed and eleven wounded. Capt. Harrison had five men wounded.

The expected comet has appeared many clear evenings till ten or eleven o'clock, to the west of the south, under the constellation of Hydra, and near that of Crater. It is a luminous appearance, very evident to the naked eye (notwithstanding the light of the moon), yet rather dim than splendid; large, but ill defined. A telescope, at the same time it magnifies, seems to render it more obscure.

Places in the heavens where it hath been for seven evenings, as observed and traced on a twenty-eight inch celestial globe, and the universal plenisphere, at Mr. Dunn's academy, Paradise row, Chelsea.

Tuesday, May 1, right ascension  $15^{\circ} 55'$  declination  $25^{\circ} 30'$  south—  
Wednesday 2,  $158^{\circ} 22'$ ,  $22^{\circ} 0'$ .—  
Thursday 3,  $157^{\circ} 14'$ ,  $20^{\circ} 3'$ .—  
Friday 4,  $156^{\circ} 22'$ ,  $18^{\circ} 16'$ .—  
Saturday 5,  $155^{\circ} 40'$ ,  $15^{\circ} 54'$ .—  
Sunday 6,  $155^{\circ} 27'$ ,  $14^{\circ} 9'$ .—  
Monday 7,  $155^{\circ} 20'$ ,  $12^{\circ} 22'$ .

A proclamation has been issued, promising a bounty of five pounds for every able seaman, and thirty shillings for every ordinary seaman not above fifty, nor under twenty years of age, who shall voluntarily

enter themselves on or before the third day of July next, to serve in the royal navy. Also a bounty of thirty shillings to every able-bodied landman not above 35, nor under 20 years of age, who shall voluntarily enter within the same time to serve on board the navy; and also a reward of two pounds for the discovery of able, and twenty shillings for every ordinary seaman, that shall have secreted themselves. And as a further encouragement his majesty promises his most gracious pardon to all seamen that have deserted from their ships, provided they return to the service by the said third of July; in which case they shall not be prosecuted for their desertion; but on the contrary, those who do not return before that time on board some of his majesty's ships of war, or who shall hereafter absent themselves without leave, shall be tried by a court martial; and being found guilty of deserting at this time, when their country so much wants their service, shall be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy, and suffer death according to law.

Six carpets made by Mr. Whitty, of Axminster in Devonshire, and two others made by Mr. Jaffer, of Froome in Somersetshire, all on the principle of Turkey carpets, have been produced to the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in consequence of the premiums proposed by the said society for making such carpets; and proper judges being appointed to examine the same, gave it as their opinion, that all the carpets produced were made in the manner of Turkey carpets, but much superior to them in beauty and goodness: That Mr. Whitty's carpets were superior to Mr. Jaffer's



Jeffer's in price, pattern, and workmanship; therefore it was ordered, that the first premium offered for this article, being 30*l.* should be paid to Mr. Whitty, and the other premium, being 20*l.* to Mr. Jeffer.

The largest of the carpets produced by Mr. Whitty is twenty-six feet six inches, by seventeen feet six inches; and the largest produced by Mr. Jeffer is sixteen feet six inches, by twelve feet nine inches.

The said society have also bestowed the sum of 87*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* for raising and producing cocoons in the province of Georgia.

The society have also bestowed a premium of 30*l.* on Mr. Sifferth, for making crucibles from British materials.

On the 7th instant the house of Rannas, in the Enzie, North-Britain, was consumed by fire.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, dated April 17. Within these two years past 434 persons have read their recantation from the church of Rome.

We hear from the said place, that the middle of this month seventeen fishing boats sailed from Rush and Skerries to the north-west of Ireland, to be joined by some others in the Lough of Derry from the Isle of Man, encouraged thereunto by a company of merchants of the said island, who have subscribed a large capital to carry on this business in the most extensive manner; and advanced a considerable sum to forward its execution. This design opens a new mine of wealth to this kingdom, and may in its progress be the source of employment to the vagrant, of benefit to the industrious, and the accession of an unalienable and permanent trade. In any respect, the present defective methods of fishing in that country

will be rectified; and the means shewn whereby they may proceed for the future upon a more regular plan.

The following message from his majesty was delivered by the Earl of Holderness to the house of peers.

GEORGE R.

"The King has received advices that the French court is making preparations with a design to invade this kingdom; and though his majesty is persuaded, that, by the united zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who shall be engaged therein; yet his majesty apprehends that he should not act consistently with that paternal care, and concern, which he has always shewn for the safety and preservation of his people, if he omitted any means in his power, which may be necessary for their defence. Therefore, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, his majesty acquaints the house of lords, with his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations, making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and of the immediate danger of such invasion being attempted; to the end that his majesty may (if he shall think proper) cause the militia, or such part thereof as shall be necessary, to be drawn out, and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require."

G. R.

Which being read,

Ordered by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled,

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return him the thanks of this house for his most gracious message, and for acquainting us with the intelligence he has received of the preparations making

making by France to invade this kingdom. To declare our utmost indignation and abhorrence of such a design; and that we will, with united duty, zeal and affection, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, stand by and defend his majesty against any such presumptuous and desperate attempt. To express the just sense we have of his majesty's goodness to his people, omitting no means in his power which may tend to their defence; and in his intention to call out and employ the militia, if it should be found necessary, for that purpose; and to give his majesty the strongest assurances, that we will, with vigour and steadiness, support his majesty in taking the most effectual measures to defeat the designs of his enemies; to preserve and secure his sacred person and government, the protestant succession in his royal family, and the religion, laws, and liberties of these kingdoms."

Which address being presented next day by the lords with white staves, his majesty was pleased to say,

"That he thanks the house of lords for the repeated assurances of their unalterable zeal, duty, and affection to his majesty on this occasion; and has the utmost confidence in their vigorous support."

The same message being carried by Mr. Secretary Pitt to the house of commons, and being read by Mr. Speaker,

Resolved, Nem. Con.

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty our dutiful thanks for graciously communicating to this house, that he has received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of such invasion

being attempted; and for his majesty's paternal and timely care of the safety and preservation of his people; to assure his majesty, that this house will, with their lives and fortunes, support and stand by his majesty, against all attempts whatever; and that his faithful commons, with hearts warm with affection and zeal for his majesty's sacred person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy, whose fleet has hitherto shunned, in port, the terror of his majesty's navy, will cheerfully exert the utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable his majesty, not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, to turn them to their own confusion."

Resolved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places, within that part of Great Britain, called England, to use their utmost diligence and attention to carry into execution the several acts of parliament, made for the better ordering the militia force of that part of Great Britain, called England."

To the address of the house of commons his majesty was pleased to give this most gracious answer.

"I return you my thanks for your dutiful and affectionate address, and for this fresh, and very particular mark of your unanimous zeal in the defence of me and my crown.

"You may depend on my constant endeavours for the preservation and safety of my kingdoms."

St. Christopher's, March 10. A proclamation has been published in Antigua by his excellency General Thomas,

Thomas, dated the 6th inst. That the late Major General Hopson, having proposed the raising six companies in the islands under his government, (each company to consist of one captain, three lieutenants, four serjeants, four corporals, and 100 private men): that each officer shall receive the same pay as the officers of the King's troops, and each private man three bits a day: that all such negroes as should be killed or maimed, should be paid for by his majesty, (according to such appraisement as should be made thereof before their embarkation, by persons to be appointed by his excellency): that transports should be provided at the expence of the crown for such negroes: and that they should, at the like expence, be victualled in their passage to Guadaloupe: his excellency therefore, in his majesty's name, signify'd to all persons, who should be willing to send any of their slaves to the said island of Guadaloupe, that he had recommended to General Barrington, that his majesty should stand engaged for the payment for such slaves sent upon the expedition, as should die, desert, or not be actually returned to their respective proprietors. And as a further encouragement to engage white volunteers to go upon the present expedition against Guadaloupe, General Barrington has promised that the private men of each company shall have lands, as well as their officers.

We hear from Berlin, that on the 22d ult. the commandant of this capital notified to all the officers prisoners of war, Austrians, French, Russians and Swedes, or of the army of the empire, who are here at present, to the number of 180, an

order of the King enjoining them to retire immediately to Spandau.

N. B. The notification is in the state papers.

Lately died Mr. James Sheile, farmer, of Knocktopher, in the county of Kilkenny, in Ireland, aged 136.

Extract of a letter from Naples, April 17.

It is generally believed that a treaty is actually concluded for preserving the peace of Italy, and that there are many circumstances that confirm it; but that a triple alliance is concluded between our court and that of Vienna and Versailles, is a rumour premature, if not false and without foundation. The pacification, as it is called, settles these points; first, that our Sovereign shall resign his Italian dominions to the Prince, Don Philip Antonio, his eldest son; secondly, that the King of Sardinia shall have the marquisate of Final; and thirdly, that the Milanese being annexed to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, his Royal Highness the Infant Don Philip shall assume the title of King of Lombardy.

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## J U N E.

Two thousand workmen are employed at Havre de Grace, 1st. in building 150 flat bottomed boats, 100 feet long, 24 broad, and 100 deep, 100,000 livres are paid to them weekly. These boats are to have a deck, and to carry two pieces of cannon each, and to use their sails or oars, as occasion may require. Some will carry 300 men, with their baggage, and others 150 horse with their riders; 150 more are building at Brest, St. Maloes, Nantes,

Nantes, Port L'Orient, Morlaix, and other parts of Brittany.

Last Wednesday a great quantity of snow fell in Surry and Kent; in some places it laid on the ground more than four inches thick.

Authentic Advices from the East-Indies.

Madras, May 22, 1758. Advices are received, that on the 22d of April M. de Lally had arrived on the coast with nine ships of the line, and two frigates. Seven of these vessels anchored in the road of Fort St. David's on the 28th. Two were stationed in the offing, towards the north east, and two sent to Pondicherry, where they set on shore M. de Lally and some troops, the number not known. The two English 20 gun ships, Triton and Bridgewater, were in the road of St. David's when the French fleet came there, so were obliged to run ashore; by which means both crews and most of the stores were saved, and put into Fort St. David's. On the morning of April 29, boats from Pondicherry were bringing to land the soldiers, but fled on Admiral Pocock's appearing with his squadron, consisting of the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger, Weymouth, Salisbury, Cumberland, Queenborough, and Protector. The French weighed, and bore away to the northward, to avoid coming to action; but at two in the afternoon Admiral Pocock came up with them, and had a hot engagement for two hours, during most part of which the Zodiac of 74 guns, commanded by Mr. d'Apche chief d'escadre, the Bieu-aime of 64, and the Comte de Provence of 74, engaged the ship in which Admiral Pocock was; but he acquitted himself so gallantly, that

the Zodiac was forced to bear away, and the example was followed by the rest of the fleet. Admiral Pocock had only five ships in the action, the rest not being near enough; but with these he pursued the French till night, when they put out their lights. They also outtailed him, as the rigging of his ships had been much damaged in the engagement. On board the admiral's ship seven men were killed and 32 wounded; in the other four ships 22 were killed and 55 wounded. The loss of the French is judged to be much more considerable, as the ships were crowded with men, and our people aimed at the hulls. The Bieu-aime was so much shattered that they were obliged to run her ashore at Allumperva, and many of the crew were said to be drowned. The two French ships stationed in the N. E. were not in the engagement. The French fleet got into Pondicherry, having past ours in the night.

June 22. Advice was this day received at Madras, that Cudalore and Fort St. David's had both surrendered to the French. M. de Lally, it seems, has authority to act in all military affairs independent of the governor of Pondicherry; by which means the disputes and delays that have often retarded the progress of troops in India, are all avoided; so that he took the field almost as soon as he landed. Cudalore was ill fortified, and could make no resistance; but it was expected that Fort St. David's would have held out till Admiral Pocock could have repaired the damage done to its vessels, and have come to his relief, as it was well fortified, and had a strong gar-

garrison; but it surrendered in 12 days, there being in it no place that was bomb-proof to shelter the men, so that great numbers were killed, and there was fresh water for two days only; so that the garrison, being obliged to drink salt water for ten days, were so afflicted with severe sickness, that few were fit for duty; it surrendered on the 2d of June. It is said that M. de Lally had then with him about 3000 Europeans.

In July some of our men that had been taken by the French made their escape, and reported that the French had lost 700 men in the sea fight. It is reported that M. de Lally borrowed 40,000 l. of the Dutch at Portanova; but they deny the truth of this. However that be, it is certain he seized a large Dutch vessel that had about fourscore thousand pounds in specie aboard, and gave bills for the amount on the French company, as also for the value of the ship, which was to be converted into a man of war of 60 guns.

The King of Tanjour had, in the last war, given an obligation to the French for a considerable sum of money, but never paid any part of it. The payment of this was now demanded and refused; on which the French marched to Tanjour, but soon left it again; and it was reported that the Tanjourines had totally defeated him and taken all his artillery. On this all the troops at Madras, to the number of about 1000 men, marched, in hopes of destroying the remnant of the French army. But they had not gone far, before they heard the French had suffered little; so it was thought requisite for our troops to return speedily to Madras.

After the engagement of April

29, Admiral Pocock endeavoured to return to Fort St. David's; but his rigging had been so much damaged, that he had the greatest difficulty in working to the windward, and was twice blown as far as lat. 4. But at last he got to Madras road, where a court-martial was held on the captains of the Cumberland, Weymouth and Newcastle, for not having done their duty in the late action. One of them was broke, and one suspended till his majesty's pleasure should be known. But Captain Brereton of the Cumberland was only sentenced to lose a year's rank, as he had joined the admiral before the engagement was over.

Admiral Pocock having repaired what damage his ships had suffered, and made these examples of such as had not done their duty, sailed again to attack the French fleet, which he found, August 3, off Carical. The French engaged at first with much warmth, but stood off in about a quarter of an hour after, and made only a running fight, and got into the road of Pondicherry. We had only 30 killed and 60 wounded, among whom was Commodore Stevens, who received a musket ball in the shoulder, but was in good spirits, and likely to do well. Captain Martin was also wounded in the leg by a splinter. The loss of the French is said to be very great; and their running away seems to be an acknowledgment of it.

The royal assent was given 2d. by commission to the following acts:

An act for granting certain sums out of the sinking fund, and for applying monies in the exchequer for the service of 1759.

For

For enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million.

To amend an act of the last session for repealing the duty on silver plate.

For augmenting the salaries of the puisne judges in the several courts in Great Britain.

For consolidating the annuities granted in 1757, with the joint stock of three per cent, annuities ready consolidated.

To several laws relating to drawbacks upon exportation of copper bars, and other merchandizes; to the encouragement of the silk manufactures; and reducing the duties on masts, yards, bowsprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine; to the encouraging the growth of coffee in his majesty's plantations; to the securing the duties upon foreign made sail-cloth, and charging foreign made sails with a duty, &c.

To amend the act for granting his majesty several duties upon offices and pensions, and upon houses, windows, or lights, so far as the same relates to the duties on offices and pensions.

To amend the act relating to stamp duties.

To amend the act for the encouragement of seamen, and the prevention of piracies by private ships of war.

For applying the money granted for the militia.

For enforcing the laws relating to the militia.

For making compensation to the proprietors of lands purchased for enlarging the docks at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, &c.

For applying a sum of money towards fortifying Milford Haven.

For preventing the importation of the woollen manufactures of

France into any of the ports in the Levant sea, by his majesty's subjects.

For preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks and French lawns.

For regulating the power of taking samples of foreign spirituous liquors by excise officers.

For regulating forfeitures incurred by the laws of excise.

For the further punishment of persons going armed or disguised, in defiance of the laws of customs, or excise, and for appropriating certain penalties mentioned in an act of last session for the due making of bread.

For the relief of debtors with respect to the imprisonment of their persons.

For the better regulation of lastage and ballastage in the Thames, &c.

For the more easy collecting of post fines, &c.

To prevent the frauds committed in the admeasurement of coals in the city and liberty of Westminster.

For the preservation of turnpike roads in Scotland.

For improving the navigation of the river Clyde to the city of Glasgow, and for building a bridge there.

For completing the navigation of the river Wear.

For the better improvement of the river and port and haven of Sunderland.

For erecting a workhouse at Plymouth, setting the poor at work, and maintaining them there.

For discharging the inhabitants of Manchester from the custom of grinding their corn at the school mills

The establishing a nightly watch at Guildford in Surry.

For laying a duty of two pennies Scots, upon every Scots pint of ale, porter, and beer, which shall be brewed for sale within the town of Kelso, in the shire of Roxburgh, towards finishing a bridge cross the river Tweed.

To ten road bills, and to forty private bills.

After which the lords commissioners put an end to the session by a speech in his majesty's name, and by his orders prorogued the parliament to Thursday, the 26th of July next.

The populace assaulted the house of an eminent woollen-draper in Cornhill, one of the people called Quakers: they pulled up the pavement, and split the window shutters of his shop with large stones; the smaller pebbles were flung up as high as the third story, the windows of which are much damaged: in the second story not so much as one pane of glass has escaped. The windows of the first story were not touched, being fenced by strong shutters on the outside. The reason of the mob's resentment was, his not illuminating his house like the rest of his neighbours.

8th. The right honourable the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, made their compliments to his majesty in a very dutiful address, on occasion of the Prince of Wales coming of age; and the day following they complimented his Royal Highness and his august mother on the same joyful occasion.

11th. Was a remarkable trial in the court of King's Bench at Dublin, when the right hon. the Earl of Belvidere obtained a verdict against Arthur Rochfort, esq; his brother, for 20,000 l. damages, be-

sides costs, for criminal conversation with his lordship's lady. This transaction happened about fifteen years since.

The custom house officers made a seizure on board an outward bound vessel in the Thames, of a great number of new sword blades, which were artfully concealed in the hollow of five large trees, cut about 12 feet long; and the better to cover their deceit, the bark and roots were left on, and the body so nearly cemented with glew, that it was by mere accident that the discovery was made; an officer striking his stick against one of the trees, found it was hollow, had it sawed, and the sword blades appeared, which were ordered to be re-landed at the custom-house, and enquiry to be made after the persons concerned.

This day Isabella Brans, now in the work-house of St. Botolph Aldersgate, entered into the 112th year of her age. She was born at Aberdeen in Scotland, has the perfect use of all her senses, never used spectacles, and can read very small print; she worked for her bread till she was upwards of 110, has none of the infirmities which are the usual attendants of old age, was in her youth a very fine woman, and has still the remains of it; has a flow of spirits, which, perhaps none of her age ever had, and is still chearful and hearty; nature in her seeming far from being exhausted. She has had 18 children by two husbands, has had many fits of illness, but is now in perfect health, and can walk four or five miles better than most women of sixty.

A person was taken into custody on Sunday evening

20th.

by

by some gentlemen at St. James's-Park, and delivered to the guard, for joining with and encouraging a mob to follow and grossly insult some ladies of fashion that were walking there, by which means they were put in great danger of their lives. He was yesterday brought before John Fielding and Theodore Sydenham, esqrs; and this day the following submission appeared in the Daily Advertiser: "I, J. V——, having last Sunday night in St. James's-Park, very inconsiderately, indiscreetly, and unlawfully joined a tumultuous body of people, who, by their riotous behaviour, put several ladies into imminent danger of their lives, and insulting several gentlemen, who endeavoured to secure them from the insults of the mob, do most sincerely ask pardon of those ladies, those gentlemen, and the public, for this my extreme misbehaviour; and return those gentlemen my hearty thanks for their candid treatment of me; and hope, that what I have suffered will be an example to others, and prevent the scandalous practice for the future, of mobbing on the slightest pretence, every lady that shall be pleased to walk in the Park." J. V——.

Insults of this kind have, notwithstanding this advertisement, been since repeated, and several other persons have been apprehended for the like offence, who it is hoped, will be punished with the utmost severity, in order to put a stop to such outrageous behaviour, in the verge of the royal palace.

At a general court of the 21st. East India company, a motion was made and unanimously agreed to, for the thanks of the company to be given to Admiral

Pocock, and Commodore Stevens, for their gallant behaviour in the East Indies.

A fleet of transports arrived at Spithead, which are 24th. to be employed in a grand expedition on the coast of France.

George Errington and Paul Vaillant, esqrs; were 25th. chosen sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Five gentlemen have paid their fines this month, to be excused serving that office.

A letter from the country mentions a very uncommon sort of insects, which within these few weeks have made their appearance, and done considerable damage to the grass and corn. They bear a near appearance to the caterpillar, are of a dark colour, with white stripes from the head to the tail, and are about two inches long. They seem to abound most about the head of the Tweed, where several farms have been in a manner totally destroyed by them. They are so very numerous, that they cover fields of many acres of ground, and in many places so close together, that an hundred of them have been found on little more than a square foot of ground. Most people are of opinion, that they are caused by the late excessive drought, though several old men remember much greater, without any such appearance. It has been observed, that since the late rains, many of them have been found dead, swelled to a considerable bigness.

Samuel Scrimshaw and James Rofs, stood in the pillory in Cheap-side, for sending a threatening letter, to extort a large sum of money from Humphrey Morrice, esq; and were severely pelted by the populace; but one of the sheriff's officers having



ing received some affront by being too near the pillory, drew his sword, and fell pell-mell among the thickest of the people, cutting his way indiscriminately through men, women and children. This diverted the fury of the mob from the criminals to the officer, who, not being able to stand against such numbers, made good his retreat to an adjoining alley, where not above two or three could press upon him at a time, and thereby made his escape.

[The above delinquents were convicted on the evidence of Peter Parry their accomplice, for sending threatening letters to Humphry Morrice, of Dover-street, esq; with an intent to extort money from him. They, together with one Richardson, who has absconded, kept an office of intelligence in the Fleet-market, and Parry had applied to them to get a place. This Parry having had some acquaintance with the wife of one Gosling, who was groom to Mr. Morrice, and being present at a meeting that was held to bring this couple (who lived in a state of enmity) to some terms, he heard the woman in her passion call her husband Buggerer. That very night he was to have met Scrimshaw, &c. and at the next meeting in making his apology, told what had passed between Gosling and his wife. Scrimshaw no sooner heard the word Buggerer, but his fertile brain suggested a scheme to get money, and putting his finger to his nose, he said, *something may come of this*. On this slender foundation the conspiracy was formed and carried on. Being found guilty they received sentence to be imprisoned three years in Newgate, and to stand twice in the pillory, once in Cheap-side, and once in Fleet-street.]

Early in the morning Jefferson Shastoe, esq; started 26th against time, to ride fifty miles in two hours; in the course of which he used ten horses, and did it in two seconds under eleven minutes of the time prescribed by the articles, to the astonishment of all present.

The lieutenant of a cutter 27th. from Sir Edward Hawke, arrived at the Admiralty, with advice that when the cutter left the squadron, the men of war in Brest water were under weigh, and that a great number of troops were embarking all that day on board the French fleet.

There is now in the garden of George Montgomery, 30th. esq; at Chippenham-hall, Cambridgeshire, the largest American aloe plant, now coming in flower, that ever was seen in England. It is 104 years old, and it is thought it will be 40 feet high.

The land forces now in Great Britain, are two troop of horse grenadier guards; seven regiments of dragoons; the three regiments of foot guards; thirty-four regiments of foot, and thirty-two independent companies.

In Ireland, four regiments of horse; six of dragoons; and twelve of foot.

The militia of several counties have been reviewed this month, by their commanding officers, in the presence of the lords lieutenants, and great numbers of persons of distinction. They all performed their exercise amazingly well, behaved dutifully to their superiors, soberly in their quarters, and seemed full of cheerfulness and alacrity, and ready to march wherever they were ordered, for the defence of their country.

A map has been lately published at

at Petersburg, of the country adjoining to the north-west of California, which extends and joins to the continent of Asia, and proves the north-west passage to China, which has been so long sought, impracticable.

Prince Edward has been lately appointed commander of the Phoenix, a new man of war of 44 guns.

Died lately Donald Cameron, of Kinnicklabar, in Rannach, North-Britain, aged 130. He married a wife when he was 100.

X Naples, May 29. Last week the apartment of the late father Pope, the jesuit, for whose pulpit and confession-box the people made great scrambling, from a notion of his great sanctity, was opened, in the presence of our cardinal archbishop, and one of the king's ministers. There were found in it 600 ounces of gold in specie; bills amounting to 56,000 ducats; 1600lb. of wax; 10 copper vessels full of Dutch tobacco; three gold repeating watches, four snuff-boxes made of rare shells; 200 silk handkerchiefs, and a capital of 300,000 ducats. Before his death, he made a present to Jesus church of a piece of velvet hangings, laced with gold, a large statue of the immaculate conception, of massy silver, and a fine pyramid to be erected in the front of the church.

## J U L Y.

1st. A violent tempest happened in Denmark, the effects of which were felt even in the bowels of the earth. The combustible matters in the territory of Ladegard took fire; a high wind drove the flames and smoke into the town

of Ripen, which would have been entirely destroyed, had not the wind suddenly shifted.

Died the rev. Mr. Mendy, 2d. rector of Plymtree, and vicar of Hartford and Venottery, Devon; who six weeks before ordered his vault to be made, and every day visited the workmen; he also bespoke his coffin.

Birmingham. By the floods occasioned by the heavy rains, great damage hath been done in the neighbourhood to the grafts that was cut down, as well as to that which is standing, by its being filled with sand and gravel; and on Monday two horses at Crete-bridge, in the Stratford road, and one near Harburn, were drowned; and a man was drowned in endeavouring to cross Stone-bridge near Meriden. [In and about London, numbers of people have been drowned, particularly young persons in bathing themselves.]

A report was this morning spread at London, and 7th. many other places, that the French were actually landed; which report took its rise from the following circumstance: "Commodore Boys, from Deal, seeing two vessels in the offing, rigged in an unusual way, and much in the same manner in which the new French boats are said to be, made a signal for his cruisers then at anchor in the Downs, to slip and chase them, and soon after went on board his own ship, to give such further orders as might appear to be necessary. A subaltern officer quartered at Deal, did not much relish these dispositions, and sent away in great haste to General Boscawen, who commanded in Dover-castle, to know what he was to do with his

little regiment of thirty men, for that the French boats were in fight, the cruisers were in chace, and the commodore was gone on board.

The general on receiving this so seemingly positive advice, from one of his own officers then on the spot, unfortunately did not stay to make any farther enquiry, but instantly forwarded the letter he had received to the secretary at war by an express, who spread the alarm through every place he passed, and reached London time enough to occasion unspeakable confusion, before his news could be contradicted.

The commodore knew nothing of all this, though he was so unfortunate as to bear the blame of it; he was, as indeed he well might be very angry when heard of it, and directly sent off other expresses to contradict, and as fast as possible to remedy the inconveniences occasioned by the over-haste of the former one. The vessels proved to be two Dutch boys going quietly about their own business."

George Martin, one of the villains concerned in the audacious attempt, lately made, to carry off a lady from her lodgings in Frith-street, in conjunction with her husband, from whom she had been divorced, was tried at the quarter-sessions at Westminster, and sentenced to pay a fine, and suffer imprisonment for six months.

By letters from Vice-Admiral Cotes, Commander in chief of his majesty's ships at Jamaica, dated May 11, advice has been received at the Admiralty-office, that on the 29th of April, his majesty's ship the Viper brought into Port-Royal a large Dutch ship called Adrian, laden with sugar, indigo, and cof-

fee; she came under convoy of two French merchant frigates, bound to Europe. And that the 2d of May, his majesty's ships Dreadnought, Seaford, Wager, Peregrine, and Port Antonio, took the two French frigates, and another large Dutch ship that was under their convoy. The frigates are the Hardy of 20 guns and 150 men, and the Hermione of 26 guns and 170 men, and are loaded with the finest sugars and indigo, and are esteemed very rich ships.

A dreadful storm of thunder and lightening broke 9th. forth, in the neighbourhood of Kirkaldy, which lasted without intermission, from five in the morning till five in the afternoon; during which space two women who attended a bleaching ground, were struck dead by the lightening. One of them was sitting on a rising ground, with a child sucking at her breast; by her fall the little infant was tumbled down the hill, but received no manner of hurt.

An order of council was issued, declaring that all his 11th. majesty's faithful subjects, who shall enlist themselves in the land service from this day, shall not be sent out of Great Britain, and shall be intitled to their discharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the war, as they shall chuse; and all deserters who shall rejoin their respective regiments, or any other corps if their own be out of the kingdom, before the 20th of August next, shall be pardoned.

Came on before the lords of appeal, the cause of a Span- 12th. ish ship, called the St. Juan Baptista, Joseph Arteaga, master, taken in her passage from Corunna to Nantz;

Nantz; when after a long hearing, and many learned arguments, their lordships were pleased to decree the restitution of both ship and cargo; but from an irregularity in the pass, no costs were given the claimants.

15th. A most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning began in the evening in the neighbourhood of Bristol, by which a man was struck blind in Hallerst lane. The lightning was the most terrifying, and the claps that succeeded the loudest that has been heard in those parts for many years.

16th. The chimnies of the house of Mr. Whitfield, lord of the manor of Rickmansworth, were beaten down by the thunder and lightning, and the windows on one side broken. As a lady was combing her hair at the window, the comb in her hand was shivered to pieces, and the bed in her room split and rent in a surprising manner, yet she did not receive the least hurt. Some of the bricks of the chimnies were carried an hundred yards from the house.

The following is said to be the number of boats destroyed at Havre de Grace by Admiral Rodney; six finished; 42 half planked; 83 ribbed: total 131. The bomb vessels threw 1900 shells, and 1150 carcasses, from mortars of twelve inches.

17th. The parliament which stood prorogued to the 26th instant, was further prorogued to Thursday the 30th of August.

19th. At a court of common-council, held at Guildhall, it was resolved by the commissioners appointed to carry the act of parliament into execution, for building a bridge cross the river Thames, from

Black-friars to the opposite shore: That a sum not exceeding 144,000l. shall be forthwith contracted for, and raised within the space of eight years, by installments, not exceeding 30,000l. in one year, the money so to be contracted for to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money, have an interest of 4l. per ann. to be computed from the time of the first payment in each year, upon the whole sums by them respectively advanced within the year; but shall incur a forfeiture in case of neglect, to make good any of the stipulated payments; the said annuities to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, but to be redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years, upon six months notice; and, that the chamberlain shall affix the city's seal to such instrument as the committee shall think fit to give, pursuant to the said act, for securing the payment of the said annuities.

The Golden Lion, a 27th. Greenland ship belonging to Liverpool, in entering that port was boarded by two men of war's tenders, the commanding lieutenant declaring he would press every man of the crew, unless they would enter voluntarily. The crew stood upon their defence, and confined their officers; the king's lieutenant called out to the Vengeance man of war to fire into the Golden Lion; but the crew being sixty in number, kept him and his people on deck to share the same fate with themselves. The Vengeance fired away, and that within pistol-shot, and several of her nine pounders, besides raking the ship, fell in the town, and did some damage; the crew of the Golden

Lion filled her sails and got her into harbour ; and gave bond, according to act of parliament, and renewed their protections ; nevertheless the prefs-gang pursued them to the custom-house, seized Capt. Thomson, the commander, and five of his men, and wounded a woman desperately, who was only a spectator.

28th. Sailed from Plymouth the Hero man of war, Capt.

Edgecombe, having Prince Edward on board, in company with the Venus, Pallas, Acteon, Sapphire, and Southampton frigates, to join Sir Edward Hawke's fleet. [His Royal Highness on the 2d instant arrived in the bay, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the fleet, and complimented by all the admirals and captains, according to their seniority.]

Zara, a beautiful lioness in the Tower, lately whelped and brought forth two.

A Sallee cruizer has taken an English vessel from Cork laden with leather, and carried her into Tangier ; and it is thought she will be condemned, as well as all others they meet with.

The crew belonging to the Litchfield man of war, that was wrecked some time ago on the coast of Barbara, and some other English subjects that were made slaves, are ransomed for 170,000 hard dollars.

The Favourite sloop of war, Capt. Edwards, of 16 six pounders, 4 three pounders, and 110 men, has taken the Velour of 20 nine pounders, 4 twelve pounders, and the same number of men, after an obstinate engagement, and carried her into Gibraltar. She came from St. Domingo, and is a valuable prize.

A machine hath been invented by

a priest at Bologna in Italy, to remove walls from one place to another. Trial being made of it in St. Michael's church in that city, to enlarge the choir, it removed a wall thirteen inches thick, fourteen feet broad, and twenty feet high, to the distance of nine feet, in the space of seven minutes.

## AUGUST.

Letters have been received 1st. by the American mail, giving an account of the sufferings of Capt. Barron and his crew, in the Dolphin sloop, bound from the Canaries to New-York ; they had been from the Canaries one hundred sixty-five days, one hundred and sixteen of which they had nothing to eat. Capt. Bradshaw of the Andalusia took them up at sea, and when they came alongside the ship they were so very weak, that they were obliged to be hawled on board by ropes ; there were the captain and seven others : but such poor miserable creatures sure never was seen ; had it been a week longer, they must all have died. The captain and people declare, that they had not had any ship provisions for upwards of three months ; that they had eaten their dog, their cat, and all their shoes, and, in short, every thing that was eatable on board.

Being reduced to the last extremity, they all agreed to cast lots for their lives, which accordingly they did ; the shortest lot was to die, the next shortest was to be the executioner. The lot fell upon Anthony Galatia a Spanish gentleman, a passenger ; they shot him through the head ; which they cut off and threw over-

overboard ; then took out his bowels and eat them, and afterwards eat all the remaining part of the body, which lasted but a very little while. The captain saw they were for casting lots a second time, but it happened very luckily that he be-thought himself of a pair of breeches that were lined with leather ; he soon found them, took out the lining, and cut off for each man's share a piece of about an inch and a half square, for the day's allowance ; that, with the grass which grew upon the deck, was all the support they had for about twenty days before they were taken up ; the grass, as Capt. Bradshaw writes, was, in some places, four or five inches long upon the deck.

The case of Capt. Cox, late of the Sarah and Molly, is no less deplorable ; about the middle of November last he sailed from Louisbourg with a number of soldiers for St. John's, being thirty-six persons in all on board ; and on the 28th, it being extremely cold stormy weather, they were cast ashore at Cape Selaware, on the main. While on the rocks, seven of the people were drowned, among whom was the captain's son ; the rest, with a great deal of difficulty, got ashore, and endeavoured to travel to Margomarth, but after travelling three days, twenty-two of them were frozen to death, and all the others, excepting himself, lost some of their limbs, they having been without fire or provisions the whole time ; after which seven Indians appeared with spears to kill them, but were prevented by a French priest, who relieved them, with much difficulty.

At a numerous committee for building the new bridge, a motion

was made by Sir Robert Ladbroke, and unanimously agreed to by the committee, " That the thanks of this committee be given to Mr. Paterfon, for his particular assistance in obtaining the act of parliament for a new bridge, and his zeal and attention to promote the means for carrying the act into execution."

This day the trial of Eugene Aram for the murder 3d. of Daniel Clark fourteen years ago, came on at York assizes.

As some workmen were making a new ditch in the county of Louth in Ireland, they found a large ring of gold 16 inches in diameter, the gold half an inch thick ; the circle wanted about two inches of being compleat ; they cut it into five pieces ; two of which weighed 9 oz.

Oxford. The right hon. the Earl of Westmorland, chancellor of this university, having received a letter from the King of Prussia (written with his majesty's own hand) expressing his thanks for the present lately made from hence, of the new volume of lord Clarendon's history ; the same has been communicated to the vice-chancellor, and on Sunday last read to the doctors and masters in full convocation. And, the same day, their seal was affixed to a letter to the King of Naples, containing the thanks of the university, for a present lately received from his Neapolitan majesty, of two large volumes in folio, being the history of the curiosities and antiquities discovered at Portici.

The annual prizes given by the hon. Edward Finch and 7th. Tho. Townshend, Esqrs. members of the university of Cambridge, were deter-

determined in favour of Mr. Roberts of King's College, and Mr. Beadon of St. John's College, middle batchers. The subject of the former was, *Oratio pro Socrate ad Populum Atheniensem*; and, for the latter, *Utrum in bene constitutam Civitatem Ludi Scenici admitti debeant?*

11th. A quarter after ten at night, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Bourdeaux, which lasted 15 seconds. It was preceded for half a minute, by a loud subterraneous noise. Several bells sounded very loud. The doors and most of the windows opened and shut with great violence. Many bricks and slates were thrown from the roofs. Very little china or earthen ware was left whole in the town, and the roof of the church of Notre Dame entirely fell in.

12th. The wife of one Edward Knight of Warwick, was taken in labour about five o'clock in the morning; the midwife who attended her, after giving her all the assistance in her power, believed her to be dead, and then left her. About five in the afternoon the dead woman was put into a coffin, with a shroud over her. The next morning the nurse going into the room where the corpse lay, she fancied she saw something move the shroud up and down in the coffin, and ran away much frightened to acquaint the people of the house below, who immediately went up stairs with her to examine what it could be; when turning down the shroud, to their great astonishment they saw a live child groveling in the sawdust, which had delivered itself from the corpse as it lay in the coffin. — As soon as their surprize was over, they wrapped the child in flannel,

and took all possible care to preserve it, but it died before they could dress it.

A court of common council was held at Guildhall, when 14th. the lord mayor acquainted them that he had called that court to deliberate on a proposition of great consequence to the service of their King and country, and hoped that the result would be such as should do honour to the city, by proving the sincerity of their professions to his majesty. Whereupon the court resolved and ordered, among other considerations, that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as shall enter into his majesty's service, and that the city subscribe 1000 l. for that purpose; and a committee of twelve aldermen and twenty-four commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to dispose of the said bounty-money to the persons applying for the same; and that one alderman and two commoners be a quorum sufficient to transact business; and as a farther encouragement, every person so entering, shall be entitled to the freedom of this city at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should end; and Sir James Hodges, the town clerk, was ordered by the court to wait upon the right hon. Mr. Pitt with the said resolutions, and desire him to inform his majesty of the same. Some of the committee are to wait upon lord Ligonier, to desire him to send proper officers to Guildhall, to receive such persons as shall be enlisted. At the said court a motion was made and agreed to, that the persons who shall contract for building

ing the new bridge, may be allowed to employ journeymen for that purpose that are non-freemen; and the vacant ground at Black-friars is ordered to be enclosed, for the convenience of the workmen.

The town clerk having, according to the above order, waited upon the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt, that gentleman, the next day, sent the following letter.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the city of London.

Whitehall, Aug. 15, 1759.

My Lord,

Having, in consequence of the desire of the court of common council, had the honour to lay before the King their resolutions of yesterday, for offering certain bounties and encouragements to such able bodied men as shall enlist themselves at the Guildhall of London, to serve in his majesty's land forces, upon the terms contained in his majesty's orders in council; I am commanded, by the King, to acquaint your lordship (of which you will be pleased to make the proper communication) that his majesty thanks the city of London for this fresh testimony of their zeal and affection for his royal person and government.— I am farther commanded, by the King, to express his majesty's most entire satisfaction, in this signal proof of the unshaken resolution of the city of London, to support a just and necessary war, undertaken in defence of the rights and honour of his crown, and for the security of the colonies, the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

I am with great truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

[Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, the lord mayor, alderman Beckford, and William Belcher, Esq; have each subscribed 100 l. the clothworkers company 300 l. the goldsmiths company 500 l. and the apothecaries 100 l. to carry these laudable resolutions into execution.

About this time a mob assembled at Houseman's house in Knareborough (who was acquitted of the charge of being concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark, in order to be admitted evidence against Eugene Aram) and it was with great difficulty they were prevented from pulling it down: however, they carried Houseman about the streets in effigy, which was afterwards knocked on the head with a pick ax, and then hanged and burnt.

Robert Saxby was executed near Guilford for the murder of his brother's wife at Wootton near Dorkin in Surry. He confessed the fact, and gave it as a reason for committing it, her unkindness to his son. He was 72 years of age, and died hardened, saying he could have lived but a few years longer if the thing had not happened, and shewed no kind of horror at the heinousness of his crime.

At a meeting of the committee for carrying into execution the act of parliament for erecting a bridge at Black-friars, it appeared, by the lists, that the sum subscribed for that purpose, amounted to 204,100 l. which is 60,100 l. more than was wanted for the necessary occasion.

This day a chapter of the most noble order of the garter was held at Kensington, present the Sovereign, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Newcastle, Earl of



Granville, Earl of Lincoln, Earl of Winchelsea, Earl of Cardigan, and Earl Waldegrave, when his serene highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was elected a knight companion of the said most noble order.

At the assizes held at Gloucester, came on the trial of Ephraim Lardner and Mary Mills, for the murder of a bastard child born on the body of Mills. On the trial it appeared that the child was born alive; that Lardner took it from the mother, and buried it in a badger's hole in a wood, where the child was found by his direction, and appeared to have been strangled; as well as bruised on different parts of the body. Lardner said the child was dead when he received it from the mother; but could not produce any evidence to prove it. Mills's evidence in court contradicted, in a great measure, the testimony she had given before the justice who committed them: and upon summing up the evidence, the judge cautioned the jury from giving credit to any thing advanced by Mills against Lardner, since if that was admitted, women killing their bastard children might charge the murder on any innocent person. The jury, after some debate, returned a verdict that the child was murdered, but that they knew not on whom to charge the murder; on being again sent out, acquitted Mills, and found Lardner guilty; on being sent out a third time, begged the judge's directions; and at a fourth consultation acquitted both the prisoners.

Orders were sent to the 18th. custom-house at Liverpool, to admit sugars and other produce of the island of Guadaloupe, to be entered as British plantation; the Sarah, Capt. Taylor, having

brought to their market the first parcel of Guadaloupe sugars imported into England since the conquest of that island.

The wife of Mr. Cam, in Wood-street, was brought to bed of three sons, baptised Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. 20th.

In the Sherborne Mercury of this day's date, there is an account of a remarkable pond at Melbury-bub, in Dorsetshire, which is said in the morning to be covered with a thick oily substance, of a scarlet colour, that dyes any thing red, but in the afternoon it changes to green.

Eleven houses were consumed by fire, in Cherry-tree alley, Bunhill row. 21st.

The regiment commanded by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, being encamped on South-sea Common, near South-sea Castle, had leave to deposit their powder and ball in the east wing of that fort. Nine barrels of cartridges being placed in a lower room, over which there was a barrack, where the women washed and dressed victuals, with a furze fire. The flooring being very old, it is supposed some sparks fell through the crevices, and in an instant all that quarter of the fort was blown up, and many people buried under the ruins. An invalid soldier was blown out of the fort above 100 yards, the centry, another invalid, was blown over the parapet wall, and had both his legs, and one arm torn off. The force of the explosion burst open the door of the great magazine, and tore a large bolt off, but reached no farther; and all the windows are broke, almost all the buildings damaged, except the grand batteries towards the sea, and the batteries round the fort.

At

23d. At half an hour after four in the morning, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Brussels, which lasted about a minute. The motion was continual and regular; a slight trembling was felt in the strongest houses, the doors were burst open, and the bolts struck against the posts like so many hammers. Immediately after the shock the air was quite calm.

The Friendship, Thompson, arrived from Jamaica with about 500 hogheads of sugar on board, by some accident blew up at the Hope Point, by which several lives were lost. There were on board, when the misfortune happened, between 30 and 40 people, amongst whom eighteen young Creolians, that were coming here for education, and the mate's wife and two children: there escaped but four persons, viz. two Dutchmen and two Danes.

27th. Rear Adm. Rodney with his fleet of frigates and bomb vessels, sailed from Portsmouth.

About the latter end of last month, the people of Berlin were put into the greatest consternation on the discovery of a conspiracy, in which six or eight hundred deserters were concerned, most of them French, who were to set fire to the city in several places, plunder the houses, and then make their escape. The chief, and 230 of the conspirators were apprehended.

About the same time, a great fire broke out in Stockholm, by which they reckon that 250 houses have been reduced to ashes. The loss is computed at two millions of crowns.

There was lately tried, at Westminster, before Lord Chief Justice

Willes (by a special jury) a cause wherein Mr. Nickleson, of Poole was plaintiff, and Capt. Fortescue of the Prince Edward man of war, defendant, for impressing the men out of the Thomas and Elizabeth, from Newfoundland to Poole, in consequence of which the said ship was lost; when a verdict was given for the plaintiff for 1000l. and costs of suit.

As some boys were diverting themselves lately, near Elgin, in Sootland, in looking for birds-nests in the ruins of an old religious house, near that place, called, My Lady's High House, they discovered a quantity of gold coins, mostly Scots coin, some of them coined in the reign of Queen Mary during her marriage with Lord Darnley, and bear their names decyphered; those in the reign of James V. bear his effigies and his arms; and there are some of different sizes that appear to have been coined in the reign of James VI. one of these is larger than a crown piece, and has on one side this inscription, Jacobus VI. Dei gratia Rex Scottorum; and the Scots arms, with a double tressure on the shield, resembling a ship, with a sloop, mast, and sails; on the other side, Florent scepit. piis regna; his Jova dat numeratque; with a cross florée, adorned with crowns, and betwix each branch of the crown a lion rampant crowned.

— There are also a few foreign coins; some of these have Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum Rex, with the French arms crowned, on one side; and on the other, a cross topped with flowers de luce, motto XPS REGNAT XPS VINCIT XPS IMPERAT; some, Henricus III. D. G. Franciæ et Pol. Rex; and some Spanish, with Fernandus Elizabeth.

Elizabet. Dei gratia.—The characters on the other side are somewhat obscure.—All the letters are Roman characters.

Campbeltown, in Argylshire, June 14, 1759. This day Robert Mitchell, in Saddale, aged 88, has in life, of children, grand-children, and great grand-children, 200; he walks from Saddale to Campbeltown, which is eight miles; does business, and walks home at night.

On Thursday the second instant, a farmer in Calf-hill, near Haddington in Scotland, sold new oats for 8s. 6d. per boll. The oats were neither sown nor ploughed this year, but sprung up from the shaking of the last crop: this has likewise happened in several fields near Edinburgh. That oats should remain in the ground all the winter, and thereafter come to full growth, and turn out a most plentiful crop, is so extraordinary, that the like has not happened in the memory of man, and can be attributed to nothing but the mildness of the season.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May 11. Last Monday, about two o'clock in the morning, we had an uncommon storm of thunder and lightning, which produced some melancholy effects, as it has greatly damaged the Rev. Mr. Haven's meeting-house; the lightning struck the steeple, and rending the spire in pieces quite down to the cupola, over the bell, descended in the north easterly and south westerly corner post; the former of which it shivered into small strips from end to end; and shattered one of the main posts in the end of the house; it seems then to have moved horizontally upon the stones of the underpinning, as it has split a considerable piece

of stone at the south-west corner of the meeting-house, and entered the ground at ten or fifteen feet distance, making two considerable holes: but it is pretty evident a part of it took its course northerly; as three cows and a hog were in the morning found dead on the north-side of the meeting-house, two of which were in a stable about sixty feet from the steeple. The glass windows in the steeple are all broke; two casements next the post which was split to pieces were stove quite into the house, &c.

We have here a fresh instance of that marvellous power with which electric fire is endowed; this meeting-house seems particularly exposed to the effects, as it is situated upon a small elevation, which has on three sides of it, not far distant, large quantities of water, which is a powerful non-electric: and this is the second or third time it has been struck with lightning.

Died lately, Edward Murphy, of Birr, in the King's county in Ireland, aged 110.

We hear from Madrid, that the 10th inst. Ferdinand King of Spain, &c. died at Villa Viciosa, in his 46th year. He succeeded his father in 1746, and married the Infanta of Portugal, sister to the present King, who died about a year ago, by whom he had no issue.

His majesty, by his will, appointed his eldest brother, the King of the Two Sicilies, to succeed to the crown of Spain, and until his arrival, the Queen Dowager to be regent of the kingdom. Accordingly her majesty immediately assumed the government, and has commanded all officers to continue in their respective posts till further orders.

## SEPTEMBER.

18. Draughts were made from the regiments at Chatham, Canterbury, and Dover, about 45 men from each regiment, to recruit the regiments in Germany who suffered in the battle of Thonhausen.

—Perhaps history does not produce an instance where so small a body sustained such a shock as our infantry did at this battle, without giving way.

2d. A loan was opened at the exchequer for 200,000 l. upon the vote of credit, upon the same terms and conditions as the former loan of 300,000 l.

4th. Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth Caroline, second daughter of his late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, died at Kew, in the 19th year of her age; being born on the 30th of December 1740. Her Royal Highness was of a genius and disposition equally to be admired and loved; formed to be the delight and honour of a court; possessed of an uncommon wit, tempered with judgment, and restrained by modesty; for ever chearful, and the cause of chearfulness; excellent in all female accomplishments, and particularly eminent for her skill and taste in music: but more than all distinguished by her goodness. Her nearest relations lose a dear and amiable companion, her royal parent an obedient daughter, and Britain a supreme blessing. Applause which follows greatness, often exceeds its subject; but here it is less than truth.

6th. The special verdict found at the last Chester assize, on the remarkable trial of John Ste-

phenon, for the murder of Mr. Francis Elcock, attorney, was argued at Chester, before the hon. Mr. Justice Noel, chief justice of Chester, and Taylor White, Esq; the other justice. The court took time till the next morning for delivering their opinion; and accordingly, on Friday morning, about eight o'clock, Mr. Justice Noel, in a learned and pathetic speech, supported by adjudged cases, and the doctrine of the wisest sages of the law, and also by arguments of reason and conscience, declared his opinion, that the prisoner's crime, found by the special verdict, could amount at most to manslaughter only. Whereupon the prisoner was burnt in the hand, and discharged from the indictment for murder.

Dr. Hensley, so long confined in Newgate, gave bail before a judge, in order to plead his pardon the ensuing term, and was discharged from his confinement.

Last month a most daring robbery was committed at Limerick in Ireland; two men entered the custom-house there, one of whom presented a pistol to the clerk's breast, whilst the other robbed the house of about 1800 l. in cash, and afterwards made their escape, locking up the clerk in one of the offices, though two centinels were standing at the door.

Kenfington. This day the 10th Marquis d'Abreu, envoy extraordinary from the court of Spain, had a private audience of his Majesty, to notify the death of the late King of Spain.

The right hon. the Lord Barrington, secretary at war, by his majesty's command, waited on Lord George Sackville, with orders for him

him to deliver up all his places that he held under the government.

11th. Thomas Haywood, Esq; water bailiff of this city, by order of the right hon. the lord mayor, waited on her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, with a present of a fine surgeon of seven feet in length, which her Royal Highness was pleased to accept.

14th. The remains of her late Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth Caroline were privately interred in the royal vault in King Henry the seventh's chapel, at Westminster.

Admiral Boscawen arrived 15th. at Spithead, with his majesty's ships the *Namure*, *Culloden*, *Warspite*, *Intrepid*, *Swiftsure*, *America*, *Portland*, *Salamander*, and *Ætna* fire ships, with the *Temeraire* and *Modeste*, prizes, with about 800 French prisoners.

[The *Modeste* is a very fine ship launched last May, carries 32 pound shot on her lower deck; her quarter deck guns are brass; and fine brass swivels on her poop, very little hurt. The *Temeraire* is a fine 74 gun ship, 42 pounds below; eight fine brass guns abaft her main mast, and ten brass on her quarter, very little hurt; one shot came in at her stern, went through her main mast, and lodged in her main mast. Both ships have not received above 20 shot in their hulls.

Admiral Boscawen waited 17th. on his majesty, and was most graciously received.

One Hitchens who had been disordered in his senses for some time, going into the house of Thomas Bedworth, of King's-Wood, near Birmingham, and finding only three children all in bed, took one of

them, a girl about three years old, cut off its head and arms and feet, ripped open its belly, and put some part of the body on the fire: while he was employed in this horrid barbarity, a brother who had been abroad, came in, and being terrify'd alarmed the neighbours with his cries, who asking the wretch why he had committed such an act of cruelty, said, he had killed the child to eat it, and that he would serve all the little girls so.

This is inserted as a caution against suffering persons disordered in their senses to wander at large without a keeper.

At a meeting of the nobility and gentry of the 19th. county of Middlesex, and liberty of Westminster, held at St. Alban's tavern, a voluntary subscription was agreed upon for giving bounties to able bodied landmen; who shall voluntarily enlist themselves in the service of his majesty, upon the terms and conditions proposed by the city of London, and 4726l. immediately subscribed; and his Grace the Duke of Newcastle being requested to lay the resolutions of the noblemen and gentlemen present before his majesty, as a testimony of the duty and affection of the county, city, and liberty, to his person and government, his grace was pleased to signify his majesty's gracious approbation of their good intention, in a letter directed to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Bart. and George Cooke, Esq; representatives for the county; and to Major General Cornwallis, and Sir John Cross, Bart. representatives for the city and liberty of Westminster; of which the following is a copy.

New-

Newcastle-house, Sept. 26, 1759.

GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to the commands of the gentlemen of the county of Middlesex, and city and liberty of Westminster, who met on the 19th inst. to consider of the most effectual methods, to be taken, for the support of his majesty and government against the invasion now threatened, and for the security of this county, city and liberty, I have had the honour to lay before the King the dutiful and loyal resolutions which they came to thereupon.

I have his majesty's express orders, to assure them of the grateful sense which he has of this proper and seasonable mark of their duty and affection to his person and government, of which his majesty has received such frequent proofs from his loyal county of Middlesex, and city and liberty of Westminster, and particularly upon the like occasions: and the King will forthwith direct, that such attendance and assistance shall be given as may most effectually answer the intention of those generous and voluntary offers.

The approbation of the measures which his majesty has taken for the support of the national interests of his kingdoms, is extremely agreeable to the King.

I must beg the favour of you to take the first opportunity of acquainting the gentlemen concerned, with his majesty's sense of this fresh mark of their loyalty and zeal for his person and government.

It is a great honour to me to have conveyed this testimony of the duty and affection of the county of Middlesex, and city and

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liberty of Westminster, to the King and to have been directed by his majesty, to declare his most gracious acceptance of it. I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

An eminent merchant in this city rode four horses at 22d. Rôyston in Hertfordshire, for a wager of 1300 guineas; he was to go 42 miles in two hours, and performed it in one hour 49 minutes. Bets to the amount of several thousand pounds were depending on this match.

Admiral Rodney arrived 24th. at Spithead, in his majesty's ship Deptford, with the Isis, Capt. Wheeler, from off Havre de Grace; the former to victual, and the latter to dock, victual, and return.

Rear-Admiral Rodney sailed 26th. from Portsmouth in the Deptford, to resume his station off Havre, whither the Chatham, Capt. Lockhart, and the Isis, Capt. Wheeler, as soon as cleaned, will repair and join him.

Capt. Smith, in the True Briton, arrived at Bristol, who sailed from Barbadoes the 25th of July, in company with 320 sail of merchantmen, of whom 70 or 80 might be for America, under convoy of eight men of war of the line, and four bombs. He reports, that there are great misunderstandings between Commodore Moore and the Islanders, by which they suffer greatly in their trade, the French having taken above 40 sail in a very short time.

The society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, have given 500 l. sterling, to the infant college at New York.

At a meeting of the united vestries of St. Margaret and 28th. St. John the Evangelist, Westminster,

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ster, it was resolved to open a subscription for an immediate voluntary contribution of the inhabitants of these parishes, to be applied to the same purpose, and subject to the same directions, as the subscription of the nobility, gentry, &c. at the St. Alban's tavern of the 19th instant.

The following decision of the congregation, appointed by the Pope to examine the affairs of the Jesuits in Portugal, is said to be authentic. First, the effects of the first institution, as well as the tenth prelevies, shall remain in the hands of the patriarch of Lisbon, to defray the expences of missions, and other functions belonging to the society. Secondly, the effects arising from the second institution, shall serve to found a proper income for such as quit the house of the company. Thirdly, the effects of the third institution, such as ships employed in commerce, merchandize, and other things of that nature, shall go to the profit of the royal treasury, to be employed in relief of the poor. Fourthly, in respect to such of those fathers who are prisoners of state for the crime of high-treason, the King shall make use of the right he has to punish them. Fifthly, nevertheless we beseech his majesty not to permit the cruel tortures, usual in such cases, to be employed towards the guilty; but that, in conciliating his clemency and his justice, he would let them feel the effects of the sentiments of a good father and an upright judge. [This last article is said to have been added in the Pope's own hand.]

Christopher Irwin, Esq; invented a pensile chair, by means of which the heavenly bodies may be easily

observed at sea in the most boisterous weather. The brave Lord Howe acted in the kindest and most worthy manner to that gentleman, as may be seen by the certificate underneath. The longitude was observed formally, for several times, and the errors were from seven to fifteen miles, which is much less than the nearest the act requires: in short, it is a thing much easier to practise than was expected. He went from Portsmouth to Plymouth in the Jason; from thence to Lord Howe in the Colchester; from Lord Howe when he was satisfied, he returned in the Minerva frigate to Plymouth, where the Deptford being just ready, he came in her to Deal: the experiment was tried in every one of these ships, and it answered in all extremely well; so that the benefits attending this experiment may be relied upon. Prince Edward was so kind as to come and see, and set in the chair, and liked it much: Dr. Blair, his Royal Highness's mathematical teacher, came with him; and on the facility he found in using the telescope, cried out aloud, This will do, this will do. They came again one evening, and he took an observation for the longitude, when the error did not exceed seven or eight minutes.

A copy of Lord Howe's last certificate.

Magnanime, off of Ushant, Aug. 11, 1759. On a further experiment of the marine chair contrived by Mr. Irwin, I am of opinion, that an observation of an emersion or immersion of Jupiter's satellites may be made in it at sea, not subject to a greater error than three minutes of time.

Howe.  
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There is now one John Kennedy, who sells tapes, gartering, and laces, about Tower-hill, that is now in the hundred and seventh year of his age, being born at Sterling, in Scotland, in the year 1653; but what is remarkable is, that he was in the fleet when Sir Cloudesly Shovell was cast on the rocks of Scilly, and was one of the twelve that escaped from that dreadful shipwreck.

Above 500 men have enlisted at Guildhall since the public subscription has been opened.

The singular and extraordinary step, that the city of London has taken, in order to reinforce his majesty's armies, and to enable a wise and virtuous administration to carry their public spirited designs into execution, in spite of all the efforts of their open, and all the endeavours of their secret enemies, must strike the present age with wonder, and appear a thing almost incredible in succeeding times. It is at once the highest proof of attachment, and the strongest evidence of confidence. There is no doubt, considering the time, the manner, and the extent of this assistance, that it will prove as effectual in its consequences, as in its nature it is unusual.

When one considers the large proportion of the land-tax, which the city of London and its dependencies pay, upon the multitude of the houses, and the high rents at which they are let; when one reflects on the prodigious income arising from the excise, on the almost innumerable branches of the extensive consumption of its inhabitants; and when one contemplates the mighty sums that annually flow into the royal reve-

nue, from the duties and customs on the trade of this port; it gives one a high idea of the importance of this metropolis, and of the consummate prudence of the minister, who has so used his authority, as to acquire the good wishes of his fellow citizens.

To all this, if we add the influence of such an example, we may form an adequate notion, of the weight and consequence of the step lately taken. Reflections upon it would be needless; but there is one, so very obvious, and at the same time of such political utility, that it ought not to escape us. "A government is more than absolute, that in all its expences, can safely rely for resources, on the affections of its subjects; and an invariable and inviolable attention to their interest, ought in policy, as well as gratitude, to be the perpetual object of that government, which for its own security, has once had recourse with success, to such resources."

The company of stationers have given 100 guineas to the Guildhall subscription; the East-India company 500 l. the vintners 100 l. the ironmongers 100 l. the salters 100 l. the cordwainers 100 l. the grocers 500 guineas, and Lord Ligonier 100 l. The grocers company also gave 100 l. to the marine society.

Newcastle, Sept. 1. This week a subscription was opened here by the right worshipful the mayor, the magistrates and other gentlemen; from which fund they offer two guineas to every likely fellow, fit and willing to serve his majesty in the regiment of the Royal Volunteers recruiting here, or in the 66th regiment, commanded by Col. La Fausille, now quartered in this



town and neighbourhood, who shall voluntarily enlist in either of the aforesaid corps, within six weeks from the 29th of August.

The corporation gave the sum of 300 guineas, and the two worthy members, and several gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, made very large subscriptions.

The corporation of Berwick, have ordered three guineas to be given to every able-bodied landman (not inrolled in the militia) who shall, within six weeks, enlist before any magistrate of that town, to serve in the regiment of Royal Volunteers, commanded by Colonel John Crawford, or the regiment of foot commanded by Colonel John La Fauville, over and above all bounty money, so as the same exceeds not 100 guineas, and what shall exceed that sum is to be raised by subscription.

The magistrates of Glasgow and Dundee, have also ordered bounties to persons who enlist in his majesty's forces.

Died lately, Colonel Richard James, of the island of Jamaica, aged 103.

Dublin, Sept. 15. On Tuesday last the grand canal leading from Dublin to the river Shannon had the water let into it, and a new barge was launched, which was built adjoining to the work near Lyons, about 40 tons burden, in the presence of a vast concourse of gentlemen and ladies of distinction, who expressed the greatest satisfaction in viewing that beautiful canal, with the many curious bridges, aqueducts, and sluices, that are already perfected on that most useful undertaking, which has succeeded beyond expectation.

At Newbiggin by the sea, near

this town, on Monday last, the fishermen drove on shore a fish twenty-one feet long, and its circumference round the shoulders nine feet, the head resembling that of a grampus, but more depressed, with a sifitula in the middle, the structure of the gills remarkable, the foramina being three on each side, in semicircular direction, defended by three rows of a boney lamina. The eye small for the size of the fish, and covered with a skin which concealed all the eye but the iris, which was of a dark blue, the tongue large and flat, the mouth not armed with teeth, the skin of the whole body rough, the fins cartilaginous, and the tail bifid, the stomach of a remarkable size, which, when dilated, must contain full ten gallons, and was full of fine sea-weed and sand. From the anus to the extremity of the tail, the fleshy parts of the fish, for two inches deep, was exactly like beef, all the rest of the body resembled the flesh of turbot.

Extract of a letter from Aleppo, dated July 27.

“ By the last letters from Bofora of the 20th, we have advice, that the English fleet on the Indian coast had taken Surat, after a siege of forty days; that they had made the Moors prisoners of war, and sent the nabob prisoner to Bombay.

The same letters add, that the French had made an unsuccessful attempt on Bombay.

In December last, the French were defeated at Golconda, had 30 men killed, and 130 Europeans made prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon taken, and all their baggage.”

A great number of protestants, who have been ruined during the war in Germany, have passed through

through Hanover, going to Denmark, his Danish majesty having promised them all the assistance in his power for their settling in his dominions.

At the last sessions at the Old Bailey, Nicholas Randall, for wilfully and maliciously levelling a gun, loaded with gunpowder and shot, and shooting at John Hampton and William Denny; whereby one of the eyes of Hampton was shot out, and Denny wounded in the leg, received sentence of death. The convict, Randall, (upwards of 78 years of age) has many years been noted for begging at the staling places for horses, the further end of Turnham-green; who being possessed of a small garden, and the boys, Hampton and Denny, playing with other children in the fields near the garden, the old man, thinking they were in a combination to steal his apples, rashly resolved and perpetrated the fact, of which, upon the clearest evidence, he was convicted.—The jury, in consideration of his great age, recommended him to mercy.

## OCTOBER.

1st. About eight o'clock in the evening, the recruits in the Savoy mutinied: a guard was sent for to quell them, who at first were ordered to fire only with powder; the recruits returned the compliment by throwing brickbats, which knocked several of the soldiers down; they were then ordered to fire with ball, which wounded several of the recruits, and put a stop to the fray. But unhappily one Jones, belonging to the third regiment of foot guards,

getting upon the leads of the prison to see the affair, and looking down, was taken for one of the prisoners by the centinel, who immediately shot at him, and the ball went through his head, and killed him on the spot. Nine of the men were dangerously wounded, and eighteen more of them put in irons.

The Friendship, Capt. Brest, 2d. from Cork to Halifax, was taken by a French privateer in latitude 44 deg. 22 min. N. longitude 34 deg. 22 min. W. from London, who took out the master and all the crew, except the mate and a boy, and put eight Frenchmen on board, with orders to proceed to Vigo; but after several days possession, the mate watched his opportunity, seized the arms, and without putting one man to death, secured as many of them as it was prudent to do for his own safety, and by the assistance of the boy took the command of the ship, which he brought safe into Pool harbour. An action the more gallant, as no life was lost in the execution of it.

A letter from on board the Achilles man of war off 5th. Brest.

“ The 28th of last month, Commodore Hervey (our ship belongs to his squadron) ordered all the barges to come on board his ship in the afternoon. At night we went in the Monmouth's barge, with four other barges. I was in our's, and having rowed till near one in the morning, we got into a bay, close to the French fleet, in order to attack a little yacht belonging to the French admiral. As soon as Commodore Hervey, who led us, got sight of the fort, under which the vessel lay, the yacht hailed the

Monmouth's boat, and fired; we immediately all fired our small arms and pulled on board as fast as possible. The commodore himself and his people were first on board, and carried her through all their fire. We boarded next, to follow their brave example. We found them with swords and pistols in hand; the French running under deck, begging their lives. Our people cut her cable, and our boats brought her out in the midst of incessant firing from the shore. We found ourselves in great danger, nevertheless we towed and hallowed all the way. In the morning we were met by the rest of the ships boats. We got to our ships not a little tired, nor a little pleased at a conquest that might have been more dearly bought; but nothing could have been done here so mortifying to the French. All the wounded prisoners were sent in a flag of truce. The commodore, who received no hurt, a shot only passing through his coat, has generously given up all his share of the prize and head money to the people who went in the barges with him: and we believe that all the captains of his squadron will follow so worthy an example."

8th. Extract of a letter from Portsmouth.

"On Friday afternoon, arrived at St. Helen's, his majesty's ship St. George, of 90 guns; Cambridge, of 80; Norfolk, of 74; Panther, of 64; and under their convoy above two hundred sail of merchant ships from the West Indies."

9th. The store-vessel came into Plymouth from her moorings at the Edystone, with all the workmen on board, the light-house there being entirely compleated un-

der the direction of that excellent mechanic Mr. Smeaton, F. R. S. without the loss of one life, or any material accident.

Arrived at Spithead, the Centaur French man of war, one of the Toulon squadron, that was lately taken by Admiral Boscawen, and sent to Gibraltar.

This Day Hessian Bey, lately arrived ambassador from Tripoly, had his first audience of his majesty, to deliver his credentials; and had the honour of presenting his son to his majesty at the same time: to which he was introduced by the right hon. William Pitt, esq; one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and conducted by Stephen Cottrell, esq; assistant-master of the ceremonies. He brought with him six fine barbary horses, richly caparisoned, as a present to his majesty.

The Arethusa man of war came through the Needles 12th. to Portsmouth, at the rate of fourteen knots an hour, in a violent gale of wind that had carried away her main-mast, and her fore and mizen-top-masts off Plymouth. In this storm Admiral Hawke's squadron were driven from before Brest, and the next day, the Ramilies, Union, Royal George, Foudroyant, Duke, Mars, Dorsetshire, Essex, Kingston, Montague, Nottingham, and Temple, arrived in Plymouth sound.

His Royal Highness Prince Edward went on shore in the 13th. evening, in good health, and set out for Saltram, the seat of John Parker, esq;.

Monf. Thurot, who had been blocked up in Dunkirk road for 15th. some months by Commodore Boys, found means to get out with a small squadron

squadron of armed vessels, on board of which it is said he has 1800 men, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland. Commodore Boys immediately set sail in pursuit of him, and it is hoped he will have the good fortune to overtake him.

One of the East India ship's long-boats, rigged, of twelve tons, with only six hands and a mate on board, arrived express from the Brazils, with an account of the arrival there of the Fox and Boscawen China men. They have been long missing, and were thought to have fallen into the hands of the French, from whom they had a very narrow escape. The Fox and Boscawen arrived at the Brazils the 16th of June, and the three French men of war that cruised for them off St. Helena, came in three days after.

20th. Kenfington. This day the right hon. the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, waited on his majesty, and being introduced by the right hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt, congratulated his majesty in a most dutiful and loyal address on the taking of Quebec, and the other late successes of his majesty's arms.

26th. Ended the sessions at the

Old Bailey, when John Ayliffe, Esq; for forgery, James and William Piddington, for horse stealing, received sentence of death, twenty-two were sentenced to be transported for seven years, two to be branded, and four to be whipped.

An express arrived from Edinburgh with advice, that Commodore Boys, with eight men of war, was victualling in Leith road, with all

expedition, in order to go in quest of Monf. Thurot's Squadron, who is supposed to be in the north sea.

A very beautiful and uncommon animal, lately arrived from the East Indies, presented by Jaffier Ally Kawn, nabob of Bengal, to General Clive, who sent it to the right hon. William Pitt, Esq; and of which that gentleman had the honour to obtain his majesty's acceptance, is lodged in the Tower. It is called in the Indostan language, a Shah Goest, and is even in that country esteemed an extraordinary rarity, there having been never known more than five in those parts, all which were procured for the said nabob from the confines of Tartary. It is now in the Tower, attended by a domestic of the nabob's, who was charged with the care of it to England.

Two houses were consumed by fire, near Exeter-Exchange, in the Stand. 27th.

A proclamation was issued for a public thanksgiving, to be observed on Thursday the 29th of November next, throughout England and Wales; the preamble of which is as follows: "We do most devoutly and thankfully acknowledge the great goodness and mercy of Almighty God, who hath afforded us protection and assistance in the just war, in which, for the common safety of our realms, and for disappointing the boundless ambition of France, we are now engaged; and hath given such signal successes to our arms both by sea and land; particularly by the defeat of the French army in Canada, and the taking of Quebec, and who hath most seasonably granted us at this time, an

uncommon plentiful harvest: and therefore duly considering that such great and public blessings, do call for public and solemn acknowledgements, We have thought fit, &c.

29th. At the sessions of admiralty, held at the Old Bailey, William Lawrence, master of the Pluto privateer, and Samuel Dring, William Goff, and Kendrick Muller, volunteers, were tried for robbing a Dutch vessel, named the *Reinigheidt*, on the high seas, near the North Foreland in Kent, of six guineas, twenty deal boxes, and three bales of cambrick, value 700l. Lawrence, Dring, and Muller, were found guilty, Goff acquitted. At first they fired a gun at the *Reinigheidt* to bring her to, and then went on board with their faces blacked, and demanded two guineas shot-money, which the Dutch captain gave them; they then insisted upon four guineas more, which was likewise given them; but not contented with that, they confined the master and crew, and fell to rummaging the ship, from which they took the goods mentioned in the indictment. The case was plain, and the jury found them guilty. Some other English seamen were indicted for robbing a Dutch hoy, of ten hogheads of wine, value 100l. but were all acquitted.

The encouragement to seamen and able-bodied landmen is continued on the 9th of November.

The company of fishmongers have given 500l. and the dean and chapter of St. Paul's 100l. to the Guildhall subscription. The number of men that have been enlisted therewith, now amounts to 839, and the committee yesterday enlarged the time, which will expire

on the 16th instant, to the 16th of November.

The number of French prisoners in this kingdom, is now computed to be 23,500, officers included.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Porter, commander of his majesty's ship the *Hercules*, of 74 guns, to Mr Clewland, dated in Plymouth sound, Oct. 26.

"On the 10th instant, at eight in the morning, being in the latitude of about 46 deg. 40 min. steering S. E. with the wind at S. W. we saw a sail to windward, which we chased, and soon after discovered her top-gallant studding sails set, and that she came down lasking upon us. About noon the chase hoisted a blue flag at her main-top-gallant mast head, which we answered by hoisting an English ensign at the mizen-top-mast head, (a signal which is sometimes made between two French ships of war, upon meeting, after parting company) she neared us very fast, and we plainly discovered her to be a large ship of war. At two in the afternoon, a Dutch galliot passing near us, we hoisted a French jack, and fired a shot at her; upon which the chase hoisted a French jack at her ensign staff, and fired a gun to leeward. At half past five, being about one mile to windward of us, and abast our beam, coming down as before seemingly with an intention of coming to action, as her guns were run out below, she hauled her jack down and hoisted her ensign and pendant: we shortened sail, hauled down the French jack, hoisted our colours, hauled our ports up (which were until this time down) and run our weather guns out; upon which she

She immediately hauled her wind, and set her main-sail and stay-sails; we then discovered her to be a 74 gun ship, having fourteen ports below, made sail and stretched a-head of her, and tacked, passing her to leeward. At six tacked again, and stood after her; found she kept away large; we bore after her, keeping her a little upon the lee-bow, to prevent her choice of the engaging distance. About three quarters after nine, being pretty near up with her, though not near enough to engage, she put her helm hard a-starboard, and gave us her larboard broadside, and then kept on as before, and gave us her starboard broadside. We then immediately starboarded our helm, and ran right down upon her, whilst she was loading her guns, and getting close to her, ported our helm, and began to engage as the guns bore upon her.

At half past ten we were so unlucky as to have our main-top-mast shot away, which she took the advantage of, and made all the sail she could from us; we did the same after her, and continued to chase until eight the next morning, when we saw the north end of Oleron, about five leagues distance. The chase was about four or five miles from us; finding it impossible to come up with her in so short a run, and engaging ourselves to the lee-shore, with our fore-yard shot thro' in two places, our fore-top-sail-yard so badly wounded, that when we came afterwards to reef the sail, it broke, and having all our sails and-rigging very much shattered, (at which the enemy only aimed) we left off chase, and wore ship, having one man killed and two wounded, including myself, being

wounded in my head by a grape-shot, and have lost the use of my right leg. The officers and men behaved with the greatest spirits and alertness, without the least confusion."

Dispatches were sent to the several commanding officers of the troops in Scotland, with orders to put Fort Augustus, and the rest of the forts along the coast, in the best posture of defence, and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy; in consequence of which beacon posts have been set up for early intelligence, places of rendezvous for the regulars and militia appointed, and strict orders given that no officer absent himself from his duty, on any pretence whatever.

The catholic king, Charles III. was proclaimed on Tuesday the 11th of September at Madrid, with the usual ceremonies, by the Conde de Altemira accompanied by all the other grandees on horseback; the cavalcade was splendid, and the people shewed the utmost satisfaction by their repeated acclamations: that night there were fire-works; the two succeeding days there were bull feasts; mourning was laid aside for three days, and during those nights, there were illuminations in that capital.

In consequence of the decision of the congregation appointed by the Pope, to examine into the affairs of the Jesuits in Portugal, the court of Lisbon has already begun to proceed against these fathers, one hundred and seventeen of whom are condemned to spend their lives in the fortress of Magazan, or in the forts of the island of Tercera. In pursuance of this determination, on the night of the 15th of September, they

they were shipped off in a Ragusian vessel, which sailed the next day under convoy of a man of war. By all appearances a second embarkation of those fathers will soon be made, excepting three of the most culpable, who are supposed to be reserved for execution. The fathers Portugal, Camera d'Acumba and Barruneho; of St. Anthony's college, having not been embarked with those that are taken out of that college, but are conducted to Fort Junqueira; what their ultimate lot may be, is not yet known. It is given out that the lay-brothers of the society, and those who have not yet made the last vow, will be enlarged, upon condition that they quit the habit of the order: otherwise they are to be confined for life in the prisons of Azeytad.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated August 16.

By a letter from Niagara, of the 21st ult. we learn, that by the assiduity and influence of Sir William Johnson, there were upwards of 1000 Indians convened there, who, by their good behaviour, have justly gained the esteem of the whole army: that Sir William being informed the enemy had buried a quantity of goods on an island, about twenty miles from the fort, sent a number of Indians to search for them, who found to the value of 8000*l.* and were in hopes of finding more. And that a French vessel entirely laden with beaver, had foundered on the lake, when her crew, consisting of forty-one men, were all lost.

The French have ninety privateers belonging to Martinico; and the West India trade have suffered more since the taking of Guada-

loupe, than it has done during the whole war. They have taken 200 sail of vessels, which amount to upwards of 600,000*l.*

The Nostra Signora, from Bahia, is arrived at Lisbon in one hundred and four days. She is an advice-boat, and has brought an account of the arrival of the Tavistock, Jenkins; Prince Henry, Best; Osterly; Vincent; and the Hawke, Drake; all from China, at the Brazils, after having had an engagement with two French frigates off the island of St. Helena. A convoy is appointed to bring them home.

The following story, which may be depended on as authentick, seems worthy to be transmitted to posterity.

In the first unsuccessful attack on the enemy's entrenchments near Quebec, July 31, Capt. Ochterlony, and Ensign Peyton, both of the Royal Americans, were left wounded, at a little distance from each other, on the field of battle; the captain mortally, but the ensign having only his knee pan shattered. Soon after an Indian came running down, in order to scalp the former, which, the latter perceiving, made shift to crawl to a musket, which lay near him, and which not having been discharged, he took aim with it, and shot the savage. The like danger then threatened him by the approach of another Indian; him he wounded with the bayonet, but as he still persisted, he was forced, in a manner to pin him on the ground. At last a grenadier came back to the captain, in order to carry him off the field; which, however, he refused in these words: "Thou art a brave fellow; but your kindness will be  
"lost

“lost on me. I am mortally wounded, and the bayonet, or the scalping knife would be now a mercy: but go yonder to Ensign Peyton and carry him off; he may live.” The soldier obeyed, took up the ensign, and brought him off, through a severe fire, by which they were both slightly wounded.

His Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was invested the 6th instant with the most noble order of the garter.

## N O V E M B E R.

Extract of a letter from Liverpool, dated October 26. On Monday last as Mr. James Wrigley, master of the Golden Lion inn in this town, was going into the cellar, he met an odd accident: a large Norway rat being curious to taste an oyster that opened as usual at tide time, having put in his fore foot to catch the fish, the oyster immediately closed, and held the rat fast. Mr. Wrigley brought them up into the kitchen, where several hundred persons went to see them whilst they were alive.

Two of his majesty's messengers brought to town a person they took up at Newing Green, near Hyth, who is supposed to have held a correspondence with his majesty's enemies. There were several papers found in his custody, with the founding of the sea coasts. He was betrayed by a Dutchman carrying some letters to him. After he was taken, and had been two hours in custody, he was released by some people who cut the cords off his hands, and carried him off on horseback; but three days after-

wards he was retaken, and he is now in the custody of a messenger. 'Tis said 1000 guineas were found in his chest.

Extract of a letter from Coventry, dated October 29. “One Wright, a brickmaster at Hinckley, with his servant, having been employed to sink a well there, had proceeded to the depth of about seven yards, at which time Wright himself only being in, (with a rope fixed to him in the usual manner) and wanting more help, ordered his servant to come down also; who thinking it too dangerous, at first refused it; but the master persisting in his command the young fellow at length complied: just as he had reached the bottom, the earth fell in upon them, and smothered Wright; the young fellow was only covered up to his arms; assistance being at hand, it was proposed to fix a rope to him, and wind him up by the windlass; but this he rejected, telling them he stuck so fast, that an attempt of that kind would pull him limb from limb, and begged them to endeavour to give him relief by digging the earth away with spades; when, at the instant, another fall of earth happened, which put an end to his life.

The same day, at Longford, near this city, a boy and girl, about six years old each, playing in a sand-hole, the earth fell in and smothered them both.”

The news of Thurot, with his small Squadron having slip'd away from Dunkirk, has caused a great alarm on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and several small squadrons have been sent in pursuit of him. The magistrates of Liverpool assembled on the occasion, and entered in an association for the defence



fence of that opulent town. It was proposed to raise 20 companies of 100 men each, to be armed and paid by the inhabitants; and to erect batteries to mount 50 pieces of cannon.

5th. The French prisoners to the number of 1250, who have been confined at Kinsale, began to be removed into the interior parts of the country.

7th. A man and four lads being in a coal pit at Kilmerford, near Coleford, a vapour took fire; which the man perceiving, called for help from above, upon which a bucket was let down, but before he was half up, being affected by the vapour, he fell out of it, and died directly; the bucket was then let down again, when two of the lads got into it, and were drawn up alive, but so much hurt that their lives are despaired of. The other two, when the vapour was extinguished, were found arm in arm. It is remarkable, that no less than seventeen persons have lost their lives there in this manner, within these few years.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, dated the 1st instant. On Monday the 29th ult. the two houses of parliament received the following message from his grace the lord lieutenant:

“BEDFORD.

“Mr. Secretary Pitt having, by his majesty's express command, acquainted me, by his letter, which I received on Friday the 19th instant, that it appears, by repeated most authentick intelligences, that France, far from desisting from her plan of invasion on account of the disaster that happened to her Toulon Squadron, is rather more and more confirmed therein; and even

instigated by despair itself, to attempt, at all hazards, the only resource she seems to think left her, for breaking by such a diversion given us at home, the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting of a war, which hitherto, by the blessing of God on his majesty's arms, opens in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to the view of France. And Mr. Secretary Pitt having added, on this subject, that there is a strong probability, in case the body of troops, consisting of 18000 men, under the command of the Duke d'Aguillon, assembled at Vannes, where more than sufficient transports for that number are actually prepared, and ready to receive them on board, should, as the season of the year is growing less favourable for cruising, be able to elude his majesty's squadrons, Ireland will not fail to be one of their objects,

I think it incumbent on me, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of Ireland, to lay this intelligence before you. His majesty will not make any doubt, but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects in this kingdom will have been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts, which have been received, of the dangerous designs of the enemy, and of their actual preparations in consequence, made at a vast expence, in order to invade the several parts of his majesty's dominions. And I have his majesty's commands to use my utmost endeavours, to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that is dear to him, by a timely preparation to resist and frustrate any

any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet, and shake the security of this kingdom.

I do therefore, in the strongest manner, commend it to you, to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which this parliament, and this nation have been so often distinguished." B.

The day after this message was sent to the parliament of Ireland, the honourable house of commons unanimously resolved, "That an humble address be presented to his grace the lord lieutenant, to return his grace the thanks of this house, for the care and concern he has shewn for the safety of this nation, in having been pleased to communicate to us intelligence of so great importance; and to desire his grace to make the use of such means as shall appear to him to be most effectual, for the security and the defence of this kingdom; and to assure his grace that this house will make good whatever expence shall be necessarily incurred thereby."

To which message his grace was pleased to return the following answer:

"I thank the house of commons for this great mark of the confidence which they have placed in me, with so much unanimity. They may be assured that I shall do every thing in my power for the defence and security of this kingdom, at this critical juncture; and that the measures to be taken shall be conducted with all possible oeconomy."

Several of the bankers at Dublin, about this time, stopped payment, owing to an inconsiderate flurry and run upon them, from an apprehen-

sion that some of the French troops would be landed on their coasts: but an association being entered into and signed by his grace the Duke of Bedford, the lords spiritual and temporal, the speaker of the house of commons, the members thereof, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, to support public credit, and take all bankers notes in payment, credit was soon restored, and all things quieted.

We hear from Galway in Ireland, that they have lately had the greatest take of fish, particularly of heak and turbot, that has been known in the memory of the oldest man living in that town. The largest heak were sold at 7d. the dozen, while turbot, such as hath been often bought at a crown a-piece, were sold from 8d. to 1s. per fish, and smaller in proportion.

Dr. Hensley pleaded his majesty's pardon, at the bar of 9th. the court of King's-bench.

This day a new convention was signed at Westminster between his majesty and the King of Prussia. By this convention all former treaties between the two crowns are renewed and confirmed; his majesty grants the King of Prussia an immediate supply of 670,000l. to be employed in keeping up and augmenting his forces for their reciprocal defence and mutual security, and both parties oblige themselves not to enter into any kind of convention with the powers, who have taken part in the present war, but in concert, and by mutual consent, and expressly comprehending each other therein.

About five o'clock in the morning, a dreadful fire 10th. broke out at Hamlin's coffee house, in

in Sweeting's alley, near the Royal-exchange, which consumed that and the New-York coffee house adjoining to it; also Mr. Vaughan's, a fan-maker; Mr. Withy's a print-seller; Mr. Fleatham's, a woollen-draper; Mr. Hunt's, a linen-draper; Mr. Legg's, a woollen-draper; Mr. Bakewell's, a print-seller; all in the front of Cornhill.

The Virginia coffee-house; Mr. Worlidge's, an attorney; Mr. Matthias's, secretary of the Scots equivalent company; Messrs. Walton and Voyce's, wholesale linen-draper; Mr. Park's, a barber, and Mr. Sedgwick's, a broker, all in Freeman's-court. Mr. Bakewell's house in Cornhill is standing, but all the other thirteen are in ruins. Two little shops at the corner of the passage to the New-York coffee-house were also burnt, one belonging to Mr. Mazarine, a shoe-maker, and the other to Mr. Fish, a watch-maker. Several other houses were very much damaged, among which are the Red-lion and Sun ale-house, and Mr. Box's house, a music shop, in Sweeting's-alley; Mr. Watmore's, a barber, in Spread Eagle court, and the Swan and Rummer in Finch-lane. It is thought the fire began in a room belonging to a man who played music upon glasses, and lodged at Hamlin's coffee-house, and it is reported that he perished in the flames. The next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the fire broke out again at the Red-lion and Sun ale-house in Sweeting's alley; it was soon got under; but the house is so much damaged, that it is believed it must be entirely pulled down. By the fall of the houses in Cornhill, Mr. Hurford, clerk to Messrs. Martin and company, bankers, in Lombard-street, was killed; and it is believed that

several persons were buried under the ruins.

Westminster. This day the lords being met, a message was sent to the honourable house of commons, desiring their attendance in the house of peers; and the commons being come thither accordingly, the lord keeper, one of the lords commissioners appointed by his majesty for that purpose, opened the session by a speech to both houses.

This day likewise his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales took his seat in the house of peers.

A letter from Portsmouth takes notice, that the Terrible man of war, of 74 guns, had been lost in the river St. Laurence, but for an expedient of a warrant officer on board, who, when the ship drove from her anchor by the rapidity of the tide, contrived an anchor that held her fast: this anchor was made by securing one of the ship's guns to two small anchors, as had been formerly done by Commodore Anson in the Centurion, on a like occasion.

This day the remains of General Wolfe were landed at Portsmouth, from on board the Royal William man of war; during the solemnity minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, and all the honours that could be paid to the memory of a gallant officer, were paid on this occasion.

John Ayliffe, esq; was carried in a cart from Newgate, and about twenty minutes after 11, executed at Tyburn. He was about 36 years of age, born near Blandford, in Dorsetshire, of a very good family. He has left a widow, and one son, about eleven years old. He behaved at the gallows with great composure and decency,

cency; and desired, just before he was turned off, to be indulged with a few minutes for his private devotions, which was granted him. After the execution, his body was carried off in a hearse by the undertakers, to be interred in the country.

Three expresses arrived with advice, that M. Conflans, with the grand armament of France, was sailed from Brest, to take the transports from Vannes, with the land forces under his protection, and then to sail on his intended expedition. His whole force, consisting of twenty ships of the line, and four frigates; and the transports are to carry 18,000 men.

Much about the same time, a certain account was received, that M. Thurot, with his Squadron, was put into Gottenburg in Sweden.

Also M. Bompard's Squadron had got safe into Brest in the absence of Admiral Hawke, who had been driven off his station, as mentioned already. This Squadron is said to have been richly laden with private property from Guadaloupe and Martinico.

21st. The hon. house of commons resolved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to desire his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter Westminster, to the memory of the ever lamented late commander in chief of his majesty's land forces, on an expedition to Quebec, Major General James Wolfe, who surmounting by ability and valour, all obstacles of art and nature, was slain in the moment of victory, at

the head of his conquering troops, in the arduous and decisive battle against the French army, near Quebec, fighting for their capital of Canada, in the year 1759; and to assure his majesty, this house will make good the expence of erecting the said monument. — At the same time it was resolved, that the thanks of the house be given to the admirals and generals employed in this glorious and successful expedition against Quebec.

There is advice that Capt. Greystock's ship being alongside of a Dutch man of war, in the harbour of Rotterdam, words arose while the captain was on shore, between his crew and the crew of the man of war, on which the Dutch captain sent and demanded one of Greystock's men, who was delivered to him; but Captain Greystock being presently informed of the whole transaction, went himself on board the ship of war, and re-demanded his man; the Dutch captain fell into a rage, and instead of making satisfaction for the insult, struck Greystock, saying, that was the treatment which every Englishman deserved from a Dutchman. On which Captain Greystock went to the Hague, and presented a memorial to General Yorke, which was by him laid before the States, and they ordered the Dutch captain immediately to return the man, and make Captain Greystock every submission he required, except kneeling.

Seventy thousand seamen were voted for the sea service, including 18,300 marines. 22d.

Ten bay of buildings, &c. were consumed by fire, at Northampton.

Some of the ships from Quebec, being arrived at Plymouth, 23d.  
mouth,

month, and some at Spithead; the lords of the Admiralty began to be in pain for Admiral Saunders, when they received a letter of excuse from him, dated in the chops of the channel, acquainting them, that as he had heard the Brest squadron were failed, he hoped he should be pardoned for going to join Admiral Hawke without orders. In this noble enterprize he is joined by General Townshend.

26th. The land-tax of 4s. in the pound, was ordered to be continued; and also the malt bill; but a farther duty of 3d. per bushel is talked of, for raising the supplies for the ensuing year, which will be a fund sufficient without any other tax whatever, and the brewers will be no losers if the distillery be discontinued.

27th. An express arrived from Commodore Duff, with advice of his getting off safe from his station before Quiberon Bay, where he was blocking up the transports destined to join the Brest fleet. Commodore Duff came off from Quiberon Bay the 16th, and the next day saw the French fleet standing with their heads to the shore, about 7 or 8 leagues S. W. off Belleisle. — The commodore, after detaching wha large ships he had to join Admiral Hawke, returned to his station again with the frigates, in order to incommode the transports as much as possible, M. Conflans's Squadron lying wind-bound off Belleisle.

28th. Four constables convicted in May term, for the abuse of their office, in wantonly seizing and dragging Mrs. Williams, a gentlewoman of character, to prison, and confining her a whole night, were brought from the King's

Bench prison to Westminster-hall, to receive sentence; when in consideration of their extreme poverty, the court thought proper to remit all pecuniary punishment, and ordered them to two months farther imprisonment.

This day an express arrived at the Admiralty with 29th. certain intelligence, that M. Thurot's fleet was seen upon the coast of Scotland, and that Commodore Boys was within sight of it. Aberdeen is thought the place of its destination.

A fire broke out in the vestry-room of the Romish 30th. chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields, which burnt the chapel with all its ornaments, to the ground, and communicated itself to the house of his excellency Count Viri, the Sardinian ambassador, who being indisposed, was immediately carried to Newcastle-house, whither the valuable part of his furniture was also removed. It destroyed two houses adjoining.

On the 17th ult. Don Carlos, formerly King of the Two Sicilies, now King of Spain, landed at Barcelona, with his queen and royal family, except Don Ferdinand his third son, whom he declared King of the Two Sicilies, before he left Naples.

The Dutch have lately shewn a remarkable piece of partiality towards the French, who had brought a great number of cannon, cannon ball, and other warlike stores from the Baltic, and landed them at Amsterdam, intending to carry them by the canals of Holland and Flanders. This our minister opposed, as being contrary to their neutrality, and a passage was for some time refused; but upon a memo-

rial from the French minister, the States General having granted them a passport; and notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances made by our minister, they have been carried through Holland, by inland water carriage to Flanders. A new method by which our enemies may be furnished with all sorts of naval and warlike stores, without its being possible for us to intercept them.

The Pope has ordered the Jesuits that were sent from Portugal, and arrived at Civita Vecchia, to be lodged part of them in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, and the rest in private houses, till the houses getting ready for them at Tivoli and Frascati are made fit for their reception. His holiness seems sensibly touched with the disgrace of these fathers; and a great number of persons interest themselves in their favour, notwithstanding the hatred of those who endeavour at Rome, as well as elsewhere, to blacken the society.

By the death of Mrs. Anne Marling, at Nantwich, Cheshire, her fortune, computed at 6000*l.* devolved to her grand-daughter, who carried a basket several years in the markets of this city.

A labourer's wife, at Fahlun, in Sweden, aged forty-four, was lately brought to bed of four children.

## DECEMBER.

At the court of King's Bench in Westminster-Hall, a prosecution was brought against a woman for receiving a pension as an officer's widow ten years, although she had never been married to him; when she was found guilty of perjury.

VOL. II.

Two persons belonging to the workhouse of St. Andrew's Holborn, tried some time ago, and convicted of taking from its mother, then in the said workhouse, a child of two months old, and carrying it to the Foundling Hospital against her consent, where it died, were brought to Guildhall, and received sentence, viz. to pay a fine of 40*s.* each, and to suffer one month's imprisonment in the Poultry-Compter.

Numbers of persons in Ireland, having taken it into their heads, that an union was intended between England and Ireland, that they were to have no more parliaments, were to be subject to the same taxes, &c. a mob of some thousands assembled in Dublin, broke into the house of lords, insulted them, would have burnt the journals if they could have found them, and seated an old woman on the throne. Not content with this, they obliged all the members of both houses that they met in the streets, to take an oath, that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Many coaches of obnoxious persons were cut or broke, their horses killed, &c. One gentleman, in particular, narrowly escaped being hanged, a gallows being erected for that purpose. The horse and foot were drawn out on this occasion, but could not disperse them till night; and the day after, addresses to the lord lieutenant were agreed to, and a committee of enquiry appointed.

This day's London Gazette gives us the translation of a declaration, which his Serene Highness Duke Lewis of Brunswick has delivered to the ministers of the

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belligerent powers, residing at the Hague, in the name of his majesty, and the King of Prussia, expressing their majesties desire of seeing an end put to the war, and their readiness to appoint plenipotentiaries for that purpose.

8th. The great cause brought by Lady Mansell, relict of Sir Edward Mansell, against the heir at law of that gentleman, for a satisfaction for her jointure, of which she had been evicted, was argued in the court of Chancery before the lord keeper, who made a decree in her favour, and ordered her claims to be made good out of the great estate in Carmarthenshire, called the Vaughan estate, which are very considerable.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 8. The King has been pleased to appoint the right hon: Edward Bowswan, esq; admiral of the blue, to be general of the marine forces. And also to appoint Charles Saunders, esq; vice admiral of the blue, to be lieutenant general of the said forces.

12th. The following remarkable article appeared in the Brusseles Gazette. "The animosity of the English against the French decreases. They are now suffered to hate only the French that are in arms. A subscription is opened in the several towns and counties for cloathing the French prisoners detained in England, and the example has been followed in the capital."—The English feel for their captives as men, and cannot but pity enemies in distress, who are not in a capacity to hurt them.

13th. It was resolved by the commons in the parliament of Ireland, that the exportation of live cattle from that kingdom, would be

prejudicial to the trade and manufactures thereof:

Admiral Saunders, who landed at Cork, in Ireland, 15th. in a boat, not being able to carry in his great ships because of the weather, set out from that port and arrived this day at Dublin. At night, being at the play, he was saluted by the audience with the highest demonstrations of applause.

A loan of eight millions was agreed to by parliament, for which an interest of 4 per cent. and a lottery ticket value 3 l. is to be given as a gratuity for every 100 l. so borrowed. The subscription for this sum was full before the resolution agreed to in parliament was known. An additional duty of 3 d. per bushel upon malt is laid to pay the interest of this vast sum.

Was executed at Nottingham, where he received 18th. sentence of death at the assizes held for that town, on the 10th of August last, the execution of which was respited from time to time, William Andrew Horne, of Butterley-hall, in Derbyshire, esq; aged 74, for the murder of a child only three days old, 35 years ago. His brother, who was the only person privy to this long concealed murder, was at last induced to discover it, partly from an uneasiness of mind he was under on that account, and partly from the cruel treatment he received from Mr. Horne.

The Adventure transport, Captain Walker, arrived at 19th. Plymouth from the Bay, and brings advice that the ships in Villaine barbour are not destroyed; that he himself was employed in weighing up the guns of the Soleil; but that

that he was fired upon from the land, and obliged to desist; that Admiral Hawke had bombarded the town of Croissel, and set it on fire, because the magistrates had refused to permit any boats to pass up the Villaine, to destroy the men of war that had taken shelter there.

Captain William Lawrence, commander of the *Pluto* privateer, convicted some time ago for robbing a Dutch ship on the high seas, was carried to execution-dock, and there executed, pursuant to his sentence. The two seamen who assisted, and who were likewise condemned, as they acted under his command, were respited.

20th. The following acts were signed by commission.--An act to continue and amend an act for the importation of Irish salted beef, pork, and butter.—An act to prohibit for a limited time, the distilling of spirits or low wines from all grain.—An act to punish mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army. And one naturalization act.—After which the house of peers adjourned till Tuesday the 15th of January, and the house of commons to Monday the 14th.

At night the trial of a pretended Dutch ship, called the *Snip*, taken by the *Lyon* privateer, Capt. Creil, came on before the lords of appeal, at the Cock-pit, Whitehall, when it plainly appeared to their lordships, that the real bill of lading, &c. were artfully concealed in a cask or bag of coffee, and that the counterfeit papers were encouraged by the Dutch governor of St. Eustatia, who was deeply concerned in the lading: their lordships were unanimously pleased to confirm the judge's sentence, by pronouncing

the ship and cargo (which is worth 8000*l.*) to be French property.

The contract made this 21st. day by the commissioners of the victualling office for beef was no more than 21*s.* 5*d.* per hundred; and 27*s.* 11*d.* for pork.

About four in the morning, a fire broke out at a 23d. cabinet-maker's in King-street, Covent-garden, which entirely consumed that house, and two more in front; a large work-shop backwards took fire, and having no water for some time the flames soon reached several houses in Hart-street, which were burnt down; as are likewise all the houses on the right hand side of the way in Rose-street, through to Long-acre. It is computed that in the whole about fifty houses are consumed, and several more greatly damaged. One fireman and a brewer's servant lost their lives by the fall of a house, and several others had their legs and arms broke; and were otherwise much hurt. The loss is computed at more than 70,000*l.*

His majesty has settled 24th. 1500*l.* per ann. upon Sir Edward Hawke, for his own life and that of his son.

Lord George Sackville having made application to be tried by a court-martial for his supposed misconduct on the first of August last, a doubt has been raised whether he is amenable before such a court, as he does not at present hold any military employment whatsoever. This point is referred to the judges, who are to give their opinion thereon next term.

During the present war, there have been taken or destroyed, 27 French ships of the line, and 31



frigates; and two ships of the line and four frigates lost; making in the whole 58 taken or destroyed, and six lost. We have lost seven men of war and five frigates.

A subscription lately set on foot for the relief and reward of the soldiers, who triumphed at Minden and Quebec, meets with great encouragement; and another for cloathing and comforting the French prisoners, during the present rigorous season, has already the sanction of many great and illustrious names; whilst they, unhappy, brave fellows! are totally neglected and abandoned by their own country.

This morning arrived at 27th. Portsmouth, Captain Geary, with several ships from Sir Edward Hawke's fleet; as did Lord Howe in his majesty's ship *Magnamine*. Some of these ships are in a shattered condition, having had very bad weather for some time. Admiral Rodney is also arrived here with the ships under his command from off Havre-de-Grace.

This morning Admiral Saunders arrived in town from Dublin.

Dr. Ward sent this day a 27th. benefaction of 50 l. to the subscription opened at Slaughter's coffee-house for the relief of the distressed sufferers by the late fire in Covent-garden.

Died lately Mr. David Lacy, of Limerick, in Ireland, aged 112.

A few days since, as Hugh Bethell, esq; of Rife, was hunting the stag between Scarborough and Burlington, the creature being very hard pressed, took down a cliff of an immense height; and ten couple and a half of the leading hounds followed; by which accident they were every one killed upon the spot, and the stag had three of his legs broke. One of

the whippers-in, a young lad, being just at their heels, and seeing his danger, threw himself from his horse; and the horse upon coming near the precipice suddenly stopt, by which means they were both preserved.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Richard Maitland, of the 30th. Royal regiment of artillery, dated Bombay, May 8, 1759.

"Since my last, nothing particular has happened to the detachment, until February, when I was ordered by the governor and council to take the command of an expedition against the city and castle of Surat, my command consisting of 850 artillery and infantry, with 1500 seapoys.

I embarked my troops on board the company's armed vessels, and in eight days landed them all safe at a place called Dentilowry, distant from Surat about nine miles, where we encamped for the refreshment of the troops three or four days. In our first day's march from the above encampment, Capt. John Northail died of an apoplectic fit, and was succeeded in our company by Capt. Joseph Winter. The first attack that I made, was against the French garden, where the enemies (*Scydees*) had lodged a number of men; them I drove out, after a very smart firing on both sides, for about four hours; our number lost consisting of about twenty men killed, and as many wounded. After we had got possession of the French garden, I thought it necessary to order the engineer to pitch upon a proper place to erect a battery, which he did, and completed it in two days.

On this battery were mounted two 24 pounders, and a 13 inch mortar, which I ordered to fire against

against the wall, &c. as brisk as possible: this I continued to do for three days. Having thought of a more expedient method of getting into the outer town, than by a breach in the wall, I called a council of war, composed of military and marine; formed a plan of a general attack, which I laid before them, and they as readily agreed to, and this to be put into execution at half past four the next morning. The plan was, that the company's grab and bomb-ketches should warp up the river in the night, and anchor in a line of battle opposite the Scydees Bundar, one of the strongest fortified places they had got: this they did, and a general attack begun from the vessels and battery at the appointed time. My intentions in this were, to drive the enemy from their batteries, and to facilitate the landing of the infantry at the Bundar, whom I had embarked on board of boats for their transportation. We made a continual fire until half past eight, when a signal was made for the boats to put off, and go under the cover of the vessels. This proved very successful, for the men were landed with the loss of one man only; getting possession of the Scydees Bundar, and putting the men to flight, with the loss of Capt. Robert Inglish mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Pepperel wounded in the shoulder, our loss of men not very considerable.

Having gained this point, and getting possession of the outer town, with its fortifications, the next thing to be done, was to attack the inner town and castle.

I ordered the 13 and 2 ten-inch mortars to be planted on the Scydees Bundar, and to begin firing into the castle and town as soon as

possible; distance from the castle about 700 yards, inner town 500.

About six in the evening the mortars began to play very briskly, and continued to do so until half past two the next morning. This continual firing of our mortars put the castle and town into such a consternation, that they never returned one gun. The enemy finding it impossible to support themselves, sent to acquaint me they would open the gates for my troops to march into the town; which I did, with drums beating, and colours flying. After I was in the town, the governor sent to acquaint me, that he would give me up the castle, on proviso, that I would allow him and his people to march out of the castle with their effects, which I agreed to, taking possession without any further molestation.

Royal artillery, killed 2, wounded 4.

In the company's infantry, Captains killed 2. Subaltern 1. Killed in all 150. Wounded about 60.

Our expedition commenced the 9th of February, and we arrived at Bombay, the 15th of April."

Letter from Albany in New-York, Oct. 23. 31st.

" — Cayenquilliquoa and Ratle-snake Sam, two Mohawk Indians, came here yesterday. They were about fourteen days ago at Oswegatchie, in Canada, on a visit to some relations who have been many years settled with the French. They say they endeavoured to persuade their relations, and the other Mohawks at Gowegatchie, to leave the French in good time, and return to their own country; telling them, "That the English, formerly women, were now all turned into men, and were as thick all over the

country,

country, as the trees in the woods. That they have taken the Ohio, Niagara, Cataracqui, Ticonderoga, Louisbourg, and now lately Quebec; and they would soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, and Indians that adhered to them." But the French Indians answered, "Brethren, you are deceived, the English cannot eat up the French; their mouth is too little, their jaws, too weak; and their teeth not sharp enough. Our father Onontion (that is, the governor of Canada) has told us, and we believe him, that the English, like a thief, have stolen Louisbourg, and Quebec from the great King, whilst his back was turned, and he was looking another way; but now he has turned his face, and sees what the English have done, he is going into their country with a thousand great canoes, and all his warriors; and he will take the little English King, and pinch him till he makes him cry out, and give back what he has stolen, as he did about ten summers ago; and this your eyes will soon see." The same notions and prejudices, we find, are industriously spread amongst the Six Nations: God grant nothing may happen at a peace to confirm them."

The *Cheferia*, from a place 20 leagues above Quebec, of near 500 tons, mounting 28 six pounders, with 100 men, and six English prisoners, is sent into Bristol by the Rippon man of war, who took her the 20th instant, seventy leagues from the Lizard. She sailed from Quebec with four or five others; the forts fired as they passed the town; but did them little or no damage. It was thought impossible that they could escape.

Letters from Gibraltar advise, that

Mr. Milbank, who was lately sent to Morocco with two men of war, to treat about the ransom of the crew of the Litchfield man of war, and a transport that was wrecked last year on the Barbary coast, is not able to succeed in his commission: for, besides the sum of money required, which is very large, the emperor demands a certain number of cannon with powder and ball answerable, and cordage, tackle, &c. sufficient to equip four men of war.

In Paris 19,148 children were baptized, 4341 couple married, 19,202 died during this year; and 5028 foundlings were taken into their foundling hospital in the same time.

Amsterdam. The number of persons who have died in this city in 1759, amounts to 7771, and the christenings to 4317.

Extract of a letter from Bombay, dated April 7, 1759.

There have been three very extraordinary appearances here. On the 13th of December last, there was almost a total eclipse of the sun, which lasted from ten in the morning till near one o'clock. A comet has been seen these twenty days, and remains still visible about four o'clock in the morning. A very large meteor in the air was seen on the 4th of this month, at about seven o'clock at night, which appeared in the same shape, but much larger than the comet, and had the same direction. It lasted about ten seconds, and was of so great a brightness, that it was not possible for a person to look stedfastly at it. As for myself, I narrowly escaped feeling the effects of it; being then returning from a village near Bombay town, and in the open road, seeing an extraordinary light in the air, I turned

turned my head that way, to see what it was, when it immediately caught my eyes, in a manner, that I was not then sensible whether I had lost them or not, and was obliged to put up my hand to screen them. Every house was illuminated by it, as if there was a number of flambeaux lighted.

Yours, &c. A. B.

A General BILL of all the Christenings and Burials in London, from December 12, 1758, to December 11, 1759.

Christened	Buried	
Males 7294	Males 9919	
Females 6959	Females 9685	
<u>14,253</u>	<u>19,604</u>	

Increased in the burials this year 2028.

Died under 2 years of age	6995
between 2 and 5	2063
5 and 10	803
10 and 20	694
20 and 30	1576
30 and 40	1616
40 and 50	1688
50 and 60	1413
60 and 70	1265
70 and 80	968
80 and 90	435
90 and 100	86
100	1
103	1

19,604

*According to our method in the last year's Register, we reserve an article at the conclusion of the Chronicle, for those matters, which though curious and interesting, cannot be inserted in that part, agreeably to our plan.*

At the End of April of this year the following advertisement appeared, and has been often repeated in some of the daily papers.

*Whereas on Wednesday the 25th of April, several persons, armed with cutlasses, swords, and other offensive weapons, did forcibly enter the house of Mr. Campbell, Jeweller, in King-street, Sobo, break open his parlour door, greatly abuse him and his wife, take away a lady by force, and commit many acts of great violence and outrage: And whereas only four of the said persons have as yet been taken; whoever will make discovery, or cause to be discovered and taken, the principal ringleader of this conspiracy, or riot, so that he may be brought to justice, (the lord chief justice's warrant having been granted for that purpose) shall, on his commitment, receive a reward of five guineas, to be paid by me*

Jos. Campbell.

N. B. He is about five feet five or six inches high, raw-boned and slender in his person, pitted with the small pox, of a dark complexion, broad black eye-brows, grey eyes, looking a little red or sore about the lids, a longish sharp nose, wide mouth, had on a large grizzle wig, and black coat.

**T**HIS extraordinary advertisement has been the subject of much speculation, and the act of violence which occasioned it, has been variously, but neither truly nor circumstantially related. It was, indeed,

deed, one of the most daring and flagitious breaches of the peace that ever happened in this kingdom, as will appear by the following narrative, which is drawn up from an account given in writing, by the lady herself.

Mrs. A. M. B. in the month of December, 1757, after having been married three years to Mr. B. B. was obliged, by a series of unprovoked cruelty, to swear the peace against him before a magistrate, to remove from his house in Frith-street Soho, leaving with him their only child, a little boy, then about a year and a half old, and take shelter at Mr. Campbell's, a jeweller, in King-street, not far distant. In the next Hilary term she exhibited the articles of peace in the court of King's-Bench, and commenced a suit in the spiritual court, by which she obtained a divorce *a mensa et toro* with costs and damages, on the 15th of December 1758.

On the 25th of April, 1759, about four months after the divorce had been obtained, as Mrs. B. was sitting in the parlour at Mr. Campbell's, with Mr. Campbell and his wife, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, she heard three loud knocks at the street door. The parlour where they were sitting is a back room, with two doors; one door opens into the passage, at the end of which is the street door, and the other opens into the shop, in which there is a glass door, that opens into the same passage close by the street door.

Being startled at the loudness of the knocking, Mr. Campbell went out at the passage door, which Mrs. Campbell immediately bolted after him, and while he was going along the passage to the street door, Mrs.

B. went out at the other door into the shop, and looked through the glass door, which was always kept bolted at night, to see who was coming. As soon as Mr. Campbell opened the street door, she saw a tall elderly ill-looking man, and hearing him enquire if Mrs. B. did not lodge there, she instantly suspected some violence was intended against her, and being extremely frightened, she screamed out. The next moment she distinguished Mr. B's voice, and heard him say, "Come on, my boys." Several ruffians then rushed into the passage, armed with short bludgeons, violently threw Mr. Campbell down, who endeavoured to stop them, and getting at length to the parlour door, B. after several efforts, burst it open, by forcing off the box of the lock. Mrs. B. was still at the glass door in the shop. B. discovering her, ran to her, and dropping his bludgeon, laid hold of her, and forcibly dragged her quite round through the parlour and passage, to the street door, not having presence of mind to unbolt the glass door, which, when he was in the shop, he might easily have done. Mrs. Campbell, endeavouring to save her, was extremely ill-treated, and had her cloaths torn from her back; and Mrs. B. in the struggle lost both her shoes, and her linen and cloaths were torn almost to rags. In this condition she was dragged into the street where she saw a landau; while the gang were attempting to force her into it, she heard a woman's voice, who called her by her name, and said, "Don't be afraid, Mrs. B. come in." Mrs. B. however, continued to struggle with all her strength, but was at last overpowered, and, with great violence, and

and great indecency, forced into the coach. She immediately perceived that the woman, having done her office, had got out at one door, just as she was forced in at the other. One Aldrich came into the coach to her, and was immediately followed by B. The coach then drove away with great speed, leaving behind many persons, who stopped to gaze at the tumult, and who, notwithstanding the cries, and entreaties, and struggles of the lady, patiently suffered her to be thus treated, because some of the gang had told them it was only a squabble between a man and his wife.

Mrs. B. still continued her screams, and threw her hands out of the coach, imploring assistance, which was still prevented by some of the gang, who followed the coach on foot, which drove at a great rate up Greek-street, cross Soho-square, through Hog-lane, and so to the turn-pike at Tottenham-court. This turnpike, and the next, being already opened, they drove furiously through, without stopping, and, as they said, went through the back part of Islington. B. all the time being half out of the coach, cursing and swearing at the coachman to push on, and to keep the lower road. They came at length to a third turnpike, which they said, led to Hackney, and this not being opened, the coach stopped to pay the toll. Mrs. B. saw that there was but one man at this gate, and though she could not hope much from his assistance, yet she would have called out to him, if B. had not forcibly held her back in the coach, and stopped her mouth with his hand. Some time after they had got through this turnpike, the coach stopped again by B's order; and

it being now late in the evening, and the place lonely, Mrs. B. was struck with the dreadful apprehension that she was now about to be murdered; this apprehension was increased by a motion, which B. made to get out, under pretence of enquiring the way: she thought he could not either perpetrate her murder with his own hands, or be present while it was perpetrated by the ruffian, whom he had engaged for that purpose; she therefore laying hold of his hand, earnestly intreated him not to leave her; to this he at last silently consented, and Aldrich went out in his stead, which it was necessary to do to save appearances, as they pretended it was necessary to enquire the way: in a short time Aldrich returned into the coach, and the man was ordered again to drive on: Mrs. B. then begged and conjured B. that he would neither murder her himself, nor permit her to be murdered by the man that was with him; B. made no answer, but during Mrs. B's entreaties and expostulations, kept his eyes wildly fixed upon Aldrich; this still increased her fears, and she was thrown almost into an agony soon after, by seeing them whisper. She then in such words as distress and terror suggested, begged they would not whisper, as she could not but regard such dark consultations as the prelude to her death. B. then said aloud to Aldrich, "Will you go through?" and Aldrich answered, "Yes, that I will; I'll do any thing for you, and go through the world with you." B. replied, "Say you so? give me your hand, my boy." On which they shook hands. B. then looked out of the coach, and seeing none of the gang,  
some

Some of whom had followed the coach on foot to the second turnpike, he expressed great uneasiness lest some of them should betray him, either through remorse or fear, and that a party, by their information, should get at the place of rendezvous before the coach, and rescue the lady: he therefore told Aldrich in a low voice, that he had a great mind to alter his scheme; but Aldrich telling him that none of the gang knew his scheme sufficiently to frustrate it, if they had any such intention, he seemed satisfied, and only whispered, "Have you got every thing ready?" to which Aldrich replied aloud, "I have." B. then turning to Mrs. B. told her that Aldrich belonged to a very great man, and that he had got what would do for any body; upon which Aldrich, at his request, produced a short painted staff, like that which constables carry in their pockets, as a token of their authority: Aldrich, however, desired B. not to meddle with it, and soon after took it from him. B. then put his hand down to the bottom of the coach where Mrs. B. sat, as she thought with a design of taking off her shoes, upon which she told him she had none on. He replied, "We will get you shoes in the country." He then produced two drawn swords which he said if he met with any opposition, should be the death of him or of those who opposed him: Mrs. B. then burst into tears, and intreated him to tell her where she was to go; he replied she was going to her country lodging to see her little boy. After this conversation he called out to the coachman to make haste, offering him any money to drive faster, upon which Mrs. B. again screamed out, and calling

to the coachman, said, "Surely you will not carry me to be murdered; how much farther am I to go?" The coachman replied, "Only a quarter of a mile," and then drove at a prodigious rate till he came to Limehouse-hole, where he stopped. B. ordered him to go on to the Isle of Dogs. He replied that he did not know the way; they ordered him to enquire. Just as the coach began to go on again, it was stopped by an ill-looking fellow muffled up in a blue great coat, who coming to the window said, "Sir, was you at Billingsgate to-day?" B. answered, "Yes." Then, says the fellow, "I am right; get out here; the boat is at the bottom of the place, and the ship not far off." Mrs. B. upon hearing this cried out, "Lord have mercy upon me, sure I am not going upon the water:" and B. endeavouring to pacify her, said, "My dear you know my cousin Atkinson, we are only going on board his ship." The fellow had now disappeared, and they were preparing to get out, but Mrs. B.'s screams terrified them, and they ordered the man to drive a little farther. As the coach went on, it passed close by the Royal Oak, a public house, and Mrs. B. seeing a light in the window, continued to cry out for help, and her voice brought out two or three women. Aldrich then got out of the coach, and B. stood up in the coach, so as to hide Mrs. B. from the women, and ordered the coachman to drive to any place where he might procure a post-chaise, encouraging him by the promise of any money he would require. It is probable, that B.'s original intention was to force Mrs. B. into a boat at Limehouse-hole, but not imme-

immediately meeting with the man, who afterwards asked if he had been at Billingsgate, which seems to have been a watch word, and finding that there were houses near, he concluded it better to proceed to the Isle of Dogs, a solitary place, where he might have kept her without fear of discovery, till the boat had been ordered thither to take her in. He was now informed that the boat was ready, but fearing to make his attempt here, as the neighbourhood was alarmed, and despairing to get on with the coach, was desirous perhaps to proceed to the Isle of Dogs in a post chaise, while Aldrich directed the boat to meet him there. However this be, the coachman said he could go no farther, for there was no road: B. then got out, and Mrs B. seeing his measures precipitated by their situation, and that the effort to get on the water must be made on the spot, redoubled her cries for assistance, and called out murder with all her strength many times: this brought several more women out of the Royal Oak, and one man: upon their coming up to the coach she shewed her feet which were without shoes, and her cloaths that were almost torn from her back, and told them she was forcibly taken away by ruffians, who she feared were about to throw her into the Thames, or otherwise take away her life. B. then said, that "she was his wife, that she was mad, and that he was carrying her to a mad-house." This she denied in such a manner, as convinced the people who saw her, that she spoke truth; and B. perceiving that every moment of delay must produce new opposition, peremptorily commanded Aldrich to take her, and carry her to the

boat by force. Aldrich immediately seized her, with that design, but the man who came out of the Royal Oak rescued her from him, and carried her into the house, whither B. and Aldrich followed her. The man in the blue coat, who had stopt the coach just before, now returned with the waterman, and brought him into the room to them. B. then ordered the waterman to assist in forcing her to the water side; but the man replied, "Not I indeed; if the lady chuses to go in my boat, she is welcome; but I'll carry nobody against their will." B. now found it impracticable to execute his measures, and being sensible of the danger of his situation, made his escape by drawing his sword upon some of the women, who endeavoured to detain him. Aldrich was secured till a constable was called, who conducted him to Poplar round-house. Mrs. B. sat up the rest of the night, at the Royal Oak, and in the morning sent the following letter to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Campbell,

I have, through God's mercy, escaped death that was designed me, and have got to an honest house the Royal Oak in Limehouse-hole, where I beg to see you, and more with you, as I am in fear of being molested every hour.

Thursday morning. A. M. B.

Mr. Campbell immediately communicated this to some friends, who went and brought back the lady with Aldrich, who was by Justice St. Lawrence committed to the Gatehouse, with two more of the gang, who had been seized the night before, upon the information of the master of the Hercules Pillars in Greek-street, Soho, who swore he

be-



believed them to be in the conspiracy, because they and many more had been caballing three nights successively at his house with B.

The lady, who, with the terror, hurry, and fatigue, and the bruises she received, was many days in danger of her life, is now recovered. B. is not yet taken, but a prosecution is, in the mean time, carrying on against the other conspirators, of which a further account will hereafter be given.

### INSTALLATION, &c. at Oxford.

Oxford, July 7.

**O**N Monday last, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the right hon. John Earl of Westmoreland, chancellor elect of this university, made his public entrance, by the east gate, into this city. His lordship was attended at his entrance, and for a great part of the Wycomb road, by a long train of coaches and other equipages of the nobility and gentry of the country. Notice was given of his near approach, by the ringing of a bell at St. Mary's, which called together the gentlemen of the university, who were ranked, according to their different orders and degrees on his lordship's right hand, from the east gate to St. Mary's church. The left hand side of the street was reserved for the townsmen.

Previous to his lordship's arrival, the following orders were agreed to by the vice-chancellor and delegates, and were communicated to all the heads of the houses, and by them to their respective societies :

1. That the students appear no where abroad during the chancellor's abode in the university without

their caps and gowns suitable to their degree and condition, and their apparel be such as the statutes required, and that they behave with such order and decency, as become gentlemen of a liberal education.

2. That no scholar of what condition soever, shall, without special orders from his superiors, presume to go out to meet the chancellor, either on horseback or on foot, or to be at, or upon the way, where the chancellor is to come ; but shall attend in that place and posture, in which he shall be required to be, upon notice from his superiors.

3. That the chancellor's approach to the town be signified by the ringing of St. Mary's great bell, and that the vice-chancellor and doctors in their scarlet gowns, and the proctors and noblemen in their proper habits, wait at St. Mary's church for the chancellor, where the public orator is to compliment his lordship on his arrival in a short latin speech. That the other scholars range themselves from St. Mary's church to the east gate on the north side of the street, the masters of arts are next to St. Mary's, the batchelors are next to them, and below them the under graduates ; and that the occasional proctors take all possible care that order and decency to be observed, and that as soon as the chancellor and retinue are past, every one immediately depart to his respective college or hall, and there remain.

4. That during his lordship's installation, and the following commemoration and encænias, all persons repair to and keep their proper seats and places in the theatre. The rising semicircle of the theatre is reserved for the noblemen and doctors.

doctors. The enclosure within the rails is the place for masters of arts. The gallery behind the doctors in the circular part of the theatre and the east and westward side galleries are reserved for the ladies and strangers, among whom all gowns-men are forbid to intermix. The upper gallery above the noblemen and doctors is appointed for the gentlemen-commoners and batchelors; and the upper galleries east and westward are for undergraduate scholars of houses and commoners. The rest of the area for battelers, servitors, &c.

5. That the proctors appoint a sufficient number of occasional proctors, to attend and preserve order and decency during his lordship's stay in the university.

It is strictly required, during the time of this solemnity, all persons observe the afore-said orders, and comport themselves with that sobriety and modesty, as may tend to the reputation and honour of the university, upon pain of being entered in the black book, and otherwise proceeded against, as the exigence of their fault shall require.

On his lordship's arrival at St. Mary's he was received by the vice-chancellor, noblemen, and doctors, in their robes; and being conducted into the church, was complimented by the public orator, in a short latin speech, to which his lordship replied in the same language. After this his lordship dined at St. Mary-Hall, where apartments were provided for him, and many gentlemen and ladies of his train.

On Tuesday, at ten o'clock in the morning, the noblemen and the doctors, in their robes, waited on his lordship at the vice-chancellor's lodgings at Corpus Christi

college; and about eleven the procession (which was more numerous than has been seen here in the memory of man) began from thence, and passed through St. Mary's, where it was joined by the masters of arts in their proper habits; and then proceeded through the great gate of the schools to the divinity school, and from thence into the theatre.

Here the vice-chancellor, in a latin speech, opened the business of the convocation, and then addressing himself to the chancellor, who was seated at his right hand, after applauding in a proper and polite manner the choice the university had made, and congratulating his lordship upon it, administered to him the necessary oaths, and presented him with the insignia of his office, viz. the keys, the seal, and the book of statutes. The vice-chancellor then quitted the chair, which was immediately filled by the chancellor, who finished this ceremony of the instalment by addressing himself to the university in an elegant latin oration. Then his lordship admitted the following noblemen and gentlemen to the honorary degree of doctors of law, viz.

The right hon. the earl of Northampton.

The right hon. the earl of Macclesfield.

Lord Willoughby de Broke.

Count Shullenburgh, lord of the bed-chamber to the King of Denmark.

James Boreel, } deputies from  
Gerard Meerman, } the States  
General.

William Gerard Dedel, commissary of Amsterdam.

Sir Richard Glyn, lord mayor, and  
repré-

representative in parliament for the city of London.

Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart. knight of the shire for the county of Warwick.

Sir Edward Deering, bart.

Sir Philip Botler, bart.

Sir Roger Twisden, bart.

Sir Charles Kemeys Tynte, bart. knight of the shire for Somerset.

William Cartwright, esq; knight of the shire for Northampton.

Thomas Cholmondeley, esq; knight of the shire for Chester.

Edward Popham, esq; knight of the shire for Wilts.

Henry Dawkins, of London, esq;

and Tho. Lambert, of Sevenoak, Kent, esq;

This convocation concluded with a speech from the public orator.—

And then the procession returned to Corpus Christi college, where the noblemen and doctors were entertained at dinner with the chancellor.

Afterwards the following noblemen of the university spoke their congratulatory verses, which were received by the audience with uncommon, but deserved applause, viz. the Earl of Suffolk, English verse; the Earl of Donegal, Latin; and Lord Norreys, Latin.

In the evening the oratorio of Sampson was performed, in the theatre, by a select and numerous band, conducted by Dr. Hays.

On Wednesday, being the day of Lord Crewe's commemoration, the doctors, &c. met again at the vice-chancellor's lodgings, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, and went in procession with the chancellor, from thence, to the theatre. The vice-chancellor having opened the business of the convocation, the commemoration speech was spoken by Mr. Warton

the poetry professor. The subject of this elegant and admired speech was, with great propriety, confined to those benefactors who had been chancellors of the university. The degree of D. C. L. was conferred, in this convocation, on the right hon. Lord Fane, member of parliament for Reading; the hon. William Craven, member of parliament for Warwickshire, who were presented by Dr. Seward, of St. John's college, who acted for the professor of law. Afterwards the right hon. the Earl of Suffolk was admitted to the degree of master of arts, to which he was presented in a much applauded speech by the public orator. The encœnia were then continued by the following gentlemen, viz. hon. Mr. Beauchlerck, of Queen's, English; Sir B. B. Delves, Magdalen college, Latin; Sir James Macdonal, Christ-Church, Latin; Mr. Beckford, New college, English; Mr. Wodehouse, and Mr. Le Maistre, Christ-Church, Latin dialogue; Mr. Nibbes, St. John's, Latin. All these exercises were performed with great propriety of elocution and action, and were highly applauded by the audience. In the evening was performed the oratorio of Esther.

On Thursday, the chancellor met the heads of houses, at the delegates room, and presided in their consultations on the business of the university; and from thence was accompanied by them to the theatre. Here the encœnia, or congratulatory exercises, were again resumed, by Mr. Hopton and Mr. Walcot, of Magdalen college, who spoke a dialogue in Latin verse, on the late improvements and benefactions to the university; Mr. Bagot, of Christ-Church, Latin verse;

verse; Mr. Ilbert, of Magdalen, English verse; Mr. Way, of Christ-Church, Latin; Mr. Bragge, of Magdalen, Latin; Mr. Bugden, of Trinity, English; Mr. Kaye, of Brazen-nose, English oration.

The degree of doctor of civil law was conferred on the following gentlemen:

Right hon. Robert Shirley, son to the earl Ferrers.

Hon. Wilmot Vaughan, member of parliament for Cardiganhire, and son to lord Lisburne.

Sir Richard Chase.

Harbord Harbord, esq; member of parliament for Norwich.

James Evelyn, of Fullbridge, Suffolk, esq;

And the following gentlemen had the degree of masters of arts conferred on them, viz.

The right hon. the Earl of Donegal, of Trinity college.

Sir Brian Broughton Delves, of Magdalen college.

Alexander Courthope, of Horsemonden, Kent ;;

John Childen, of Tunbridge, Kent, esq;

Roger Twisden, esq; eldest son of Sir R. Twisden, bart.

Thomas Popkin, of Kettle-Hill, Glamorganshire, esq;

John Sawbridge, jun. of Alantigh; in Kent, esq;

Wm. Dealtry, of Magdalen college, esq;

Powell Snell, jun. of Baliol college, esq;

John Toke, of University college, esq;

William Guise, of Queen's college, esq;

Thomas Knight of Trinity college, esq;

Henry St. John, of New college, esq;

On Friday the entænia were resumed in the theatre, when an Italian ode, in praise of the chancellor, was performed by the whole opera band; after which the degree of D. C. L. was conferred on the following gentlemen, viz.

Henry Pye, esq; member of parliament for Berkshire.

William Grove, esq; member of parliament for Coventry.

John Harvey Thursby, esq; member of parliament for Stamford.

Josiah George Hort, esq; son to the late archbishop of Tuam.

The degree of A. M. was also conferred on Henry Hunter, esq; of Trinity college; Mr. Thomas Augustine Arne was admitted to the degree of doctor of music; and verses were spoken by the following gentlemen; Mr. Mundy, New college, English; Mr. Forster, Corpus Christi college, English; Mr. Pepys, Christ-Church, Latin; Mr. Simpson, Christ-Church, Latin; Mr. De Salis, Queen's college, Latin; and Mr. Sandys, of Queen's college, Latin.

Then the solemnity of the installation and commemoration was closed by Dr. King, principal of St. Mary-Hall, who in a spirited and eloquent oration, delivered with his usual grace and dignity, enlarged on the propriety of the choice the university had made; displayed his lordship's eminent abilities; introduced lady Pomfret's, and Mr. Dawkins's late benefactions; and concluded with an exhortation to the youth of this place, and his ardent wishes for the perpetual peace and prosperity of the university.

The splendor of the appearance on this occasion, the harmony and decorum with which the whole ceremony was conducted, and the enter-

entertainment afforded to so polite and respectable an audience, by the exercises and orations of each day, reflect the highest honour on the prudence of the magistrates, and abilities of the members of this distinguished seat of learning.

### Investiture of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Camp at Corsdorf, Oct. 17.

**T**HE King of Great Britain having constituted the right hon. the Marquis of Granby, and Stephen Martin Leake, esq: Garter principal king of arms, plenipotentiaries for investing his serene highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with the most noble order of the garter, Mr. Leake arrived at the camp, with the habit and ensigns, on Monday the 15th. The next day the plenipotentiaries had their first audience of his serene highness, at the head quarters, and presented their credentials, and the book of statutes; and his serene highness having agreed to accept the election, with the usual reservations, the plenipotentiaries immediately invested him with the garter, ribband, and george, Garter pronouncing the usual admonitions in Latin. The next day was appointed for the public investiture, and, for that purpose, a large tent was prepared on a hill, in full view of the French camp, and another lesser tent at a little distance from the great one, for his highness to receive the first part of the investiture: to this tent the Prince came, about twelve o'clock, escorted by a large detachment of the horse-guards blue, who were afterwards drawn up on either side upon the slope of the hill be-

fore the tent, others doing duty on foot. His serene highness was received by the plenipotentiaries in the lesser tent, where the habit and ensigns had been previously laid on a table, and he was immediately invested with the surcoat and sword. A procession was then made to the great tent in the following order:

Gentlemen officers of his serene highness.

Garter's secretary carrying the book of statutes.

The Marquis of Granby's secretary carrying the hood.

Colonel Ligonier, aid de camp to his serene highness, carrying the cap and feather.

Colonel Fitzroy, aid de camp to his serene highness, carrying the collar.

Chester herald, in his coat of arms and collar, carrying the king's commission.

Garter king of arms, in his proper mantle, carrying the mantle of the order on a crimson velvet cushion.

The Marquis of Granby, as first plenipotentiary.

His serene highness the Prince, supported by Lieutenant-Generals Waldegrave and Mostyn.

In this manner they proceeded to the great tent, where two chairs of state were placed, one for the Sovereign, having an escutcheon of his royal arms and titles over his chair. Upon entering the tent, every person made three reverences to the Sovereign's state, and the habit and ensigns were severally laid, by the persons who bore them, upon a table before the Sovereign's stall. The Prince sat down in his chair, the two plenipotentiaries in chairs, on each side of him; the music playing. After a little pause, the Marquis

quis of Granby standing up, made a short speech in French, which was answered by the Prince. Garter then presented the King's commission, which was read by the Prince's secretary. The plenipotentiaries then invested his highness with the habit and ensigns, viz. 1st. the mantle, then the hood, then the collar, Garter pronouncing the usual admonitions. They then placed the cap and feather on the Prince's head, and seated him in his stall; the musick playing. Lastly, Garter proclaimed the sovereign's stile in French, and then the Prince's, the drums beating and trumpets sounding. This being done, a procession was made back to the lesser tent, in the same manner as before, his serene highness having the train of his mantle borne by a page. His highness continued in this tent about an hour, till the great tent was prepared for dinner, which was given by the Marquis of Granby, his serene highness sitting at table in the habit of the order, having his cap held behind his chair, the plenipotentiaries on his right hand, and the hereditary Prince of Brunswick on his left. The second course being served up, his serene highness stood up, put on his cap, and then taking it off, drank, 1st. The sovereign's health; 2d. The rest of the royal family; 3d. The knights companion of the order: In return whereof, the Marquis of Granby drank, 1st. The health of the Prince; 2d. The rest of his family; 2d. The King of Prussia.

The next day his serene highness gave an entertainment, in the three tents near the head-quarters, at which were present (as at the former) all the principal officers of the

army. The whole being conducted with as much order and splendor, as the circumstances of a camp would admit; and to the entire satisfaction of his serene highness.

#### Account of the Funeral Procession of the King of Spain.

ON the 10th of August, as soon as his catholick majesty expired, the Duke of Bejar ordered the lords of the bed-chamber, two and two alternately, assisted by two pages, to guard the body; two priests and two physicians always watching it. Three altars were placed in the chamber, where mass was constantly said both on that and the next morning.—The body being then dressed by the lords and gentlemen of the bed-chamber, was placed in a leaden coffin, inclosed in another of wood, which was covered with a tissue and gold lace, and locked with three keys. On the 11th at noon, it was conveyed by the nobility and officers of the household from the royal bed-chamber to the great hall, where it lay in state upon a rich bed under a magnificent canopy. It was there delivered, in form, by the Duke of Bejar to the Duke of Alva, who immediately committed it to the care of the guard called Montores de Espinosa; two of them standing at the head with the crown and scepter; and two at the feet. The vigil was sung in the hall; and the bishop of Palencia celebrated mass; at which a number of grandees, and all the officers of the court, attended.

At half an hour past six in the evening, the Conde del Montijo, the Duke of Alva, the Prince of

Mazareno, the Duke of Bournonville, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Conde de Aranda, all knights of the golden fleece, formed a chapter of that order in the high steward's chamber, from whence they proceeded to divest the royal body of the collar; which ceremony was performed by the Conde del Montijo, as the eldest knight. On Sunday the 12th, the body, being carried down to the foot of the palace stairs by the lords of the bed-chamber, was there delivered to the officers of the household, who placed it in the hearse, which was prepared to convey it to the convent of the Visitation at Madrid. At certain intervals the bishop of Placentia, who attended with the priests of the royal chapel, repeated the responses.

The procession set out from Villa Viciosa at half an hour past four in the morning, and arrived at Madrid before ten.

The procession entered Madrid through the gate de los Recoletos, where it was received by the body of invalids, with their colonel at their head. It then proceeded to the convent of the Visitation, the streets through which it passed being lined with the Spanish and Walloon guards, as far as the portico, within which a party of the guards were ready to receive the body, and a company of halberdiers at the church-gate.

The equerries took it down from the hearse. The gentlemen of the household carried it to the church door, from whence the grandees and stewards of the household conveyed it to the tomb. When all the great officers, grandees, and other persons present, had taken their places, pontifical mass was said by the

bishop of Santander, at which the musicians of the royal-chapel assisted. Divine service being over, the body was delivered to the prioress of the Visitation, who received it in form from the Duke of Alva, after opening the coffin to examine it in presence of the whole company.

When the royal body entered the church, the company of guards, the Spanish and Walloon infantry, and the invalids, made a general discharge; another at the elevation of the host; and a third about noon, when the body entered the choir, in order to be delivered to the nuns.

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An account of the Plans that have been laid before the Committee for building a Bridge at Black-fryars.

**I**N consequence of several plans that have been exhibited for building a bridge over the Thames at Black-fryars, in some of which the arches have been parts of circles, and in other parts of ovals; many pieces have appeared in the public papers in which different parties have endeavoured to prove the superior excellency of different plans.

The advocates for the semi-circular arch say, that it is stronger than the oval or elliptical, that its figure is more beautiful, and its construction less expensive; that it is stronger, they say, is to be proved by mathematical demonstration; that it is more beautiful, is the necessary consequence of its superior regularity, and simplicity, as the excess of the semi-elliptical arch one way serves only to shew the defect of it in another, and makes it low to appearance, whatever is its real

real height; that the construction of this arch is more expensive than the semi-circular follows from its being in itself less strong; for, as the lateral pressure is greater, the piers and abutments must be constructed so as to make greater resistance; it is also alledged that the semi-circular arch will be more convenient for the advantage of vessels, and will less impede the course of the water, because this arch will be more lofty, and the piers and abutments less wide.

A dispute has also arisen, whether the bridge shall be fenced with iron rails, or a balustrade of stone; the advocates for the stone balustrade say, that rails are too light and trivial for a structure of such magnitude and dignity, and destroy that simple uniformity of parts and design from which alone true beauty can result.

On the other side, it is alledged, that if the arches are semi-circular, they must either be large or numerous; if they are large, the ascent of the bridge will be so steep as to render it extremely inconvenient to those who pass over it, and carriages will be scarce able to pass it at all, the banks of the river being very low; and if the arches are numerous, both the navigation and current of the river will be greatly obstructed by the piers between them. These disadvantages will all be removed if the arch be elliptical, against which there can be no valid objection, but its want of sufficient strength; as utility is surely to be preferred to appearance, supposing the appearance of the semi-circle to be more pleasing.

To prove than an elliptical arch

is not sufficiently strong, recourse has been had, not to mathematical reasoning, but to fact, and it has been said, that a bridge over the Arno at Florence, called Trinity-bridge, having been constructed with elliptical arches, is so feeble that no cart is suffered to pass over it: and that some years ago, when the pavement over one of the abutments was taken up to be repaired, several stones in the adjoining arches moved out of their places, and the workmen were therefore obliged instantly to desist, and reload the abutment again with its usual weight, to prevent the arch from falling in, and oppose sufficient resistance to the lateral pressure.

But the fact upon which this objection is founded is not true, for it will appear upon the first view of this bridge, that the arches are neither ellipsis, nor cycloid, nor any other regular curve, but a curve drawn from those points taken at pleasure. These arches, however, irregular as they are, have stood two hundred years; and though it is true that carts are not allowed to pass over them, yet it is also true that the supposed weakness of the bridge is not the reason, but the convenience of the nobility, who live in the streets to which this bridge is the principal avenue, there being another bridge built for the passage of carts, leading to streets through which they may pass without nuisance. That the arch was injured by moving the pavement is allowed, but it does not follow, that a different arch would be injured by the same means, neither does the injury suffered by that arch appear to arise from a



weakness essential to its figure, because it is at least equally probable that it arose from mere defect in its construction.

It is also affirmed, that the author of the plan for constructing a bridge over nine elliptical arches has devised a method of construction, by which the weight will be thrown entirely upon the piers, and the arches have nothing to sustain: it is acknowledged that this device cannot well be explained by a written description, but we are told that it will be demonstrated to the committee.

It is, however, most certain, that an elliptical arch is not so strong as a semi-circular; as may be demonstrated by arguments which appeal simply to common reason, and which will yet stand the test of geometrical examinations.

All arches have a certain degree of weakness. No hollow building can be equally strong with a solid mass, of which every upper part presses perpendicularly upon the lower. Any weight laid upon the top of an arch, has a tendency to force that top to the vacuity below; and the arch thus loaded on the top stands only, because the stones that form it, being wider in the upper than in the lower parts, that part that fills a wider space cannot fall through a space less wide; but the force which laid upon a flat would press directly downwards, is dispersed each way in a lateral direction, as the parts of a beam are pushed out to the right and left by a wedge driven between them. In proportion as the stones are wider at the top than at the bottom, they can less easily be forced downwards; and as their lateral surfaces tend more from the

center to each side, to so much more is the pressure directed laterally towards the piers, and so much less perpendicular towards the vacuity.

Upon this plain principle the semi-circular arch may be demonstrated to excel in strength the elliptical arch, which approaching nearer to a straight line, must be constructed with stones, whose diminution downwards is very little, and of which the pressure is almost perpendicular.

It has yet been sometimes asserted by hardy ignorance, that the elliptical arch is stronger than the semi-circular, or in other terms, that any mass is more strongly supported the less it rests upon the supporters. If the elliptical arch be equally strong with the semi-circular; that is, if an arch, by approaching to a straight line, loses none of its stability, it will follow that all arcuation is useless, and that the bridge may at last, without any inconvenience, consist of stone laid in straight lines from pillar to pillar. But if a straight line will bear no weight, which is evident at the first view, it is plain, likewise, that an ellipse will bear very little, and that as the arch is more curved, its strength is increased.

It is alledged in answer to this reasoning, that though the elliptical arch be not equally strong with the semi-circular, yet it is strong enough to sustain any weight that will ever pass over it, and that its convenience both to those who go under, and those who go over, by being wide and lower, will abundantly compensate for its want of beauty, if indeed its appearance is less beautiful. It may however be

replied, that the utmost strength is required not to sustain at first a superadded weight, but to sustain itself through successive ages: an effort perpetually made by the gravitation of its parts will by degrees loosen its texture, push its figure into irregularities, and bring on successive weakness perpetually accelerated by the operation of the same force against less and less resistance till the whole falls into ruin, if it be not by its figure supported in a perpendicular direction, because it is the perpendicular support alone that will not yield to a perpetual effort.

In defence of iron rails against a balustrade of stone, it is said, that the upper member of a cornice is always made very light, and that therefore the balustrade, which is the finishing member of the bridge, may be made as light and airy, as is consistent with necessary solidity, without violating any known rule in architecture, consequently without destroying that simplicity, and conformity of parts and design, which is essential to beauty.

Iron rails fixed between pedestals of stone will produce a pleasing variety, and give an uninterrupted view of the finest river in the world; to preserve them from the weather, they may be washed with the varnish lately invented at Paris, and used in the iron manufactories in France, which at the same time that it defends them from injury by the weather, will give them the appearance of brass, than which nothing can be more magnificent. The celebrated bridge of St. Angelo at Rome is fenced in this manner, and the universal approbation it has received, is sufficient to authorize an imitation of it.

Statutes and Rules relating to the inspection and use of the BRITISH MUSEUM, lately published by order of the Trustees.

THE first statute directs the times when the Museum is to be kept open, as follows:

1. That the Museum be kept open at the hours mentioned below, every day throughout the year, except Saturday and Sunday in each week; and likewise except Christmas-day and one week after; one week after Easter-day and Whitsunday respectively; Good-Friday, and all days, which are now, or shall hereafter be specially appointed for thanksgiving, or fasts by public authority.

2. That between the first of September and April inclusive, from Monday to Friday inclusive, the Museum be opened, from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon; and likewise at the same hours on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, in May, June, July, and August; but on Monday and Friday, only from four o'clock to eight in the afternoon, during those four months, except at the times above excepted.

The second directs the manner of admission to view the Museum, as follows:

1. That such studious and curious persons, as are desirous to see the Museum, shall make their application to the porter, in writing; which application shall contain their names, condition, and places of abode, as also the day and hour at which they desire to be admitted; and shall be delivered to him before nine in the morning, or between four and eight in the evening.

ing, on some preceding day : and that the said names, together with the respective additions, shall be entered in a register, to be kept by the porter. And the porter shall, and is hereby required, to lay such register every night before the principal librarian, or in his absence before the under librarian, who shall officiate as secretary for the time being, or in his absence, before one of the other under librarians ; to the end that the principal, or such under librarian, may be informed, whether the persons so applying be proper to be admitted according to the regulations made or to be made, by the trustees for that purpose. And if he shall judge them proper, he shall direct the porter to deliver tickets to them, according to their request, on their applying a second time for the said tickets.

2. That no more than ten tickets be delivered out, for each hour of admittance ; which tickets, when brought by the respective persons therein named, are to be shewn to the porter ; who is thereupon to direct them to a proper room appointed for their reception, till the hour of seeing the Museum be come ; at which time they are to deliver their tickets to the proper officer of the first department : and that five of the persons, producing such tickets, be attended by the under librarian, and the other five by the assistant in each department.

3. That the said number of tickets be delivered for the admission of company at the hours of nine, ten, eleven, or twelve respectively, in the morning, and at the hour of four or five, in the afternoon of those days, in which the Museum is to be open at that time : and that, if application be

made by a greater number of persons than can be accommodated on that day and hour, which they had named ; the persons last applying have tickets granted them for such other day and hour, as will be most convenient for them ; provided it be within seven days ; a sufficient number of tickets being ordered to be left in the hands of the porter, for that purpose.

4. That if the number of persons producing tickets for any particular hour does not exceed five, they be desired to join in one company ; which may be attended either by the under librarian, or assistant, as shall be agreed on between them.

5. That if any persons having obtained tickets, be prevented from making use of them, they be desired to send them back to the porter in time ; that other persons wanting to see the Museum may not be excluded.

6. That the spectators may view the whole Museum in a regular order, they are first to be conducted through the department of manuscripts and medals ; then the department of natural and artificial productions ; and afterwards the department of printed books, by the particular officers assigned to each department.

7. That one hour only be allowed to the several companies, for gratifying their curiosity in viewing each department, so that the whole inspection for each company may be finished in three hours ; and that each company keep together in that room, in which the officer who attends them, shall then be.

8. That a catalogue of the respective printed books, manuscripts, and other parts of the collection, distinguished by numbers, be deposited

posited in some one room of each department, to which the same shall respectively belong, as soon as the same can be prepared.

9. That written numbers, answering to those in the catalogues, be affixed both to the books, and other parts of the collection, as far as can conveniently be done.

10. That in passing through the rooms, if any of the spectators desire to see any book, or other part of the collection, it be handed to them by the officer, as far as is consistent with the security of the collection, to be judged of by the said officer; who is to restore it to its place, before they leave the room: that no more than one such book, or other part of the collection, be delivered at a time to the same company: and that the officer do give the company any information they shall desire, relating to that part of the collection which is under his care.

11. That upon the expiration of each hour, notice shall be given of it by ringing a bell; at which time the several companies shall remove out of the department in which they then are, to make room for fresh companies.

12. That the coins and medals, except such as the standing committee shall order, from time to time, to be placed in glass cases, be not exposed to view, but by leave of the trustees, in a general meeting, or the standing committee, or of the principal librarian: that they be shewn between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, by one of the officers, who have the custody of them: that no more than two persons be admitted into the room to see them at the same time, unless by particu-

lar leave of the principal librarian: who in such case is required to attend, together with the said officer, the whole time: and that but one thing be taken, or continue out of the cabinets and drawers at a time, which is to be done by the officer, who shall replace it, before any person present goes out of the room.

13. That if any of the persons who have tickets, come after the hour marked in the said tickets, but before the three hours allotted them are expired, they be permitted to join the company appointed for the same hour, on their removing into another department, in order to see the remaining part of the collection, if they desire it.

14. That the Museum be constantly shut up at all other times, but those above mentioned.

15. That if any persons are desirous of visiting the Museum more than once, they may apply for tickets in the manner above-mentioned, at any other times, and as often as they please: provided that no one person has tickets at the same time for more than one.

16. That no children be admitted into the Museum.

17. That no officer, or servant, take any fee, reward, or gratuity, of any person whatsoever, except in such cases as are herein after-mentioned, under the penalty of immediate dismissal.

The third directs the manner of admitting persons, who desire to make use of the Museum for study, or shall have occasion to consult the same for evidence, or information: but as every such person will certainly provide himself with the book itself, we shall not spare room for it.

And at the end there is an order as follows:

Although it may be presumed, that persons who shall be admitted to see the Museum, will in general conform themselves to the rules and orders above-mentioned; yet as it may happen, that these rules may not always be duly observed: the trustees think it necessary, for the safety and preservation of the Museum, and do hereby order, That in case any persons shall behave in an improper manner, and contrary to the said rules, and shall continue such misbehaviour, after having been admonished by one of the officers; such persons shall be obliged forthwith to withdraw from the Museum; and their names shall be entered in a book to be kept by the porter: who is hereby ordered, not to deliver tickets to them for their admission for the future, without a special direction from the trustees in a general meeting.

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Premiums of the Society for the encouragement of Arts and Commerce.

To the PUBLIC.

*Strand, April 25, 1759.*

**T**HE society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, propose, in pursuance of their plan to bestow the following premiums, viz.

Premiums relating to agriculture, husbandry, planting, &c.

For sowing the greatest quantity of lands with acorns alone before the first day of May 1760, (ten acres at least) with not less than four bushels to each acre, and for fencing and preserving the same effectually, for raising timber, a gold medal.

For the second greatest quantity ditto, a silver medal.

For the third ditto, a silver medal.

Certificates of sowing the same, must be delivered to the society, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1760.

For erecting on or before the 1st of September, 1761, an apiary, containing the greatest number of hives or boxes stocked with bees, not less than thirty, a gold medal.

Also a silver medal for the second greatest number, not less than 20.

Certificates to be delivered on or before the last Tuesday in October, 1761.

For sowing the greatest quantity of land with Spanish chesnuts, (for raising timber) before the 1st day of May, 1760, and for effectually fencing and preserving the same, a gold medal.

For the second greatest quantity ditto, a silver medal.

For the third ditto, a silver medal.

For properly planting the greatest number of the small leaved English elm, for raising timber, (commonly used for keels of ships and water-works) before the first day of May, 1760, and for effectually fencing and preserving the same, a gold medal.

For the second greatest number of ditto, a silver medal.

For the third ditto, a silver medal.

N. B. Certificates of having planted the two last articles, must be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1760.

For planting out in the year 1760, at proper distances, the greatest number of that pine, commonly called Scotch fir, being the tree which produces the best red, or yellow deal, to be two years old, at least, when planted out, and for effectually

ly fencing and preserving the same, a gold medal.

For the second greatest number of ditto, a silver medal.

For the third ditto a silver medal.

Certificates of such planting must be delivered on or before the last Wednesday in January, 1761.

N. B. The like premiums will also be given for planting out the greatest number of Scotch firs, at the same age, and after the same manner, in the year 1761. And certificates thereof must be delivered on or before the last Tuesday in January 1762.

For the most effectual method to prevent or destroy the fly which takes the turnip in the leaf, to be produced on or before the first Wednesday in December, 1759, 20l.

For properly planting with madder roots the greatest number of acres (not less than ten) and effectually fencing and preserving the same, 50l. Certificates will be required of the whole having been planted and fenced between the 1st of June, 1759, and the 1st of November, 1760. And such certificates must be delivered in, on, or before the first Tuesday in December, 1760.

For the best set of experiments, with a dissertation on the nature and operations of manures, to be produced on or before the third Wednesday in December, 1759, a gold medal, if really deserving.

For the best set of experiments, with a dissertation on soils and their different natures, to be produced on or before the first Wednesday in December, 1759, a gold medal, if deserving.

For the most effectual method to prevent or cure the rot in sheep, to be produced on or before the first

Wednesday in December, 1759, 20l.

For planting out in the year 1761, at proper distances, the greatest number of the white pine, commonly called Lord Weymouth's, or the New-England pine, (being the properest sort for masts) to be four years old, at least, when planted out, and for effectually fencing and preserving the same, a gold medal.

For the second greatest number of ditto, a silver medal.

For the third ditto, a silver medal.

Certificates of such planting must be delivered on or before the last Wednesday in January, 1762.

N. B. The like premiums will be given for planting out Lord Weymouth's pine, as above, in the year 1762, and also in the year 1763. Certificates thereof for 1762, must be delivered on or before the last Wednesday in January, 1763, and for 1763, on or before the last Tuesday in January 1764.

Premiums for discoveries and improvements in chymistry, dying, and mineralogy, &c.

For the greatest quantity of bismuth, made from minerals or materials, the produce of England, not less than 100lb. wt. to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in January, 1760, 30l.

For 10lb. wt. of borax, discovered or made in this kingdom, having the properties of that which is imported, to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in January 1760, 25l.

For making 200 nests of the best crucibles, of a small size, each nest consisting of no less than six crucibles, and likewise fifty nests of a larger size; the largest crucibles in each of which last 50 nests to hold two quarts of British materials, and equal

equal to the crucibles imported for melting metals and salts, to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in January, 1760, 30l.

For the best sample of flaxen yarn dyed of a lasting and firm green colour not less than 25lb. weight to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in March, 1760, 20l.

For dying flaxen yarn scarlet in grain, of the best holding or fast colour, 2lb. wt. at the least to be produced as above, 30l.

For improving grain colours, and rendering them cheaper; specimens to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1759, 30l.

For making a quantity of the best sal ammoniac, equal in goodness to the best imported, not less than 500lb. wt. at one manufactory, 50lb. wt. of which to be produced as a sample, on or before the third Tuesday in March, 1760, 30l.

N. B. If the samples produced be equal in goodness, the quantity made will determine the premium.

For the best scarlet in grain dyed in England, in a piece of superfine broad cloth, not less than 25 yards, superior in colour to any now dyed in England, and the nearest to the finest foreign dyed scarlet in grain cloth, with condition to declare how much the dying cost per yard, to be produced on or before the 3d. Wednesday in December, 1759, 20l.

For the discovery of the best and cheapest composition of a very strong and lasting colour for marking of sheep, which will endure the weather a proper time, and not damage the wool, as pitch, tar, &c. to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, 20l.

For the best and cheapest composition, which on sufficient trials shall

appear most effectual for securing ships bottoms from worms and other injuries, 50l. Six planks of oak (cut out of the same piece of timber) must be provided by each candidate, each plank being three feet long, one foot wide, and two inches thick; four of the said planks must be prepared or payed with the composition, and the other two must be left unprepared or unpaid; and all the said planks must be produced to the society on or before the first day of January, 1760, in order to be sent to such places as the society shall think proper, for making trials thereon.

For ditto in the year 1760, the planks to be produced in the same manner, on or before the first day of January, 1761, 50l.

In the year 1756, it was proposed to give 100l. for making at any one manufactory (within three years from the date thereof) 10,000lb. wt. of the best salt-petre, fit for gunpowder, by some method different from Mr. Paul Nightingale's (as mentioned in his patent and specification) from materials the produce of England or Wales, or from seawater, 100lb. wt. thereof to be produced for such trials to be made thereon, as the society shall direct.

Also for the second like quantity fit for gunpowder, made at some other manufactory, within the same time, 50l.

It is now further proposed to give 100l. to the person who shall make the first 10,000lb. wt. of such salt-petre fit for gunpowder (before the first Tuesday in April, 1760) 100lb. weight thereof to be produced as above.

For the second like quantity fit for gunpowder, at some other manufactory, and by a different person, or persons, 50l.

N. B.

N. B. The same persons may be entitled to double premiums, if the above quantity of salt-petre be made by them, before the first Tuesday in April, 1760.

For an effectual method to edulcorate train or seal oil, for the use not only of the clothier, soap-boiler, &c. but to answer the ordinary purposes of olive oil, to be produced on or before the second Wednesday in December, 1759, 10l.

For making one quart, at least, of the best, most transparent and colourless varnish, equal in all respects to Martin's at Paris, commonly called copal varnish, the properties whereof are great hardness, perfect transparency, without discolouring any paint it is laid over, being capable of the finest polish, and not liable to crack, 20l. The varnish that gains the premium must be better than any before produced; and each candidate, when his varnish is produced, must produce also a pannel of wood (large enough for a coach door) painted with the finest ground of white, blue, green, pompadour, carmine, and red, finished with the same varnish, the most perfectly secured and polished, so as to be proof against a hot sun, frost, or wet, to be left with the society for six months at least, in order to ascertain its merit.

Specimens of the varnish and pannels so finished, are to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1760, and to be determined on the last Wednesday in September, 1760.

For making the most and best verdigrease, equal in goodness to the French, not less than 100lb. wt. to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in January, 1760, 30l.

N. B. The process of making verdigrease, is given in the memoirs of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, for the years 1750 and 1753.

For making the most and best zaffre and smalt from English cobalt, (not less than 11lb. wt. of zaffre, and 5lb. wt. of smalt) to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in January, 1760, together with one pound of the ore they were produced from, in order to a counter proof, 30l.

Premiums for improving arts, &c.

For the best drawings of a human figure, after life, by youths under the age of twenty-four, during their meetings next winter, at the academy for painting, &c. in St. Martin's-lane (according to the rules hung up there) 30 guineas, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, and determined in proportion to their merit.

For the best drawings of any statue, at the candidate's own election, in the Duke of Richmond's gallery, by youths under the age of twenty-one, to be produced and determined as above, 25 guineas.

The drawings must be left with the person who takes care of the statues, until they are delivered to the society.

For the best drawings of a human figure, or figures, from models, casts, or basso-relievos, the principal figure not less than twelve inches, by youths under the age of twenty, to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1760, and determined as above, 15 guineas.

All the above drawings to be made with chalks only.

For the best drawings of a human figure, after a print or drawing, by youths under the age of sixteen, to be



be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be made with chalks, pencil, or pen, and of a different size from the original.

For the best drawings of landscapes after nature, by youths under the age of nineteen, to be made with chalks, pen, pencil, Indian ink, or bistre, and produced on or before the first Tuesday in November 1759, to be determined as above, 20 guineas.

On the back of each drawing, mention shall be made whence the view was taken.

For the best drawings or compositions after nature, of beasts, birds, fruit, or flowers, by youths under the age of twenty, to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in January, 1760, and determined as above, 20 guineas.

To be made with crayons, or water-colours.

For the best drawings or compositions, as above, by youths under the age of sixteen, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be made with chalks, pencil, pen, or Indian ink.

For the best drawings or compositions as above, by girls under the age of twenty, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be made with crayons, or water-colours.

For the best drawings or compositions of ornaments, consisting of birds, beasts, flowers, and foliage, fit for weavers, embroiderers, or any art or manufacture, by girls under the age of eighteen, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be coloured, or not coloured, at the option of the candidate.

For the best drawings or compositions of ornaments, being original designs, fit for weavers, callico-printers, or any art or manufacture, by youths under the age of twenty, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be coloured, or not coloured, at the option of the candidate.

For the best drawings or compositions of ornaments, being original designs, fit for weavers, callico-printers, or any other art or manufacture, by youths under the age of sixteen, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be coloured, or not coloured, at the option of the candidate.

For the best drawings of a human figure, or heads, after drawings or prints, by boys under the age of fourteen, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be made with chalks, pencil, pen, or Indian ink.

For the best drawings of any kind (human figures and heads excepted) by boys under the age of fourteen, to be produced and determined as above, 15 guineas.

To be made with chalks, pencil, pen, or Indian ink.

For the best drawings of a horse, from the life, by youths under the age of twenty, to be produced and determined as above, 10 guineas.

The height of the figure to be not less than ten inches, and to be made with chalks only.

A gold medal will be given for the best original drawing of any kind, and a silver medal for the second best, by young ladies or gentlemen under the age of twenty, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1760.

Also two medals, one gold and the other silver, for the best original drawings

drawings of any kind, by young ladies, or gentlemen under the age of sixteen, to be produced and determined as the last.

To be made with chalks, pencil, pen, Indian ink, or bistre.

The candidates must send in their drawings, without frame or glass, sealed up, and marked with the number of the class they belong to, and their names must be wrote on the margin of each drawing, on the inside, and covered by themselves respectively.

For a copper medal, the size of an English crown, which shall be executed the best, in point of workmanship, and boldness of relief, by persons under the age of twenty-five, after a model first produced by the candidate, and approved by the society; the medal and dyes are to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, 20 guineas.

The medal to be the property of the society.

For the best model of the face, and reverse of a medallion, its diameter not less than three inches, by youths under the age of twenty-two, being their own composition, to be produced and determined as above, 10 guineas.

The subject to be given by the society.

For the best models in clay of basso-relievos, by youths under the age of twenty-five, being their own invention, the height of the principal figure not less than twelve inches, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, and determined in proportion to their merit, 20-guineas.

The subject to be Jephtha's rash vow.

For the best models in clay; of

figures or basso relievos, by youths under the age of twenty, being their own invention, to be produced and determined as the last, 15 guineas.

For the best models in clay, (not less than twenty inches high) from the dancing fawn, in the Duke of Richmond's gallery, by youths under the age of twenty-two, to be produced and determined as the last, 20 guineas.

For the best models or composition of ornaments in clay, consisting of birds, beasts, fruit, flowers, or foliage, by youths under the age of twenty-two, being their own invention, to be produced and determined as the last, 15 guineas.

For the best models or compositions of ornaments in clay, consisting of birds, beasts, fruit, flowers, or foliage, by youths under the age of nineteen, to be produced and determined as the last, 10 guineas.

N. B. The clay of all these models must be left in its natural colour, and quite dry when produced.

For the best models in wax (fit for artists who work in metal) by youths under the age of nineteen, being their own invention, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February 1760, and determined in proportion to their merit, 10 guineas.

No candidate who has gained the first premium in any class, will be permitted to enter him or herself as a candidate in any class of an inferior age; and no candidate shall receive more than one premium in one year.

A candidate being detected in any dissingenuous methods to impose on the society, will forfeit the premium for which he is a competitor, and be deemed incapable of obtaining any premium for the future.

N. B.

N. B. All candidates for drawing or modelling (except those who draw or model in the Duke of Richmond's gallery, or at the academy) may draw or model at their respective dwellings; but the persons to whom premiums shall be adjudged, will be expected to give satisfactory proofs, that the drawings or models by them produced, were entirely their own performance, without the assistance of any person; and the drawings and models, for which premiums are given, shall become the property of the society; excepting, however, such as gain honorary premiums, which shall remain with the society two months, and be then returned, if desired, to their owners.

For the best engraving of a history piece, consisting of not less than three human figures, the principal one not under eight inches high, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1761, 40 guineas.

For the best engraving, performed by youths under the age of twenty-two, from a subject to be appointed by the society, to be delivered on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1760, 20 guineas.

For the best scraping in metzotinto, after a picture or drawing, approved of by the society, by youths under the age of twenty-two, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1760, 10 guineas.

The plates to be produced to the society, and three impressions to be taken from each of them, for the use of the society.

For an engraving in wood, in the manner of Albert Durer, or of those prints commonly called Titians, which shall be performed the best, with regard to the drawing, knowledge of the lights and shades, and

freedom of cutting, by youths under the age of nineteen, after drawings approved by the society, 6 guineas.

The blocks, with impressions, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1760, and three impressions from each of them to become their property.

For the best etching, performed by boys under the age of eighteen, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1760, 10 guineas.

The subject to be appointed by the society.

For a naked human figure, the best engraven in intaglio, on an oval red cornelian, and executed the best, with regard to drawing, depth and freedom of engraving, and excellence of polish, by persons under the age of twenty-six, (after a model appointed by the society) to be delivered, sealed up, on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1760, 10 guineas.

N. B. The gem to be left with the society one month, and three impressions in sulphur, to be made from it for the use of the society.

For the greatest number of casts or impressions in glass, commonly called pastes, not less than thirty, the most varied, compounded, and perfect, both in colours and subjects, and nearest in excellence to antique pastes, as well cameos as intaglios, to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1760, 15 guineas.

The casts or impressions to be the property of the society.

For the best original historical picture, the subject to be taken from the English history only, containing not less than three human figures, as large as the life, 100 guineas.

For

For the second best, 50 guineas.

For the best original landscape, on canvas, four feet two inches in length, by three feet four inches in height, 50l.

For the second best, 25l.

Proof must be made to the satisfaction of the society, that the whole of each picture was painted in England, and since the first day of January, 1759. The pictures to be delivered without frame, on or before the last Tuesday in March, 1760. Those which gain premiums, must remain with the society for two months after the decision, and then be returned to their owners.

For casting in bronze the best figure or groupe, and repairing the same in the best manner, if a single figure, not less than 15 inches high, and if a groupe, not less than 12 inches, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, 25 guineas.

N. B. The casts to be shewn to the society before they are begun to be repaired. The bronze which gains the premium, to be left with the society one month.

A sum not exceeding 100l. will be given as a gratuity to any person or persons, who shall make an accurate actual survey of any county; but this advertisement is not intended to bind the society to any particular time of paying the said gratuity, as satisfactory proofs will be required of the merits of such performance. If any person or persons propose to make such survey, they are desired to signify their particular intentions on or before the second Tuesday in November next, that the society may not engage in greater expence than shall be found convenient.

As a further encouragement, the surveyor that will give an exact and accurate level and section of the rivers in any county surveyed, that are capable of being made navigable, shall be intitled to an additional gratuity.

Premiums to encourage and improve manufactures, machines, &c.

For making the largest quantity of the crapes, commonly used for mourning hatbands, scarves, &c. nearly equal in goodness to the best foreign crapes, not less than 100 yards, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, 30l.

For making a piece of druggert, of the same quality and nearest in price to a pattern which will be delivered by the registres of the society, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1760, 20l. The length of the piece to be not less than 30 yards, the breadth about 21 inches. N. B. The person who gained the first premium last year will not be admitted as a claimant for this year's premium.

A premium of 100l. will be given for the first year, 50l. for the second year, and 25l. a year for the three succeeding years, to the person or persons who shall first erect and exercise a saw-mill capable of sawing timber into useful planks and scantlings.

To the person who shall invent and produce to the society, on or before the first Tuesday in April, 1760, the best model of a tide-mill, made by a scale of at least one inch to a foot, and capable of being tried by water, in which, from the proper height and width of the water wheel, the number, size, and position of its floats or ladles, and the just application

plication of the water to the same, of the first drawing, and all the intermediate heights of 12 feet down to a four foot head or fall, measuring from the bottom of the conduit to the top of the water, and the most proper and simple construction of the gears, to move or drive the stones or other work of the mill, the greatest effect which shall be produced in proportion to the quantity of water expended, 50l.

To the person who shall invent and produce to the society on or before the first Tuesday in April, 1760, the best model of a wind-mill, in which the number, form, size, and positions of the sails are such as produce the greatest effects from the action of the wind in all its various velocities, and the machinery of the whole such as to communicate, in the most simple manner, a proper uniform motion to the shaft of the mill in all the variations of the wind's velocity: the model to be made by a scale of one inch to a foot, 50l.

For marbling the greatest quantity of paper, equal in goodness to the best marble paper imported, not less than one ream, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1760, 10l.

For making the greatest quantity of paper, and best quality, from silk rags alone, not less than two reams of white paper, and five reams of paper of a light brown colour, nearest and most agreeable to the colour of a pattern which will be delivered by the register of the society, to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in April, 1760, 20l. For the second greatest quantity, and best in quality, not less than two reams of white, and five reams of the light brown colour,

10l. For the third ditto, not less than the above quantity, 5l.

For discovering and producing, on or before the first Tuesday in November next, the most effectual, easy, expeditious, and cheap method, whereby the various colours of a large quantity of silk rags may be readily discharged, yet the fibres of the silk may still keep their strength firm as before, and be no ways rendered unfit for the purpose of making silk paper, and on condition that such method may be published for the benefit of the paper manufacturer, 10l. N. B. All persons are desired to save their silk rags.

To the person who shall produce the best block of a ship, to draw 17 feet water (depth of keel included) and to be 650 tons burthen, with those two properties united in the greatest degree, 50l. Also, to the person who shall produce the best block, on the same principles, of 12 feet draught of water, and 380 tons, 30l. Each block to be made by a quarter scale, that is a quarter of an inch to a foot. The bodies of the blocks of each size to be hollowed and worked nearly to the same scantling or thickness which the timber and planks together of ships of such burthens respectively usually are. The keel of the larger size not exceeding one foot four inches: the keel of the less not to exceed one foot. Each block to have the knee of the head, or cutwater, as well as the rudder, fixed to it. A deck to be fixed in each, with a hatchway large enough to pass the hand through, to shift her load or ballast for trimming her; and a mast of proportionable dimensions to be fixed in each, for making the experiments

ements necessary to ascertain her stiffness. The bottoms to be painted with white paint, up to the sailing water line, which is to be marked in feet upon the stem and post. The wales not to be raised, but to be expressed in black paint, and no decorations to be allowed except in paint only. The configuration of the body and every circumstance not prescribed above, is left to the judgment, genius, and choice of the artist. The angle at which the stiffness will be tried is to be 20 degrees of inclination from the perpendicular, that which requires most force to heel her to that angle being accounted the stiffest. Each candidate must produce his block to the society, with an exact draught thereof, and his reasons in writing why he prefers that particular form, on or before the last Tuesday in March 1760, and the trial to be on (or as near as may be to) the 1st of May following. A method of trial will be contrived by the society, in order to determine which has the greatest share, or maximum, of both qualities taken together, so that a deficiency in either property shall be ballanced by a proportionable excellence in the other. If no more than one candidate for each kind do offer; or in case no more than one model in each kind be thought, by the society, to answer their description, or be worthy of trial; then such candidate or model, in either kind, to be intitled to 15 l. The candidates are to take notice, that the tonnage, weight of the body, ballast, masts, yards, stores, provisions, &c. included, are to bring the ship down to her sailing water line.

For the finest spun yarn, from flax, of English growth, not less than

six pounds weight, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1760, 10 l.

Twenty pounds will be given to any parish, within the bills of mortality, in whose workhouse the greatest quantity of wheat shall be ground into meal, with handmills worked by the poor, in proportion to the number maintained therein, which meal shall be consumed in the said workhouse, or sold out to other persons: satisfactory proof to be made thereof on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1760. For the second greatest quantity, in like manner, 15 l. For the third ditto, 10 l.

To the masters or mistresses, or those who under any denomination superintend the labour of the poor in workhouses, the following premiums will be given, viz. For spinning the best worsted yarn, in any workhouse wherein the poor are not let to farm, not less than 500 lb. wt. (fit for the use of weavers) which shall on, or before the third Tuesday in February, 1760, be proved to have been spun therein, between the present date and that day, by such poor persons only as shall have been therein relieved, 20 l.

For spinning not less than 1000 lb. wt. of linen yarn, from hemp or flax (fit for any handicraft trade in the lower branches of weaving) in any such workhouse, and by such poor persons as above, within the time aforesaid, sufficient samples to be produced, 20 l. to the best deserving.

For spinning not less than 200 lb. wt. of the finest linen yarn (fit for the principal branches of weaving) for making stockings, or to be used as sewing thread: the time

and conditions as above mentioned, 20 l.

For spinning not less than 500 lb. wt. of cotton yarn, nearest the sort called Surat or Turkey cotton yarn, in any workhouse; time and conditions as above, 20 l.

For causing to be knit, within the time above mentioned, in the workhouse of any parish whose poor are not farmed out, by not less than 20 women and children, the largest quantity in proportion to the number so employed, of white, low-priced, slight worsted hose for women, from yarn spun in the said workhouse; such hose to weigh about 3 lb. per dozen, and each stocking to measure full 23 inches in the leg, and nine inches in the foot, and to be knit from two threads of soft worsted, spun on the short wheel, called the Canterbury or Leicester wheel, 20 l. N. B. The premium will be given for the greatest number of such hose as come nearest to a pattern to be given by the society, in proportion of one dozen at least, for each woman and child. For the second parcel, in quantity and quality, of the like hose, on the same conditions, 10 l.

For causing to be knit, on the above conditions, the best and largest quantity of the like worsted hose, of the same size, and about the same weight, but knit from three threads, the long wheel spinning, 15 l. For the second parcel ditto in quantity and goodness, 10 l. The hose must be produced to the society, or to such person as they shall appoint to examine the same: and must be made as near as can be, to samples of each sort, which will be delivered by the register, to any who shall apply by a subscriber.

N. B. Certificates will be required from the masters, mistresses, or superintendants of such workhouses as are candidates for spinning or knitting, specifying the number, sex, and ages of the poor maintained in their respective workhouses, distinguishing such of them as are employed therein, and the justness of the samples delivered in, and also a certificate, or certificates, from the rector, vicar or curate, and from the overseers of the poor of the parish where each workhouse is situated, that they have respectively examined into the facts certified by such master or other person, believe the same to be true, and that the poor have been treated, in the mean time, with humanity and compassion. No person will be intitled to more than one of the above premiums.

To such parish or parishes as shall separately or jointly set up, open, or regulate workhouses, for the relief and employment of their poor, upon the plan lately printed and published by Mr. Bailey, and shall, before the third Wednesday in February, 1760, lay before the society, in writing, an account or narrative of their proceedings, with such remarks, as their experience in the execution of the said plan shall point out as material for the improvement thereof, or for remedying any defects therein: to the parish or parishes which in managing their workhouse, shall appear to the society to have kept nearest the said plan, to have made the most effectual trials thereof, and to have suggested the best remarks for improvements to be made upon it, 150 l. And to such other parish or parishes, as shall, in the judgment of the society stand in the second degree of merit, on the like account, 100 l.

Pre-

**Premiums for the advantage of the British colonies.**

For the greatest quantity of cochineal, properly cured, not less than 25 lb. wt. first produced from any plantation or plantations in South Carolina, within the space of three years from the date hereof, 100 l. For the second greatest quantity, not less than 25 lb. weight, as above, 50 l. For the greatest quantity, not less than 25 lb. wt. produced as above in Jamaica, 100 l. For the second greatest quantity, not less than 25 lb. wt. 50 l. The like premiums will be given to any person who shall first produce, in any of the British colonies, settlements, or dominions, the above-mentioned quantity. A certificate under the hands of two or more justices of the peace residing in the country, or of the minister and church-wardens of the parish where such cochineal was cured, setting forth that the said cochineal was cured at the place mentioned therein, and such certificate backed or counter-signed by the governor or commander in chief in council, under the seal of the colony, will be expected by the society at the time the premium is claimed.

For planting the greatest quantity of logwood, in any of the plantations, before the 25th of December, 1759, 20 l. Certificates of such planting must be delivered on or before the first Wednesday in June, 1760.

For planting, fencing, and securing the greatest number of logwood trees (not less than 500) in any of our plantations, before the third Wednesday in December, 1760, 40 l. and certificates there-

of to be delivered on or before the last Wednesday in June, 1761.

Thirty pounds will be given for the greatest quantity of myrtle wax, imported from any of the British colonies in America, not less than 500 lb. wt. at one importation, in the port of London, on or before the last Tuesday in March, 1761. For the second greatest quantity, not less than 500 lb. wt. 20 l. For the third ditto, not less than 500 lb. wt. 10 l. A certificate or certificates under the hands of the collector of the customs and naval officers of the port where the wax is shipped will be required. If the quantities should be equal, the quality will determine the premium.

Whereas the society, on the 5th day of April, 1758, offered a premium of 50 l. for planting, cultivating, and properly securing, within four years from the date thereof, in any of our colonies southward of the Delaware river, the greatest number of olive-trees, not less than 1000, for the production of oil; also a premium of 40 l. for the second greatest number, not less than 800; and likewise a premium of 30 l. for the third greatest number, not less than 600: the society hereby proposes to give three other premiums of 50, 40, and 30 l. on the above conditions, for planting, cultivating, and properly securing, within four years from the date hereof, in any of our said colonies southward of the Delaware river, the greatest number of olive trees. Each claimant will be required to produce (within six months after the expiration of the said four years respectively)



(pectively) a certificate under the hand of the governor of the province, that a sufficient proof had been made before him that the number of trees mentioned in the said certificate are under actual improvement and cultivation.

To the person who shall, on or before the second Wednesday in December, 1760, import into any one port in England from any of his majesty's colonies in America, the greatest quantity of pot-ash, the produce of the said colonies, not less than 50 ton, nearest in goodness to the best foreign pot-ash: the quantity landed to be ascertained by certificates under the hands of the collector and comptroller of the customs, and the quality to be ascertained in such manner as the society shall direct, 100l.

N. B. The same premium will be given, on the same conditions, to the person who shall, after the second Wednesday in December, 1760, and on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1761, import into England, from any of his majesty's colonies in America, the greatest quantity of pot-ash, not less than 50 ton.

To the person in any of our American colonies, who shall first raise and cure from his own plantation, and import into the port of London within six years from the 25th of March, 1759, 500lb. wt. of good raisins, 50l. A certificate under the hands of two or more justices of the peace residing in the country, or of the minister and church-wardens of the parishes where such raisins were raised and cured, setting forth that the said raisins were raised and cured at the

place mentioned therein, and such certificate backed or countersigned by the governor or chief magistrate of the colony, will be expected at the time the premium is claimed.

It was proposed in April, 1758, to give, for sowing, raising, and curing the greatest quantity of safflower in any of our plantations (not less than 500 lb. wt.) before the 25th of December, 1759, 15 l. for the second greatest quantity 10 lb. Certificates of such sowing, &c. to be delivered on or before the third Wednesday in June, 1760. Also two premiums on the same conditions for sowing, raising, and curing safflower, before the third Wednesday in December, 1760; and certificates thereof to be delivered on or before the third Wednesday in June, 1761. The society hereby propose to give two other premiums, one of 15 l. and the other of 10 l. on the above conditions, for sowing, raising and curing, after the third Wednesday in December, 1760, and before the third Tuesday in December, 1761, the greatest quantity of safflower, and certificates thereof to be delivered on or before the third Tuesday in June, 1762.

For every pound weight of cocoons produced in the province of Georgia, in the year 1759, of a hard, weighty and good substance, wherein one worm only has spun, 3d. For every pound of cocoons, produced in the same year, of a weaker, lighter, spotted or bruised, quality, though only one worm has spun in the same, 2d. For every pound of cocoons, produced in the same year, wherein two worms have interwoven themselves, 1 d.

N. B.

N. B. These premiums will be paid under the direction of Mr. Otelenghe, superintendant of the silk culture in Georgia, on bringing the balls or cocoons to the public filature at Savannah, according to notice already sent to Georgia.

For every pound weight of merchantable raw silk raised and produced in the colonies of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, in the year 1760, 2 s. 6 d. The said premiums to be paid, in Connecticut by Dr. Jared Eliot, and the rev. Mr. Clap; in Pennsylvania, by Benjamin Franklin, L.L.D. and John Hughes, esq; and in North-Carolina, by George Pollock, Cullen Pollock, and John Rutherford, esqrs; upon proof being made to their satisfaction by every person claiming such premiums, that the silk by which it is claimed has been actually and *bona fide*, reeled from cocoons of such claimant's own raising and produce.

Also a further premium of 1 s. for every pound weight of raw silk imported into England from the said colonies of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and North-Carolina, will be paid, by the society's secretary, to the importer, upon producing a certificate under the hands and seals of the above-mentioned gentlemen in the said colonies respectively, that proof had been made to them, that such silk for which the premium is claimed, expressing the quantity, was of the actual growth of one of the said colonies respectively; and also a certificate from the proper officer of the customs of the port or place where such silk was imported, of its having been entered in such

port or place from the said colonies.

To that planter in any of our said colonies who shall first produce (within seven years from the 5th day of April, 1758,) from his own plantation, five tons of white or red wine, made of grapes, the produce of the colonies only, and such as, in the opinion of competent judges appointed by the society in London, shall be deemed deserving the reward, not less than one ton thereof to be imported at London, 100 l. A certificate under the hands of two or more justices of the peace, residing in the country, or of the minister and church-wardens of the parish where such wine was made, setting forth, that the wine was grown and made at the place mentioned therein, and that the remainder of the wine is equally good with that imported; and such certificate, backed or countersigned by the governor or chief magistrate of the colony, will be expected by the society at the time the premium is claimed.

#### TREATISE.

A gold medal will be given for the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, in that part of Great Britain called England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most practicable means for their future advancement. All treatises are to be sent to the society on or before the second Wednesday in December, 1761. Each writer is desired to mark his treatise with some sentence or verse, and to send a paper sealed up, containing his name and

address, and inscribe on the outside with the same sentence or verse as the treatise is marked with, which paper, in case his treatise is intitled to the medal, will be opened, or else destroyed unopened, or delivered back if it be so desired, and the medal will be delivered to the author, or any person producing a letter signed by him, and distinguished by his token, empowering such person to receive the medal.

A sum not exceeding 200 l. is allotted annually by the society, to be bestowed in such proportion, on such condition, and at such times as the society shall judge proper, for new discoveries or improvements in husbandry, mechanics, arts, manufactures, or other matters which shall be found really to deserve encouragement on account of their public utility, and for which no premium has been offered. These rewards to be determined and distributed only between the second Wednesday in November, and the last Wednesday in May.

N. B. No premium will in any case be given, unless the performance be deemed by the society to have sufficient merit to deserve their encouragement. It is required in all cases, where it can be done, that the matters for which premiums are offered be delivered in without names, or any intimation to whom they belong; that each particular thing be marked in what manner each claimant thinks fit, he or she sending with it a paper sealed up, having without side a corresponding mark, and within side the claimant's name and address. No papers shall be opened but such as gain premiums, all the rest shall be returned unopened, with the matters to which

they belong, if enquired after by their marks within half a year; after which time, if not demanded, they shall be publickly burnt, unopened, at some meeting of the society,

Whereas there are societies for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and also in Ireland; therefore all the premiums of this society are designed for that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, unless expressly mentioned to the contrary; and the claims shall be determined as soon as possible after the delivery of the specimens. Proper affidavits, or such certificates as the society shall require, are to be produced on every article.

By order of the society,

GEO. BOX, secretary.

Note, any information or advice that may forward the designs of this society for the public good, will be received thankfully, and duly considered, if communicated by letter, directed to Mr. Box, the secretary, at the society's office, opposite Beaufort-buildings, in the Strand, London.

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Some account of the Magdalen charity and institution for the relief and assistance of penitent prostitutes; taken from the preface of a sermon lately preached before the governors; by the rev. Mr. William Dodd, lecturer of West-Ham, Essex, and St. Olave, Hart-street.

**W**HEN the first proposals for this institution appeared, many specious objections were made

made against it, which have been obviated by experience upon carrying it into execution, as the old sophist's argument to prove there could be no motion was at once overturned by his opponent's walking across the room.

It was said first, that no objects would offer themselves, or that, if they did, they would be such only as could live by prostitution no longer, whose reformation would be impossible, as they would seek refuge not from vice but from hunger, urged not by penitence but inability to sin.

That this objection, however specious, was ill grounded, now appears beyond contradiction from the numbers that crowded to the house, which was appointed for their reception, the moment the doors were open, the greater part of whom were under the age of 20, and many of them not more than 14, and from the behaviour of those who have been received, which in general has been such as shewed the utmost horror of the state they had quitted, the most glad and grateful sense of the refuge they had found, and the most scrupulous observation of all the rules prescribed for their behaviour in it.

This objection probably rose from a supposition, that those who became prostitutes were betrayed to such a course by a love of pleasure, and retained in it by a love of idleness; but this charity has furnished incontestible proof, that the supposition itself is erroneous: the greater part of those who have fled to the shelter it affords having been seduced by the most artful and insidious contrivances of wretches who preside over marts of

prostitution, and whose emissaries are like their father the devil, continually going about seeking whom they may devour: and when once seduced, kept by various artifices in a state of servile dependence, under pecuniary obligations, which they were ensnared to contract almost without knowing it, without recommendation to procure employment, and without friends who could afford them protection, as appears by many letters now in Mr. Dingley's hands; and many particulars which he is ready to attest.

2. It was objected, that the institution would at length totally prevent a vice, which every wise government has thought fit to tolerate for the prevention of greater evils. This objection, which by the way presupposes that every prostitute is penitent, and would cease to be so the moment it was in her power, is at once obviated by considering the vast disproportion between the number that this charity can relieve, and the number that upon the supposition which the objection implies, would be candidates for it.

3. It was, on the contrary, objected by others, that this institution would encourage prostitution, by rendering its consequences not so desperately ruinous; but, to suppose that a woman would commence prostitute, because there is a possibility of her being received into an hospital after the loss of her health, peace, and reputation, is just as absurd as to suppose that a mason would be careless how he mounted a ladder, and indifferent whether he should or should not fall down and break his limbs, because, if he is not killed on the

spot, there is an hospital in which he may possibly be cured.

4. It has been objected, that no provision can be made for these women, when they shall quit the hospital, which will deliver them from the fatal necessity of returning to the same course of life they had quitted for bread. In answer to this objection, it is sufficient to say, that many have already been provided for by the reconciliation of their friends, who have again taken them under their protection; and many more will be taught useful employments, by which they will be able to procure a comfortable and honest subsistence. From the industry of those already received, there is the greatest reason to hope that employments will not only be cheerfully learned, but assiduously followed; for it appears, from a printed account, that from the commencement of the charity, August 10, 1758, to April 21, 1759, they have earned 168l. 19s. 11 d. and there is also reason to hope from this gain, in the infancy of the institution, that when the whole is perfectly regulated, the women will nearly maintain themselves by their own labour.

The sermon preached before the governors by Mr. Dodd is a manly, rational, and pathetic address, as well to the understanding as the passions of mankind, in favour of those most pitiable of all human beings; and it is hoped, that as the possibility of affording them relief, and preserving, at least their bodies from perdition, is put beyond the possibility of doubt by incontestible facts, that their claim will be admitted in common with those who are less wretched, especially, as by this institution, not the body only, but the soul, may be preserved, and

while we are breaking off our sins by shewing mercy to the poor, they may themselves be enabled to cut off iniquity by righteousness.

### ODD ADVERTISEMENTS.

*From the Public Advertiser, March 30, 1759.*

**T**O err, is a blemish entailed upon mortality, and indiscretions seldom or never escape from censure; the more heavy, as the character is more remarkable; and doubled, nay trebled by the world, if the progress of that character is marked by success; then malice shoots against it all her stings, the snakes of envy are let loose; to the humane and generous heart then must the injured appeal, and certain relief will be found in impartial honour. Miss Fisher is forced to sue to that jurisdiction to protect her from the baseness of little scribblers and scurvy malevolence; she has been abused in public papers, exposed in print-shops, and to wind up the whole, some wretches, mean, ignorant, and venal, would impose upon the public, by daring to pretend to publish her memoirs. She hopes to prevent the success of their endeavours, by thus publicly declaring that nothing of that sort has the slightest foundation in truth.

C. FISHER.

*From the Daily Advertiser, Apr. 13.*

A middle-aged maiden lady, with an independent fortune, has been determined by the cruel treatment of those who from their connections ought to have been her friends, to think of entering into the honourable state of matrimony. She is indifferent as to fortune, so she meets with a gentleman of good morals and

and family; indeed she would rather wish to marry a person without any fortune, that the gentleman may have the higher obligations to her, and of consequence treat her with that tenderness and regard, reasonably to be expected from persons under such circumstances. Her reason for taking this method, is, that it has been industriously given out, by people interested, (in order, she supposes, to prevent proposals) that she had determined never to marry. Letters, with proposals, will be received at the bar of the Smyrna coffee house, directed for Z. Z. A description of the gentleman's person, age and profession, is requested to be inserted; and how to direct, if the proposals are approved of. The lady's conduct will bear the strictest scrutiny. No letters received, unless post paid, to prevent impertinence.

From the same, April 17.

Whereas I had long despaired of meeting with a temptation to enter into the holy state of matrimony, till taking up the paper of Friday last, I read the agreeable advertisement of a lady whose sentiments jump so entirely with mine, I am convinced we are cut out for each other, and therefore take this method of describing myself; I am a gentleman of an unexceptionable good family; losses and crosses have reduced my fortune to my wardrobe, a diamond ring, a gold watch, and an amber headed cane; but as you have generously said, you don't even wish a fortune, I imagine this will be no hindrance: My person is far from disagreeable, my skin smooth and shining, my forehead high and polished; my eyes sharp tho' small, my nose long and equiline, my mouth wide, and what teeth I have perfectly sound: all this, with the

addition of a flaxen full bottom suitable to the age of between forty and fifty, with a good heart and sweet disposition, and not one unruly particle, compose the man who will be willing; upon the slightest intimation, to pay his devoirs to the lady. If she will direct her letter for S. U. to be left at St. Jame's coffee-house, the gentleman will wait on her wherever she pleases to appoint him.

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas I, William Margetts, the younger, was, at the last assizes for the county of Cambridge, convicted upon an indictment for an attempt to raise the price of corn in Ely market, upon the 24th day of September, 1757, by offering the sum of six shillings a bushel for wheat, for which no more than five shillings and nine pence was demanded: And whereas, on the earnest solicitation and request of myself and friends, the prosecutor has been prevailed upon to forbear any further prosecution against me on my submitting to make the following satisfaction, viz. upon my paying the sum of 50l. to the poor inhabitants of the town of Ely; to be distributed by the ministers and church-wardens of the several parishes in the said town of Ely; and the further sum of 50l. to the poor inhabitants of the town of Cambridge, to be distributed by the ministers and church-wardens of the several parishes in the said town; and the full costs of the prosecution; and upon my reading this acknowledgement of my offence publicly, and with a loud voice, in the presence of a magistrate, constable, or other piece officer, of the said town of Ely, at the market place there, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, on a public market day, and

and likewise subscribing and publishing the same in three of the evening papers printed at London, and in the Cambridge journal, on four different days, and I have accordingly paid the said two sums of fifty pounds and costs. And do hereby confess myself to have been guilty of the said offence, and testify my sincere and hearty sorrow in having committed a crime, which, in its consequences, tended so much to increase the distress of the poor, in the late calamitous scarcity: And I do hereby most humbly acknowledge the lenity of the prosecutor, and beg pardon of the public in general, and of the town of Ely in particular.

This paper was read by me at the public market place at Ely, in the presence of Thomas Aungier gentleman, chief constable, on the 2d day of June, 1759, being a public market day there, and is now, as a further proof of the just sense I have of the heinousness of my crime, subscribed and published by me.

WM. MARGETTS.

Witness, JAMES DAY;  
Under Sheriff of Cambridgehire.

The following extraordinary advertisement appeared in the Public Advertiser.

“ To be sold, a fine grey mare, full fifteen hands high, gone after the hounds many times, rising six years and no more, moves as well as most creatures upon earth, as good a road mare as any in ten counties and ten to that, trots at a confounded pace, is from the country, and her owner will sell her for nine guineas; if some folks had her she would fetch near three times the money. I have no acquaintance, and money I want; and a service in a shop to carry parcels, or to be in a gentleman's service. My father gave me the mare to get rid of me, and so try my fortune in London, and am just come from Shropshire, and I can be recommended, as I suppose no body takes servants without, and can have a voucher for my mare. Enquire for me at the Talbot-inn, near the New-church in the Strand.”

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the service of the Year 1759.

NOVEMBER 30, 1758.

1. **T**HAT 60,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1759, including 14,845 marines.

2. That a sum not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 60,000 men for 13 months, including the ordnance for sea service—

3120000 0 0

DECEMBER 7.

1. That a number of land forces, including those in Germany, and on an expedition under Major-General Hopson, and 4010 invalids, amounting to 52,543 effective men, commission and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the service of the year 1759.

2. That for the defraying the charge of the 52,543 effective men for guards and garrisons, and other his majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, for the year 1759, there be granted to his majesty a sum not exceeding

1256130 15 2

3. For the pay of the general and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals for his majesty's land forces, for the year 1759

52484 1 8

4. For maintaining his majesty's forces, and garrisons in the plantations, and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the garrisons in Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, Providence, Cape Breton and Senegal, for the year 1759

742531 5 7

5. For defraying the charge of four regiments, and one battalion of foot on the Irish establishment, serving in North America and Africa, for the year 1759

40879 13 9

2092025 16 2

DECEMBER 12.

1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for the year 1759

220789 11 9

2. For defraying the extraordinary expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament, in 1758

323987 13 3

3. For the ordinary of the navy, including the half pay to sea officers for 1759

238491 9 8

4. Towards the support of Greenwich-hospital—

10000 0 0

793268 14 8



## DECEMBER 18.

£. s. d.

1. For defraying the charges of 38,000 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and Count of Buckeburg, together with that of general and staff-officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from December 25, 1758, to December 24, 1759, both inclusive, to be issued in advance, every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Hessian forces now in the service of Great Britain, the said body of troops to be mustered by an English commissary, and the effective state thereof to be ascertained by the signature of the commander in chief of the said forces —

398697 17 2 2

2. For defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers and others belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for ninety days, from December 25, 1758, to March 24, 1759, both inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty —

59646 1 8 2

3. That for defraying the charges of the forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, and of provisions, wood, straw, &c. and other extraordinary expenses and contingencies of his majesty's combined army, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, there be granted to his majesty upon account, as a present supply —

500000 0 0

958343 18 11 2

## DECEMBER 19.

Towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy —

1000000 0 0

## JANUARY 22, 1759.

1. For defraying the charge for allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse-guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, for 1759 —

2958 19 7

2. Upon account of the reduced officers of the land forces and marines, for 1759 —

34367 15 10

3. For the paying of pensions to the widows of such reduced officers of the land forces and marines, as died upon the establishment of half pay, in Great Britain, and who were married to them before December 25, 1716, for 1759 —

2128 0 0

39454 15 5

1759.

## For the YEAR 1759.

177

JANUARY 29.

£. s. d.

1. For enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention between his majesty and the King of Prussia, concluded December 7, 1758

670000 0 0

2. For defraying the charge of what remains to be paid for 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers and others belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from December 25, 1758, to December 24, 1759, both days inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty

182251 2 11  $\frac{1}{4}$ 

3. For defraying the charge of an additional corps of 920 horse, and 6072 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers and others belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from January 1, 1759, to December 31 following, pursuant to treaty

97582 17 10  $\frac{3}{4}$ 

4. For enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to a separate article belonging to a treaty between them, concluded January 17, 1759, the said sum to be paid as his most serene Highness shall think most convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which he may again fix his residence in his own dominions, and give fresh courage to his faithful subjects, by his presence, which is so much wished for

60000 0 0

5. For enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum raised, in pursuance of an act of last session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies, to be granted in this session of parliament

800000 0 0

6. Towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of his majesty's ships, for 1759

200000 0 0

2009834 0 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ 

JANUARY 31.

For out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital for the year 1759, upon account

26000 0 0

FEBRUARY 5.

To be applied towards the improving, widening and enlarging the passage over and through London-bridge

15000 0 0

FEBRUARY 8.

Towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling hospital, to receive all such children,

under

L. s. d.

under a certain age, to be by them limited, as shall be brought to the said hospital; and also towards enabling them to maintain and educate such children as are now under their care, and continue to carry into execution the good purposes for which they were incorporated: and that the same be issued and paid for the use of the said hospital without fee or reward, or any deduction whatsoever, upon account

20000 0 0

## FEBRUARY 22.

For the charge of transport service for the year 1758, including the expence of victualling his majesty's land forces, within the said year

667771 19 7

## FEBRUARY 26.

1. For supporting and maintaining the settlement of his majesty's colony of Nova-Scotia, for the year 1759, upon account

9902 5 0

2. For defraying the charges incurred, by supporting and maintaining the settlement of his majesty's colony of Nova-Scotia, in the year 1757, and not provided for by parliament

11278 18 5

3. For defraying the charges of the civil establishment of his majesty's colony of Georgia, and other incidental expences attending the same, from June 24, 1758, to June 24, 1759, upon account

4057 10 0

25238 13 5

## MARCH 19.

1. To replace to the sinking fund the like sum, paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on July 5, 1758, of the additional stamp duty on licences, for retailing of wine, duty on coals exported, and surplus of the duty on licences for retailing spirituous liquors, made a fund by an act of 30 George II. for paying annuities at the bank of England, after the rate of 3l. per cent, on three millions, and also the life annuities payable at the Exchequer, and other charges thereupon

24321 6 11 3

2. To replace to the sinking fund the like sum, paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on July 5, 1758, of the duties on glass and spirituous liquors, to answer annuities on single lives payable at the Exchequer, granted by an act of 19 George II.

8881 11 10 1

3. To be employed in maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements upon the coasts of Africa

10000 0 0

4. To be paid to Roger Long, D. D. Lowndes's astronomical and geometrical professor in the university

L. A. d.

city of Cambridge, without accompt, to enable him to discharge, in pursuance of the will of Thomas Lowndes, esq. (the inventor of a method for meliorating the brine salt of this kingdom) a mortgage upon an estate devised for the endowment of the said professorship, by the said Thomas Lowndes; and to reimburse to the said Roger Long, the interest monies he hath paid, and that are growing due, and the expences he hath incurred in respect to the said mortgage, and that the same be paid without fee or reward

1280 0 0

44532 11 10 2

MARCH 29.

1. That towards the defraying the charge of pay, and cloathing for the militia, from December 31, 1758, to March 25 1760, and for repaying to his majesty the sum of 1332l. 10s. advanced by him for the service of the militia, pursuant to an address of this house of November 29 last, there be granted upon accompt

90000 0 0

2. That towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling hospital, to receive all such children under a certain age, to be by them limited, as shall be brought to the said hospital, before January 1, 1760; and also towards enabling them to maintain and educate such children as are now under their care; and to continue to carry into execution the good purposes for which they were incorporated; and that the same be issued and paid for the use of the said hospital, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatsoever; there be granted the farther sum of

30000 0 0

120000 0 0

APRIL 2.

For defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred in the year 1758, and not provided for by parliament

466785 10 5 2

APRIL 10.

1. For enabling the commissioners appointed, by virtue of an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for vesting certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, for the better securing his majesty's docks, &c." to make compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments at, and near Chatham, as have been purchased for the purposes mentioned in the said act, and for damage done to the lands adjacent

708 3 0

2. For enabling the said commissioners to make compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments at, and near Portsmouth, as have been purchased for the purposes mentioned in the said act

6937 13 7  $\frac{1}{2}$

3. For enabling the said commissioners to make compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments at, and near Plymouth, as have been purchased for the purposes mentioned in the said act

25159 17 6

4. Towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford ————

10000 0 0

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42805 14 1  $\frac{1}{2}$

#### APRIL 12.

Upon account for paying and discharging the debts, with the necessary expences attending the payment of the same, claimed and sustained upon the land, and estates which became forfeited to the crown, by the attainder of John Drummond, brother to James Drummond, intituled Duke of Perth, or so much of the same debts as shall be remaining unsatisfied, according to the several decrees in that behalf respectively made, by the lords of session in Scotland, and pursuant to an act of the 25th of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for annexing certain forfeited estates in Scotland to the crown unalienably, &c."—

69910 15 9  $\frac{1}{4}$

#### APRIL 30.

1. Upon account, to be paid to the East India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces, commanded by Col. Adlercron, withdrawn from thence, and now returned to Ireland ————

20000 0 0

2. Upon account, to enable his majesty to give a proper compensation to the respective provinces in North America, for the expences incurred by them, in the levying, cloathing, and pay of the troops raised by the same, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall be thought by his majesty to merit ————

200000 0 0

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220000 0 0

#### MAY 20.

1. To make good the like sum issued by his majesty to John Mill, esq; to be by him paid over to the victuallers and innholders of the county and town of Southampton, and other victuallers and innholders in the like circumstances, in consideration of

of the great expence they were put to by the Hessian troops having been so long billeted at their houses, pursuant to an address of this house

2500 0 0

2. To make good the like sum issued by his majesty to the judges of England, Scotland and Wales, in augmentation of their salaries, pursuant to an address of this house

11450 0 0

3. To make good the like sum which has been issued, pursuant to the address of this house, to the widow and administratrix of Nicholas Hardinge, esq; deceased, in repayment and full satisfaction for the balance or surplus of his account for printing the journals of the house of commons

778 16 6

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14728 16 6

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## MAY 15.

1. That the several annual sums following, be granted to his majesty, to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of such of the judges, for the time being, in the superior courts of justice, in England, as are herein after mentioned, that is to say 500l. to each of the puisne judges in the court of King's-Bench;—500l. to each of the judges of the court of Common-Pleas, at Westminster; 1000l. to the chief baron in the court of Exchequer; at Westminster; and 500l. to each of the other barons of the coif, in the said court, in every year

6000 0 0

2. The like grant for the judges in the courts of session and exchequer in Scotland; that is to say, 300l. to the president of the said court of session; 300l. to the chief baron of the said court of the exchequer; and 200l. to each of the other judges of the said courts, in every year

4200 0 0

3. The like grant to the justices of Chester, and of the great sessions for the counties in Wales; that is to say, 200l. to the chief justice of Chester; 150l. to the second justices of Chester; and 150l. to each of the justices of the great sessions for the counties in Wales, in every year

1250 0 0

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11450 0 0

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## MAY 21.

1. To make good the interest of the several principal sums to be paid in pursuance of an act of the 31st of his present majesty, for the purchase of several lands and hereditaments, for the better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Portsmouth, Chatham and Plymouth, from the respective times

the said lands and hereditaments were first made use of for the purposes aforesaid, or interest became payable, to August 25, 1759

1716 1 7  $\frac{1}{2}$

2. For defraying the charges, incurred in pursuance of an act of the 31st of his present majesty, for purchasing lands, for the better securing his majesty's docks, ships and stores, at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth

2443 3 1

4159 4 8  $\frac{1}{2}$

#### MAY 24.

Upon account to enable his majesty, to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of 1759; and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require

1000000 0 0

Total of the grants made by the committee of supply 12761310 19 5  $\frac{1}{2}$

These were all grants made by the committee of supply in the course of last session; and as soon as the two first resolutions of this committee were agreed to by the house, on November 30, it was resolved, that the house would the next morning resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his majesty; which committee was by several adjournments continued to the 25th of May, and the resolutions it came to in that time were agreed to by the house on the days as follow, viz.

#### DECEMBER 2, 1758.

1. A resolution in the usual form for raising a land tax of 4s. in the pound for one year, from March 25, 1759

2037854 18 11

2. A resolution in the usual form for continuing the malt tax from June 23, 1759, to June 24, 1760

750000 0 0

#### JANUARY 31, 1759.

1. That the 3l. per cent. annuities, amounting to 3,100,000l. granted anno 1757, be, with the consent of the several proprietors, added to, and made a part of the joint stock of 3l. per cent. transferrable annuities of the bank of England, consolidated by the acts 25, 28, and 29, of his present majesty's reign, and the charges and expences in respect thereof be charged upon, and paid out of the sinking fund, until redemption thereof by parliament, in the same and like manner as the annuities consolidated aforesaid

faid are paid and payable; and, that such persons who shall not, on or before April 5, 1759, signify their dissent, in books to be opened at the bank for that purpose, shall be deemed and taken to assent thereto.

2. That all the monies that have arisen since January 5, 1759, or that shall, or may hereafter arise, of the produce of the several additional stamp duties on pamphlets, and printed papers, the additional duty on coals exported, the surplus of the new duty on licences for retailing wine; and the surplus of the duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors, which were made a fund by payment of 3l. per cent. per ann. at the bank on 3,000,000 l. borrowed by virtue of an act of 30 George II. toward the supply of the year 1757, also the annuities on single lives, payable at the receipt of the exchequer in respect of the same, shall be carried to, and made a part of the fund commonly called the sinking fund.

3. That the several annuities on single lives granted anno 1757, payable at the exchequer, in respect to the aforesaid 3,000,000 l. be from January 5, 1759, charged upon, and made payable out of the produce of the said sinking fund.

#### FEBRUARY 3.

That towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of 6,600,000 l. be raised by transferable annuities after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. and that an additional capital of fifteen pounds be added to every one hundred pounds advanced; which additional capital shall consist of 10 l. given in a lottery ticket to each subscriber, and of 5 l. in like transferable annuities at 3 l. per cent. The blanks and prizes of the lottery to be attended with like annuities, after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. to commence from the fifth day of January, 1760; and that the sum of 6,600,000 l. together with the said additional capital of 5 l. per cent. amounting to 330,000 l. making in the whole 6,930,000 l. do bear an interest after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. which interest shall commence from the fifth day of July, 1759. The said several annuities shall be transferrable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund shall be a collateral security, and shall be redeemable by parliament in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than 500,000 l. at one



time, six months notice having been first given of such payment or payments respectively. That the lottery shall consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each.

That every subscriber shall, on or before the 13th day of February instant, make a deposit of 15 l. per cent. on such sum as he shall choose to subscribe towards raising the said sum of 6,600,000 l. with the cashiers of the bank of England, as a security for his making the future payments, on or before the times herein after limited, that is to say;

10l. per cent. on or before the 30th of March next.

10l. per cent. on or before the 27th of April next.

10l. per cent. on or before the 31st of May next.

10l. per cent. on or before the 28th of June next.

15l. per cent. on or before the 27th of July next.

10l. per cent. on or before the 31st of August next.

10l. per cent. on or before the 28th of Sept. next.

10l. per cent. on or before the 26th of Oct. next.

Which several sums so received shall, by the said cashiers, be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by this house in this session of parliament, and not otherwise. That any subscriber paying in the whole, or any part of his subscription, previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, shall be allowed a discount after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which such payments are directed to be made

6600000 o •

#### MARCH 10.

1. That a subsidy of poundage of one shilling in the pound, be laid upon tobacco, foreign linens, sugar and other grocery, East India goods, foreign brandy, and spirits, and paper imported into this kingdom, according to the value or rate respectively settled upon each commodity, by the several books of rates, or any act or acts of parliament relating thereunto, over and above the present duties charged thereupon.

2. That an additional inland duty be charged upon all coffee, to be sold in Great Britain by wholesale or retail, and upon all chocolate to be made or sold in Great Britain, to be paid by the respective sellers of such coffee, and by the respective makers and sellers of such chocolate.

3. That

3. That the said additional duty upon all coffee, be after the rate of 1 s. per pound wt. avoirdupois, and in that proportion for a greater or lesser quantity, over and above the present inland duty, and over and above all customs and duties, payable upon the importation thereof.

4. That the said additional duty upon all chocolate, be after the rate of 9d. per pound wt. avoirdupois, and in that proportion for a greater or lesser quantity, over and above the present inland duty payable thereupon.

## APRIL 3.

That such part of the sum of 100,000 l. granted in the last session, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the militia for 1758, and for defraying such expences as were actually incurred upon the account of the militia, in the year 1757, as shall remain in the exchequer, after satisfaction of the said charges and expences, be issued and applied towards raising the supply granted in this session.

## APRIL 12.

1. That from and after July 5, 1759, all persons may trade in, sell or vend any goods or wares, in which the quantity of gold, in any separate and distinct piece of goods or wares, shall not exceed two penny weights, or the quantity of silver in any one separate and distinct piece of goods or wares, shall not exceed five penny weights, without being liable to take out a licence for that purpose.

2. That from and after the fifth of July 1759, every person who shall trade in, sell, or vend gold or silver plate, or any goods or wares, in which any gold or silver shall be manufactured, and the quantity of gold in any one such piece of plate or goods, or wares, shall be of the weight of two ounces or upwards, or the quantity of silver, in any one such piece of plate or goods, or wares, shall be of the weight of thirty ounces or upwards, shall pay 5 l. for each annual licence, instead of the 40 s. now payable.

3. That from and after the 5th of July, 1759, all pawnbrokers trading in, vending or selling, gold or silver plate, and all refiners of gold and silver, shall be obliged to take out annual licences, for each of which they shall pay a duty of 5 l. instead of the 40 s. now payable.

4. That the sums to be paid for the said licences, shall be applicable to the same uses and purposes, as

the sums charged on licences by an act of last session were applicable.

5. That a clause in an act of the 9th and 10th of William III. entitled, "An act to settle the trade to Africa," for allowing, during a limited time, a drawback of the duties upon the exportation of copper bars imported, and with a proviso continued by several acts to June 24, 1758, and from thence to the end of the next session, is expiring, and fit to be continued.

6. That so much of an act of the 8th of George I. for the encouragement of the silk manufactures of this kingdom, &c. as relates to the encouragement of our silk manufactures, and to the taking off several duties on merchandize exported, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

7. That so much of an act of the second of his present majesty, for the better preservation of his majesty's woods in America, &c. as relates to the premiums upon masts, yards, and bowsprits, tar, pitch and turpentine, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

8. That an act of the 5th of his present majesty, for encouraging the growth of coffee in our plantations in America, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

9. That an act of the 19th of his present majesty, for the more effectual securing the duties on foreign made sail cloth imported into this kingdom, &c. is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

#### APRIL 30.

1. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, disposable by parliament, of the produce of the sinking fund, for the quarter ended April 5, 1758, be issued and applied towards making good the supply granted in this session

180076 17 0 3

2. That the sum now remaining in the exchequer, being the overplus of the grants for the service of 1758, be issued and applied towards making good the supply granted in this session

73308 3 10 4

253384 0 11

#### MAY 17.

1. That the duties now payable upon raw short silk or capiton, and silk nubs, or husks of silk, shall, from and after July 5, 1759, cease and determine, and be no longer paid.

2. That in lieu thereof, the same duties shall, from

From and after July 5, 1759, be paid upon the importation of raw short silk or capiton, and silk nubs, or hucks of silk, as are now payable upon raw long silk imported, and be applied to the same uses and purposes.

3. That the sum repaid into the receipt of the exchequer, and now remaining there, being the sum which was granted, December 15, 1755, to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with the empress of Russia, be issued and applied towards making good the supply granted in this session. —

4. That towards raising the annual sums of money granted to his majesty to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of the puisne judges in the court of King's Bench, the judges in the court of Common Pleas, the barons of the coif in the court of the Exchequer at Westminster, and of the justices of Chester, and the great sessions for the counties of Wales, an additional stamp duty of six pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written any affidavit to be made use of in any court of law or equity at Westminster, or in the courts of the great sessions in Wales, or county palatine of Chester, except affidavits taken pursuant to several acts made in the thirtieth and thirty-second year of the reign of King Charles II. for burying in woollen, and except such affidavits, as shall be taken before the officers of the customs, or any justice or justices of the peace, or before any commissioners appointed, or to be appointed by an act of parliament, for the assessing or levying any aids or duties, granted, or to be granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and which affidavits shall be taken by the said officers of the customs, justices or commissioners, by virtue of their authority, as justices of the peace, or commissioners, respectively.

5. That towards raising the said annual sums, an additional stamp duty of six-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum, or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written any copy of such affidavit, as is herein before charged, that shall be filed or read in any of the aforesaid courts.

6. That an additional stamp duty of six-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed

grossed or written any common bail to be filed in any court of law at Westminster, or in any of the aforesaid courts, and any appearance that shall be made upon such bail.

7. That an additional stamp duty of six-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written any rule or order made or given in any court of law or equity at Westminster.

8. That an additional stamp duty of six-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written any copy of such rule or order.

9. That an additional stamp duty of six-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed any original writ, (except such original on which a writ of *capias* issues) *subpoena*, bill of *Middlesex*, *latitat*, writ of *capias*, *quo minus*, writ of *dedimus potestatem* to take answers, examine witnesses, or appoint guardians, or any other writ whatsoever, or any other process or mandate, that shall issue out of, or pass the seals of any the courts of Westminster, courts of the great sessions in Wales, courts in the counties palatine, or any other court whatsoever, holding pleas where the debt or damage doth amount to forty shillings, or above, or the thing in demand is of that value, writs of covenant for levying fines, writs of entry for suffering common recoveries, and writs of *habeas corpus* excepted.

10. That an additional stamp duty of one penny be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, any deposition taken in the court of Chancery, or other court of equity at Westminster, (except the paper draughts of depositions taken by virtue of any commission before they are engrossed) or upon which shall be engrossed or written any copy of any bill, answer, plea, demurrer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatories, depositions, or other proceedings whatsoever in such courts of equity.

11. That an additional stamp duty of one penny be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading whatsoever,

1759.

For the YEAR 1759.

185

soever, in any court of law at Westminster, or in any of the courts of the principality of Wales, or in any of the courts in the counties palatine of Chester, Lancaster, or Durham.

12. That an additional stamp duty of one penny be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, any copy of such declarations, pleas, replications, rejoinders, demurrers, or other pleadings.

13. That the annual sums of money, granted to his majesty, to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of the judges in the courts of session and exchequer, in Scotland, be charged upon, and made payable out of the duties and revenues, in that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, which by an act made in the 10th Year of the reign of Queen Anne, were charged, or made chargeable, with the payment of the fees, salaries, and other charges allowed, or to be allowed, by her majesty, her heirs or successors, for keeping up the courts of session and justiciary, and exchequer court in Scotland.

MAY 22.

That towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied, out of such monies as shall, or may arise, of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, composing the sinking fund, the sum of

2150000 0 0

MAY 26.

That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session, the sum of

1000000 0 0

Total of the liquidated provisions made by the committee of ways and means

12991239 0 0

*An Account of all public Debts at the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, standing out at the 5th of January, 1759, (being old Christmas Day) with the annual interest or other Charges payable for the same.*

## EXCHEQUER.

**A** Nnuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original sum contributed }  
 and unsubscribed to the South-Sea company ————— }  
 Ditto for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, being the original sum contributed }  
 Ditto for two and three lives, being the sum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths }  
 Exchequer bills made out for interest of old bills ————— }  
*Note.* The land taxes and duties on malt, being annual grants, are not charged in  
 this account, nor the 1,000,000*l.* charged on the deduction of 6*l.* per pound on  
 pensions, &c. nor the sum of 800,000*l.* charged on the supply, 1759.

### EAST-INDIA company.

By 2 acts of Parliament 9 Will. III. and 2 other acts 6 and 9 Annæ, at 3*l.* per  
 cent. per ann. ————— } 3200000  
 Ann. at 3*l.* per cent. 1744, charged on the surplus of the additional duties on low  
 wines, spirits, and strong waters ————— } 1000000

### BANK of ENGLAND.

On their original fund at 3*l.* per cent. from August 1, 1743 ————— } 3200000  
 For cancelling Exchequer bills, 3 G. I. ————— } 500000  
 Purchased of the South-Sea company ————— } 4000000  
 Annuities at 3*l.* per cent. charged on the duties on seals, &c. since Lady-day 1739. } 1750000

*Annual interest or o-  
 ther charges payable  
 for the same.*

*Principal debts.*

*£. s. d.*

136453 12 8

7567

9539 12

9728 14 4

30401 15 8

100000

15000

121898 3 5

52500

Ditto charged on the surplus of the funds for lottery, 1714  
 Ditto 1746, charged on duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors, since Lady-  
 day, 1746  
 Ditto at 31 per cent. charged on the sinking fund, by the acts 25, 28, and 30 Geo. II.  
 Ditto charged on the said fund, by the act 25 Geo. II.  
 Ditto at 31. 10s. per cent. charged on the said fund, by the act 29 Geo. II.  
 Ditto at 31. per cent. charged on the new stamp duties, &c. by the act 30 Geo. II.  
 Ditto at 31. 10s. per cent. charged on the duties on offices, pensions, &c. by the act  
 31 Geo. II.  
 Ditto at 31. per cent. charged on the said duties by the said act

1250000  
 986800  
 10537821  
 17701323  
 1500000  
 3000000  
 4530000  
 500000

37500  
 29604  
 321900  
 540996  
 53343  
 90000  
 157500  
 15000

*Memorandum.* The subscribers of 100l. to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity  
 for one life at 9s. a ticket, which amounted to 22,500l. but is now reduced, by lives  
 fallen in, to 19,645l. 15s. And the subscribers of 100l. to the lottery 1746, were  
 allowed an annuity for one life of 18s. a ticket, which amounted to 45,000l. which  
 is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 39,658l. 10s. And also the subscribers of 100l.  
 for 31. per cent. annuities, 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 11. 2s. 6d.  
 a year, which amounted to 33,750l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 33,700l.  
 which annuities are an increase of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto,  
 as no money was advanced for the same.

SOUTH-SEA company.

On their capital stock and annuities, 9 Geo. I.  
 Annuities at 31. per cent. 1751, charged on the sinking fund

25035309  
 2100000

765126  
 64181

2739002  
 3  
 5

82776589  
 8  
 2  
 1

*Memorandum.* The accounts of the exchequer continuing to be made up to the old  
 quarter days, is the reason that this account is made up to the 5th of January, 1759,  
 (old Christmas day) and not to Christmas last, as directed by the order of this hon. house.



*An ESTIMATE of the DEBT of his Majesty's NAVY on the heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on Dec. 31, 1758.*

*HEADS of the Naval Estimates.*

*Wear and tear, ordinary and transports.*

DUE to pay off and discharge all the bills registered on the course of the navy for  
 freight of transports, &c. supplied for the service thereof ————  
 To pay off and discharge bills registered on the said course for premiums allowed  
 by act of parliament on naval stores ————  
 For freight of transports, and tenders, and for stores delivered into his Majesty's  
 several Yards, &c. for which no bills were made out on the afore said Dec. 31, 1758,  
 as also to several bills of exchange ————  
 To his majesty's yards and rope yards, for the ordinary and extraordinary  
 For the half pay to sea officers according to an establishment made by his late ma-  
 jesty in council on that behalf ————

*Seamens Wages.*

Due to men, &c. unpaid on the books of ships paid off ————  
 To ships in sea pay on the afore said Dec. 31, 1758 ————  
 To discharge and pay off all the bills entered in course for slop clothes, bedding for  
 seamen, surgeons necessities, bounties to widows and orphans of men slain at sea ————

*Victualling debt as per estimate received from those commissioners, viz.*

Due for short allowance to the companies of his majesty's ships in pay, and which  
 have been paid off ————  
 For paying off all the bills entered on their course ————  
 For provisions delivered, and services performed, for which no bills were made out  
 on the afore said Dec. 31, 1758 ————  
 For necessary money, extra-necessary money, bills of exchange and contingencies  
 To the officers, workmen and labourers, employed in the several ports ————

Particulars.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	Total.
888758	6	9					
11484	3	3					
442163	11	10		1692427	1	10	
399921							
30100							
239095	14	9	1				
2295606				2604074	1	7	1
69372	6	10					
15391	5	8					
482246	16	11					
39325	1	5		600330	12	3	
11877	8	3					
51490							



*There was remaining in the Hands of the late and present Treasurers of the NAVY on Dec. 31, 1758, in Money as undermentioned, and may be reckoned towards satisfying the aforesaid Debt of the Navy.*

*On the HEADS of*

<i>In what treasurers bands.</i>	<i>In MONEY.</i>	<i>Wear and tear or- dinary and transp.</i>	<i>Seamens wages.</i>			<i>Victuals.</i>			<i>Total.</i>			
	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>			
Right Hon. George Dodington, Esq; first treasurer-ship.	In money	5038	13	1 1/4	1780	13	9	34	18	2 1/2		
	Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen	—	—	—	38	4	1/4	—	—	—		
								6892	5	5		
Right Hon. Henry Legge, Esq.	In money	6644	5	—	2423	4	10 1/4	2504	2	5 1/2		
	Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen	—	—	—	55	14	5	—	—	—		
								9657	7	8 3/4		
Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq; first treasurer-ship.	In money	4260	8	2 1/4	3672	15	11 1/2	1590	2	1/2		
	Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen	—	—	—	1016	17	9	—	—	—		
								10540	2	1 1/2		
Right Hon. George Dodington, Esq; second treasurer-ship.	In money	7504	3	8 1/2	2898	3	3 1/4	233	14	6		
	Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen	—	—	—	212	2	5	—	—	—		
								10848	3	10 1/4		
Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq; second treasurer-ship.	In money	27212	17	2	320757	1	11 1/2	18663	12	3 1/4		
	Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen	—	—	—	6709	13	1	—	—	—		
								373243	4	5 1/2		
	50560	7	2		338564	8	10	22026	7	7 1/4		
										411151	3	7 3/4

There remained on Dec. 31, 1758, to come in of the supplies of the year 1758, including Halter, Plymouth, and Greenwich hospital, 5719l. 9s. 6d.

# STATE PAPERS.

**I**N October last all differences were made up with the several tribes of Indians inhabiting beyond the mountains as far as the lakes; and a firm peace was concluded with them upon the ancient footing. The treaty for this purpose took up from the 8th to the 26th of October to settle; and tho' the minutes of each day's proceedings are not equally interesting, yet they will serve to convey an idea of their manner of transacting council affairs.

At this treaty the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey attended; accompanied by Mr. George Croghan, deputy agent under Sir William Johnson for the Indian affairs; four members of the Pennsylvania council; six commissioners, members of the assembly; two agents for the province of New Jersey; a great number of gentlemen of property in the provinces; and near forty of the principal citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. These were met at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, by the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Conoys, Tuteloos, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies, Munseys, or Minisinks;

Mohickons, and Wappingers; the chiefs of all these nations with their women and children, made the whole number 507.

On the 7th of October, the governor, with his council, coming to Easton in the afternoon; was waited upon immediately by Teedyuscung, accompanied by Moses Tittamy; Daniel; Teepuscung; and Isaac Stille, (Delaware chiefs and interpreters, with whom peace had been concluded the year before) who after the usual compliments, said.

Brother, you desire me to hollow loud, and give notice to all the Indians round about. I have raised my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees\*, and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. I bid you welcome, and entreat you to join with me in casting up our eyes to heaven, and praying the blessing of the supreme being on our endeavours. According to our usual custom, I with this string wipe the dust and sweat off your face, and clear your eyes, and pick the briars out of your legs; and desire you will pick the briars out of the legs of the Indians that are come here; and anoint one of them with your healing oil, and I will anoint the other.

*A string.*

\* The Twightwees are the nations between the Ohio and the lakes, the most remote of all the others, and the most hearty in the French interest. Though they were not present at this treaty of 1758, yet a discreet, sober, religious man named Frederic Post, accompanied by Pilquetomen, Daniel, and Thomas Hickman, Delaware Indians, had been sent among them the preceding year, and had effectually paved the way for a peace; but the preliminaries not being fully settled, they declined meeting till they were waited upon again.

The governor thanked him for his visit and advice, and appointed the next day to begin the conferences.

Sunday, Oct. 8. The governor of Pennsylvania, with his whole company, met in council the chiefs of the nations, and opened the conferences with a short speech.

Brethren, it gives me pleasure to see so many of you of so many different nations at this council fire. I bid you heartily welcome. Brethren, with this string I wipe the sweat and dust out of your eyes, that you may see our faces and look cheerful. With this string I take all bitterness from your heart. With this string I take the blood from your council seats, that your clothes may not be stained, nor your minds disturbed. *Three strings.*

After a short pause, Tagashata, (the Seneca chief) rose up, and repeating, as usual, every thing the governor said, returned thanks, and went through the same ceremonies to the governors and all in authority. He delivered his belts of invitation, which the nations had received to come to the conferences; and desired to see the belts sent by them in return; which the governor said should be given them: and after all ceremonies had passed, the council broke up for this day.

Conrad Weiser, esq. attended as provincial interpreter.

Capt. Montour, interpreter in the Six Nations and Delaware languages.

Stephen Calvin, } Delaware Indians,  
Isaac Stille, } interpreters in that  
Moses Tittamy, } language.

Monday, October 9. Governor Bernard arrived, and desired a meeting with the Indians to bid them welcome; but was told, that they were in council among themselves.

Tuesday, Oct. 10. The Indian chiefs remained in council all day, and desired the governors not to be impatient.

Wednesday, Oct. 11. This morning the Indian chiefs communicated the business they had been upon to the governor. At four in the afternoon the conferences opened; Tagashata intending to speak first, had laid some strings upon the table; when Teedyuscung got up, and holding a string, said, he had something to deliver.\* But Governor Bernard signifying his desire to bid the Indians welcome, put an end to the contest, and he was heard.

Gov. Bernard.] Brethren, I bid you welcome, and wish the good work of peace may prosper in your hands. Having sent a message some months ago to the Minisinks, I received an answer from our brethren the Senecas and Cayugas, in which they take upon them to speak for the Minisinks. To you, therefore, brethren, I now address myself, and must remind you, that if you are disposed to be our friends for the future, you should return us the captives that have

\* The subject of their conferences was the treaty made by Teedyuscung the year before, who pretended he acted as ambassador for the Six Nations, as well as Sachem for Four Nations of his own. The Six Nations wanted to have cancelled that peace as not properly made; but as a general peace was now to be made, the thing was waved as altogether immaterial.

been taken out of our province, and are now within your power. It is not usual for our king's governors to go out of their provinces, to attend treaties of this kind; but I have waved forms to shew my good dispositions to restore peace, and settle all manner of differences for the mutual benefit of all parties.

Then Teedyuscung rose up and said, Brethren, you desire me to call all the nations who live back. Such as have heard my haloo are here present. If you have any thing to say to them, or they to you, sit and talk together. I have nothing to do but to see and hear. I have made known to the governor of Pennsylvania why I struck him, and have made up all differences for our future peace.

*A string.*

Tagashata, chief of the Senecas.] Brethren, it has pleased the most high to bring us together with cheerfulness: but as it is now late, I desire to be heard to-morrow.

Thursday, Oct. 12. Tagashata.] We approve of what the governor of Jersey said yesterday concerning the Minisinks; they desired us to bring about the good work of peace, have assured us they will deliver up the prisoners, and doubt not but all differences will be made up between them and the province of New Jersey.

Brethren, I now speak at the request of Teedyuscung, and our nephews the Delawares, living at Wyomink, and on the waters of Susquehannah; they have assured us they will never think of war against their brethren the English any more.

*A belt.*

Brethren, our nephews, the Minisink Indians, have declared the same, and the warriors of the four different tribes of the same nation, have entreated us to use our endeavours to make their peace, declaring their sorrow for what they have done at giving this belt.

*A belt.*

Brethren, we the Mohawks, Senecas, and Onondagoes, deliver this string likewise, to remove the hatchet out of your heads, that has been struck into it by the Ohio Indians, in order to lay a foundation for peace.

*Eight strings of wampum.*

Tokaiao, chief of the Cayugas.] I speak in behalf of the younger nations, part of and confederated with the Six Nations, namely, the Cayugas, Oneidoes, Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Nanticokes, and Conoys. A road has been opened for us to this council fire; but by some misfortune, blood has lately been spilt upon that road. By these strings we wash that blood away, and take the hatchet out of your heads.

*Three strings.*

Brethren, I now speak only for my own nation. I will hide nothing from you; the French, like a thief in the night, have stolen some of our young men, and corrupted them to do mischief. Our chiefs held them fast, but the French artfully unloosed them; we take the hatchet out of your heads with which they have struck you, and are sorry for what they have done.

*A belt of 10 rows.*

Friday, Oct. 13, Gov. Denny.] Brethren, chiefs, and warriors, I invited you down to the council fire, kindled at this place by me

and your nephew Teedyuscung. I am now about to communicate to you matters of great consequence, and to answer all that has been said by you to me since our meeting together. I therefore, by this string open your ears that you may hear clearly.

*A string.*

[Here he repeated all that had been said by the chiefs, producing their belts and strings; and then proceeded.]

Brethren, you may remember, that the day before yesterday, your nephew Teedyuscung told me by this string, that he had made me acquainted with the cause why he struck us, that he had given the halloo: that would fit by, &c.

Now as there are many of you here who were not present at our former meetings, I think it proper for your information to give a short account of what passed between your nephews the Delawares, and us.

About three years ago, your brethren the English, living on the borders, were struck of a sudden; many killed; and others carried away captive. We knew not by whom, but sent messengers up the Susquehannah as far as the Six Nations, to inquire from whence the blow came, and for what reason. On the return of these messengers, we were informed, that the Delawares and Shawanese were the aggressors. Some time after this discovery, a cessation of hostilities was brought about; Teedyuscung came down to our council fire, told us the cause of the war was the proprietaries taken from him by fraud, the ground on which we now stand; and that the inducement, to begin it, was from the persuasion of the false-

hearted French King. At last all blood was wiped away; and Teedyuscung then declared to us, that he acted in behalf of ten nations, and promised to restore to us all our fellow-subjects that had been carried away prisoners. I desire therefore to know the true reason, why our flesh and blood who are in captivity are withheld from us, and what is become of those belts we gave him to confirm the peace, and that promise, for till that promise is complied with we can never sleep in quiet, or rest satisfied in the friendship of those who detain our children and relations from us.

*A belt.*

Gov. Bernard.] What the governor has now declared, so far as it relates to my province, I confirm by this

*Belt.*

Here Frederic Post's negotiation with the Ohio Indians was introduced by Pisquitomen who attended him; and it appearing that three strings of wampum had been returned by them, he was asked to whom they were sent? Pisquitomen replied, One to the governor at Pennsylvania; one to Teedyuscung; and the third to Isaac Pemberton; at which Nichas, the Mohawk chief, rose up and spoke with great vehemence for some time; frequently pointing to Teedyuscung, and Mr. Weiser was desired to interpret what he said; but as it was merely personal, Mr. Weiser referred it to a private conference.

Saturday, Oct. 14. The Indians declined meeting.

Sunday, Oct. 15. At a private conference, Nichas rose up and said, Brothers, you all know, that our nephew Teedyuscung gives out

out that he is the great man, and chief of ten nations ; now I on behalf of the Mohawks say we do not know he is such a great man. If he is such a great man, we desire to know who made him so. Perhaps you have, and if this be the case, tell us so. It may be the French have made him so. We want to enquire and know whence his greatness arose.

Tagashata.] We do not know who made him this great man over ten nations.

Affarandonguas, chief of the Onondagoes.] No such thing was ever said in our towns, as that Teedyuscung was such a great man.

Thomas King, for the Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Conoys.] We, for our parts, entirely disown his having any superiority over us.

Tokaao, chief of the Cayugas, addressing himself to the English.] Brethren, you may remember you said, you could not be easy without your prisoners. We speak from the bottom of our hearts, you shall have them all. You told us a tender father, husband, wife, brother, or sister could not sleep sound when they reflected their relations were prisoners ; we know it is so with us, and we will therefore make your hearts easy, and give you this belt that we will perform our words.

*A belt.*

Nichas confirmed his promise with

*A string of 7 rows.*

Monday, Oct. 16. Yesterday's private conference was read, and interpreted to Teedyuscung and the Delawares.

Gov. Denny.] Brethren, you say we know that Teedyuscung gives out that he is the great man ; and

by his belt you denied him to be so, and desired to know of me who made him so. I will answer you truly. Soon after the Delawares had struck us, we invited them to meet us at a council fire kindled at this place. At the time appointed, Teedyuscung came and told us he represented ten nations, his own as chief, and the United Nations, as a messenger ; we believed what he said, and therefore made him a councillor and agent for us to publish to the nations what we did at our council fires, and how sincerely we were disposed to peace. But I assure you, I never made Teedyuscung the great man ; and I must do him the justice to say, that he never assumed any authority over, but on many occasions spoke of the Six Nations as his uncles and superiors. I never shall attempt to impose a chief on any Indian nation ; but on all occasions, will pay due regard to those who are chosen by their countrymen.

Brethren, by this belt and string you promised to make diligent search in your towns for our flesh and blood, who are prisoners, and return them to us. We have always found you honest and punctual in the performance of your promises ; your words therefore give us comfort.

*A belt and string.*

Gov. Bernard.] I know not who made Teedyuscung so great a man, nor do I know that he is any greater than a chief of the Delaware Indians settled at Wyomink.

Brethren, you say you will return our prisoners ; we hope you will be mindful to engage your nephews to do so too ; for which I give you this

*Belt.*



After the governors had done speaking, the Indian chiefs were asked, if they had any thing more to say, on which Tagashata arose, and addressing himself to the Delawares, and Minisinks, said:

Nephews, the governors who sit there have put you in mind of what was agreed upon last year. You both promised to return the prisoners. We, your uncles, put you in mind of this promise, and desire you will perform it. You have promised it, and you *must* perform it. As soon as you come home, cause this to be done; you know it is an article of the peace for which you have received a belt.

Robert White the Nanticoke chief, spoke in English.] When our cousins the Delawares first took up the hatchet, we invited them to our town of Otsaningo, and persuading them to peace, gave them a belt of a fathom long, and twenty five rows in breadth; but not hearing from our cousins of a long time, we sent them two other belts, one of sixteen, the other of twelve rows, desiring them once more to lay down the hatchet; but still we heard nothing from them. Indeed, some time afterwards we understood the Delawares should say, the Indians at Otsaningo had grey eyes, and were like Englishmen, and should be served in the same manner. As our cousins have been loth to give an answer to these belts, we desire they would let us know in a public conference what they have done with them.

*A string.*

Tuesday, Oct. 17. The Indians in council all day.

Wednesday, Oct. 18. Nichas,

the Mohawk chief, acquainted the governors, that as counsellors, they had finished; having nothing more to propose at this meeting. The warriors were to speak now, and Tho. King was appointed to deliver their words.

Thomas King, [addressing himself to the governors and all in authority.] Brethren, you have been desirous to know the true cause of the war, and of the bitterness of our hearts. Look well about you, and you will find you gave the first offence. In time of profound peace, some of the Shawanese passing through S Carolina to go to war with their enemies, as their yearly custom is, were persuaded in a friendly manner into your houses, deceitfully and unjustifiably dragged to prison, where one, who was a head man, lost his life, and the others were severely used. This first raised ill-will in the minds of the Shawanese; the French aggravated the offence; put the hatchet into their hands to revenge the blood of their brother; they besought the Delawares to join them to make the blow fall the heavier; and by degrees the young men among us were stirred up to vengeance.

Brethren, this was the case of the Shawanese. Another of the like nature happened about three years ago to the Senecas, when eight of their warriors were returning from war, with seven prisoners and scalps with them through Virginia; these, at a place called Green Briar, met a party of soldiers, not less than 150, who kindly invited them to a certain store, and said, they would supply them with provisions; two days they travelled with them in a friendly manner; but when they came

came to the house on the third, they began to disarm them ; the head man cried out, Here is death, defend yourselves ; two of them were killed on the spot, and one, a boy, was taken prisoner. As this was upon the warriors road in time of profound peace, judge ye of the degree of provocation. Brethren, you have justly demanded your prisoners ; it is right so to do ; and, if this unhappy boy is alive, as we have reason to think he is, we desire you may return him. If he is dead, we are content. His name is Squissatago.

*Six strings of wampum.*

Brethren, the cause why the Indians at Ohio left you was owing to yourselves ; when we heard of the French coming there, we desired the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania to supply us with implements and necessaries for war, and we would defend our lands ; but these governors disregarded our message ; the French came to us ; traded with our people ; used them kindly ; and gained their affections. The governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit ; but when we wanted his assistance, he forsook us.

*A belt.*

Brother, [addressing himself to the governor of Jersey] our cousins the Minisinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and pushed back by the English settling so fast upon them, so as not to know whether they have any lands or no. You deal hardly with us ; you claim all the wild creatures, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them ; you will not let us peel a single tree. Surely, this is hard. You take of us what lands you please, and the cattle you raise on

them are your own ; but those that are wild are still ours, and should be common to both ; for our nephews when they sold the land, did not propose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a stick of wood. We desire you, the governor, to take this matter into your care, and see justice done to the Minisinks.

*Two strings of wampum.*

Addressing himself to the governor of Pennsylvania, he said, Brother, we must put you in mind that four years ago, you bought at Albany a large tract of land, for a part of which that was settled, the proprietaries agents then paid 1000 pieces of eight. We acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of so much of the purchase ; but for the other part that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vast sale, disapproved our conduct in council ; in the deed our hunting grounds are included, and without them we must perish.

*Three strings.*

[The Six Nation chiefs being asked if they had any thing farther to say, answered, they had done.]

Teedyuscung.] About three years ago, nine of my countrymen were killed near Goshan in time of peace, for no other reason than because they were hunting upon that land ; one of their brethren assures me, that he then went with tears in his eyes to George Freeland, and presented him with three belts to have the matter cleared up ; but has never received an answer to this day. I give you this string to enquire what is become of these belts.

*Three strings of white wampum.*

Brethren, I have already acquainted you with my grievances. I told you that the proprietaries had wronged me, and I referred my cause to the great king; now I desire to know if King George has yet decided that matter between you and me. I do not mention my uncle's lands; only what we the Delawares own as far as the heads of the Delaware.

*A belt.*

Teedyuscung then took up another belt, intending to speak to his uncles the United Nations; but whilst he was speaking, as above, the chiefs had one after another left the council, seemingly much displeased; he therefore held his peace.

Thursday, Oct. 19. At a private council Gov. Bernard, after receiving the request of the United Nations to take the case of the Minisinks under his care, said, That as the people of New Jersey declared, they had bought all the Minisinks lands, and the Minisinks said they had a great deal unfold, he could not tell which was in the right; but would suppose the Minisinks; he therefore desired the mediation of the United Nations, and left it to them to propose a reasonable sum by way of satisfaction, of which he desired they would consider and give an answer. The United Nations said it was a kind proposal, and recommended it to the consideration of the Minisinks.

Teedyuscung waited on Gov. Denny at his house, and acquainted him, that his nation did not claim lands high up the Delaware river; those, he said, belonged to his uncles; of which he desired the governor to take notice, that no misunderstanding might arise from

what had been said at the public council.

Friday, Oct. 20. Gov. Denny desired to know of Teedyuscung, if he proposed to speak, as the abrupt departure of the Six Nation chiefs had interrupted his discourse the day before.

Teedyuscung.] Uncles, according to ancient custom, we used to speak one to another at home; but now I must speak to you in the presence of the English governors. You may remember that you have placed us at Wyomink and Shamokin, places where Indians have lived before. Now I hear since, that you have sold that land to our brethren the English; let this matter be now cleared up. I sit like a bird on a bough. I look about and do not know where I may be driven to. Let me therefore come down upon the ground, and make that my own by a deed, and I shall have a home for ever; for if you, my uncles, or I die, our brethren the English will say they have bought it from you, and so wrong my posterity out of it.

*A belt.*

Gov. Denny then requested the attention of all the Indians, addressing himself to the chiefs and warriors of the United Nations and their nephews, he repeated distinctly all their complaints in the order they were delivered. He thanked them for declaring the true cause of the bitterness of their hearts; and said he would join with them in endeavouring to prevent the like evils for the future; he promised to make enquiry concerning the Seneca boy, and, if alive, to return him; he assured them, that the proprietaries cheerfully agree to release all that part  
of

of the purchase reclaimed, and desired they might settle the boundaries to their own satisfaction; he acknowledged their justice in promising to return the prisoners. And then addressing himself to the chiefs of the United Nations, he said, Providence has brought you and your nephews together at this meeting, face to face with us, that every thing may be settled, so as no doubt may remain to create any uneasiness in our hearts hereafter. You know, brethren, there is an old agreement between the proprietaries and you, that you will not sell any of the lands lying within this province, to any but them, and they never take possession of lands till they have bought them of Indians; you know also, that the United Nations have sold lands to the proprietaries, which your nephews the Delawares now claim as their right. This is the case with regard to some part of the lands which Teedyuscung, in your hearing, said, the proprietaries had defrauded him of. The proprietaries are desirous of doing strict justice to all the Indians, but it cannot be supposed they can know in which of you the right is vested. This is a matter that must be settled among yourselves, and till it is done, there will probably remain some jealousy and discontent amongst you, that may interrupt both your and our future quiet.

*A string.*

He concluded with telling them, that stores of all sorts of goods had been opened at Shamokin; where they might be supplied on the most reasonable terms, and have the best price for their peltry; and that another was intended to be opened for them at Fort Allan.

*A string.*

After the governor had done speaking, Tagashata and Nicholas

arose, and said in some heat, They did not rightly understand what the governor meant by settling matters about lands among themselves. He left things in the dark; if he meant the lands on the other side of the mountains, he knew the proprietaries had their deeds for them, which ought to be produced and shewed to them. Their deeds had their marks, and when they should see them, they would know their marks.

Governor Bernard rose, and said he had something to say to them; they replied, they chose to be spoken to by one governor at a time; and called for the deed, which being produced, Nicholas said, This deed we well remember, we sold the land; the land was ours, and we will justify it. *The conference then broke up.*

Teedyuscung having, on the 19th, requested the governor, that two belts which he then presented to him, might be sent as their joint belts to the Ohio Indians; the United Nations had this day a meeting with Teedyuscung, and two of the governor's council, about the answer that was to be sent back to those Indians; which being settled and approved, the Indian chiefs were asked, if the Ohio Indians might not be desired to take up the hatchet and join General Forbes against the French; their answer was, By no means. Their wounds were not yet healed, nor peace confirmed; their warriors were not yet called home; they might kill their own flesh and blood; let it suffice, to advise them to sit still; and that advice, they said, will be hearkened to. They then desired, that two white inhabitants might accompany Pisquitomen and Thomas Hickman, the two messengers, to the Ohio Indians, and promised themselves to

send the like number. Teedyuscung said, he would send one.

Saturday, Oct. 21. At a private conference, Governor Bernard proposed to settle the claims of the Minisinks, and having asked the advice of the United Nations, Thomas King said, that they the Six Nations had no claim to those lands, and should therefore leave the price to themselves. The Minisinks desired to know what the governor was willing to give; and he having named the sum of 800 Spanish dollars, as an extraordinary price, the United Nations, by Thomas King, said, that it was an honourable offer; but in regard that many persons were to share in the purchase money, they recommended it to his excellency to add 200 dollars more, the report of which would be carried to all the nations, and would be very agreeable to them. The governor, after paying a polite compliment to the chiefs as mediators, cheerfully complied: and then Tagashata rose up, and said,

Nephews, now you must remember the friendship between you and your brethren the English, and transmit it to your children; and make them acquainted with the transactions of this day; it should seem that your grandfathers forgot the treaties they used to make with their brethren, and buried them with them in the grave. Give over all further thoughts of your lands; and take care, that your young men do no more violence to their brethren the English.

The Egoohowen (the Minisink chief) addressed himself to the governor, and said, We are now satisfied, and we still retain a friendship for the English; and we desire that if we should come into your

province to see our old friends, and should have occasion for the bark of a tree to cover a cabin, or a little refreshment, that we should not be denied, but be treated as brethren; and that your people may not look on the wild beasts of the forest, or fish of the waters, as their sole property, but that we may be admitted to an equal use of them.

The governor answered, that as soon as he got home, he should notify the peace through all the provinces by proclamation; but desired the Indians might not go into those parts where they had so lately committed hostilities, till the passions of the people were cooled; for that he could not answer for his people's behaviour, while their sufferings were fresh upon their minds.

This day, at a meeting of the United Nations with the Delawares, their nephews, about settling the deed in dispute, the members of the Pennsylvania council were invited to be present; when Teedyuscung rose up, and said, We have seen the deed for the lands beyond the Kittochtinny hills, and acknowledge its validity; our chief, Nutimus, remembers it, and received forty-four dollars for his share of the purchase money; but this is not the land that I have disputed with my brethren the English; that land lies between Tohiccon creek, and the Kittochtinny hills.

*A string.*

Tokaaio and the Six Nation chiefs stood up and said, Cousin, I thank you for your openness and honesty in freely acknowledging the truth. I wish the governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina, and Jersey, were so honest and precise. They have called us down to a council fire, to brighten the chain of friendship; but our time is taken up in a fruit-

less

less dispute about lands, *without coming to the main point.* The English first began to do mischief; we told them so. They only thanked us for our frankness; but they healed no wounds. In short, when they speak to us, they do it with a shorter belt and string, than that which we speak to them with, though they can make wampum, and we cannot. They ought not thus to treat with Indians in council affairs. Several of our strong belts are lost in their hands. I fear they speak only from their mouth, and not from their heart.

Sunday, Oct. 22. The Six Nation chiefs held a private council, and named two of their people to send to the Ohio. Frederic Post arrived with the news from General Forbes, that a large body of French and Indians having attacked his advanced post at Loyal Hanning, were repulsed with great loss, which loss he communicated to the Indians.

Monday, Oct. 23. Gov. Den-ny.] Brethren, by this belt, we heal your wounds; we remove your grief; we take the hatchet out of your heads; we make a deep hole in the earth, and bury the hatchet so low, that nobody shall be able to dig it up again. *A belt.*

Brethren, now we have healed your wounds; we by this belt renew all our treaties; we brighten

the chain of friendship: we return to our first affection; we confirm our ancient union; we put fresh earth to the roots of the tree of peace, that it may bear up against every storm that can blow, and live and flourish to the end of time, whilst the sun shines, and the rivers run. And we desire you to publish this to all the nations, your friends and allies. *A large peace belt.*

Brethren, we now open a road to the old council fire at Philadelphia, and be assured, we shall always be glad to see you there. *A belt.*

Brethren, this treaty will convince all our enemies, that we are now united in the firmest band of amity, and while we join our strength together, it will not be in their power to hurt either you or us. *A belt.*

Brethren, as a token of our love, we present you with a quantity of goods\*, and desire your acceptance of them; sensible of the approaching season, and of the many difficulties you live under from the present war, we give it with an hearty good will.

Brother Teedyuscung, you put me in mind of your having referred your dispute to the great King, and you desired to know if he has decided it; you may depend upon it, that as soon as his answer can be obtained, it shall be communicated to you. *A belt.*

\* Three groce narrow starred gartering; 56 ditto, various sorts; 33 looking-glasses; 12 pieces red stroud; 15 ditto, blue; 1 ditto, black; 1 red, 1 blue; 2 ditto, 6 quarter blue duffil; 2 ditto, 7-8ths; 1 ditto, napped; 1 ditto, stamped serge; 1 ditto, red half-thicks; 1 brown halfthicks; 2 ditto, white; 1 ditto, blue broad cloth; 5 laced coats, 8 plain; 50 pair of shoes; 37 pair of women's worsted stockings; 12 ditto, yarn; 2 pieces and 2 Bandanoe handkerchiefs; 1 ditto, Lun-gee romals; 1 ditto, cotton romals; 4 ditto, nonso pretties; 8lb. coloured thread; 46 worsted caps; 2 dozen of knives; 1 dozen of tobacco-boxes; 5 pieces of linen handkerchiefs; 4 ditto figured gartering; 46 plain hats, 24 taylors sheers; 6 gun locks; 1 bunch of black leads; 3 and a half groce sleeve buttons; 43 ivory combs; 1 groce of thimbles; 100 blankets; 160 watch coats; 246 shirts, plain; and 187 ditto, ruffled.

Then

Then Governor Bernard, requesting the attention of the Indians, acquainted them, that in consequence of their advice, he had come to a full agreement with the Minisinks, for all the lands in dispute on the part of his province, to which he desired they would pay a particular regard, that the remembrance of it might never be forgotten. *A belt.*

Then addressing himself to Teedyuscung, he said, the nine men killed at Goshan, of which he had justly complained, were not in his province; the three belts he would make enquiry about of the governor of New York, and would send him an answer. He added, that the fact had been blamed by all good and wise men. *A string.*

Governor Denny, being obliged to return to Philadelphia, took his leave, assuring them of his affection, and wishes for their happiness.

Teedyuscung desired to be heard on behalf of the Wappinger Indians, living near Esopus, and produced a short belt of white wampum with a double heart, which was given them by the government of New York in 1745, representing their union, which, he said, was to last as long as the sun should continue in the firmament; he therefore recommended them to the protection of Governor Bernard; and as their chief was old, he requested a horse to carry him home, which was granted.

The Six Nation chiefs consulted together, and in a little time, Nigahas, in behalf of the rest, returned answers to the governors speeches, repeating distinctly what each of them had said, and expressing the highest satisfaction.

Tuesday, Oct. 24. The proprietaries agents settled the limits of the lands to be released with the Indian

chiefs; and the deed of confirmation, as well as that of release, were respectively executed.

Wednesday, Oct. 25. The Indians were employed all day in dividing the presents.

Thursday, Oct. 26. The secretary of the conferences having observed to the Six Nation chiefs, that the governors were charged by Tokasio with *not coming to the point*, by which it was understood, that some things had been omitted in their answers; Thomas King said, they were afterwards supplied; but for the fuller satisfaction of all present, he recommended a farther explanation: agreeable to which, the members of the Pennsylvania council made the following addition to the governor's speech.

Brethren, as we have now settled all differences, and confirmed the ancient leagues of amity, and brightened the chain of friendship, we now clean the blood off your council seats, that when you hold councils at home, you may sit as you formerly used to do in your seats with the same peace and tranquillity.

*A string of 1000 grains of wampum.*

Brethren, with this string of wampum we condole with you for the loss of your wise men, and for the warriors that have been killed these troublesome times, and likewise for your women and children; and we cover the graves decently, agreeable to the custom of your forefathers.

*A string as before.*

Brethren, We disperse the dark clouds that hung over your heads, during these troubles, that we may see the sun clear, and look on each other with the cheerfulness our forefathers did.

*The same.*

The Five Nation chiefs having laid all the belts and strings on the table

table that were delivered at this and the last conference, Tokaasio desired all present to hearken to what Thomas King was going to say; on which Tho. King arose, and taking up the belt given by Teedyuscung, when he requested the grant of the Wyomink lands, he addressed the Delawares, Teedyuscung not being present, in this manner.

Cousins, by this belt Teedyuscung desired us to make you owners of the lands at Wyomink, Shamokin, and other places on the Susquehannah river. In answer to which, we who are here at present, say, that we have no power to convey lands to any one; but we will take your request to the great council fire, for their sentiments, as we never convey or sell any lands, before it be agreed in the great council of the United Nations. In the mean time you may use those lands in common with other Indians, in confirmation of which we give you this.

*A string.*

Then taking up each belt and string, he proceeded to repeat what had been said upon each, approved of all that had passed, and made particular mention of the large peace belt, which, he said, should be made known to the nations. Then addressing himself to governor Bernard, he thanked him for his kind assistance at this treaty, which, he said the United Nations would remember with pleasure.——After a pause, he desired to be excused in mentioning one thing, which he believed the governors had forgot, You have, said he, forgot to bring with you ammunition, of which we always used to receive a sufficient quantity, not only to serve us our journey, but to support us in our hunting season, that we might be

enabled to make provisions for our families. You have given us gun locks, but no guns; it is impossible for Indians to subsist without guns, powder and lead, of which we have received none.

He then took up the proprietaries release, and returned thanks for it. When it was referred to Onas, The United Nations, he said, had no doubt but Onas would grant their request; this act has confirmed our good opinion of him.

Having now finished what the nations had commissioned him to say, he cast his eyes round the room, and seeing Mr. Vernon, the clerk of the stores, he desired, that now council business was over, the lock might be taken off the rum, that it might run freely, and the hearts of all be made glad at parting.

Some wine and punch was then ordered in, and the conference concluded with great joy and mutual satisfaction.

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SEVERAL princes of the empire having acceded to the late famous arret or resolution of the evangelical body at the diet of Ratibon, on the 6th of December 1758, an imperial decree of commission was carried to the dictature against that resolution, wherein it is said among other things, "That the imperial court could not deliberate farther about getting its declarations executed, concerning the affair of the ban, without infringing the twentieth article of the election capitulation: That the invalidity of the evangelic body's resolution is manifest: That the Electors of Brandenburg and Brunswick, the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, and the Landgrave of Hesse-



Hesse-Cassel, are the very persons that disturb the empire; and as this is an affair in which themselves are concerned, it is evident that they are not qualified to concur in a resolution of that nature: That, moreover, the number of the other states that have acceded thereto, is very small. Therefore, the emperor cannot but consider the resolution in question, as an act, whereby the general peace of the empire is disturbed, both by the parties that have incurred the ban, and by the states that have joined them, in order to support and favour them, in their frivolous pretensions. That his imperial majesty dares to flatter himself that the other electors, princes, and states of the empire, will vote the said resolution to be null and of no force, and never suffer a small number of states, and adherents to, and abettors of the disturbers of the empire's tranquillity, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the Germanic body; to abuse the name of the associated estates of the confessions of Augsburg, in order to cram down by force a *factum* entirely repugnant to the constitution of the empire; to deprive their co-estates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavour to subvert totally the system of the Germanic body."

This commissorial decree was preceded by a rescript from the Emperor, to the imperial Protestant cities, requiring them to retract their accession to the resolution of the evangelic body: but they will not recede from it, though this accession, in strictness of formality, is quite inconsistent with their former accession to the resolutions of the diet against the King of Prussia.

*Translation of the new Treaty between Great Britain and Prussia, signed at London, December 7, 1758.*

**F**ORasmuch as the burthensome war in which the King of Prussia is engaged, lays him under a necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the King of Great Britain, for their reciprocal defence and safety: And as his Britannic Majesty hath at the same time signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and, in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance: Their said majesties have nominated and authorised their ministers to concert and settle the following articles.

1. All former treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster, January 16, 1756, and the convention of April 11, 1758, are confirmed by the present convention, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word.

2. The King of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorised by the King of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rixdollars, making 670,000l. sterling at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the King of Prussia shall so require.

3. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such a manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause,

cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties.

4. The King of Great Britain, both as King and Elector, and the King of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude with the powers that have taken part in the present war, any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other.

5. The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner if possible.

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*Memorial delivered by Major Gen. Yorke to the deputies of the States-General, Dec. 22, 1758.*

High and Mighty Lords,  
**I** Had the honour to acquaint you at the conferences I obtained of your High Mightinesses on the 7th instant, that the king my master had authorized and instructed me to enter into a negotiation with such persons as your High Mightinesses should think proper to nominate for that end; but that, as the affair required a minute discussion, it would be impossible to terminate it without some farther explanations. It is with the highest pleasure that I this day open our conferences on this important subject; and I flatter myself that if your High Mightinesses are as desirous of a reconciliation as his majesty is, it will soon be happily concluded.

By the two resolutions of Sept. 12, and Sept. 25, which were delivered to me the day following, your High Mightinesses thought proper to make some difficulty of

receiving the declaration which I had the honour to present to you, in the King's name, against the trade carried on by your subjects to the French colonies in America, for the account of those very colonies. If his majesty, on being informed thereof, commanded me to declare that he could not depart from his preceding declaration, it was because he thought this claim had no foundation in the treaties subsisting between him and the republic. Besides, should the persons concerned in this trade even be able to wrest the sense of treaties so as to deceive their friends, and make the obstructing of it by England pass for a grievance; still his majesty is persuaded that their High Mightinesses will see with pleasure that his majesty sets aside the discussion of that treaty, which is connected with so many others, and sets himself wholly to do the subjects of his ancient allies all the service, and to grant them every favour that shall not notably prejudice the welfare and safety of his people. It is in this light that his majesty considers the trade, directly or indirectly, to the French colonies in America.

His majesty is at war with the most Christian King: he cannot hope to get out of it with safety, or obtain a speedy and lasting peace, which is his majesty's sole aim, if the Princes who have declared themselves neuter, instead of contenting themselves with trading as usual, without any risk, assume a right of carrying on that trade of the King's enemies, which is not allowed them in time of peace. The injustice of this proceeding is too apparent to require more to be said on it; one may venture to appeal to your High Mightinesses own conduct in the

the like case. A trade of this nature was never suffered by you ; and it hath been opposed by the *Salus Populi* in all countries, in like circumstances.

His majesty sees with pleasure the trade of his neighbours flourish, and would behold its increase with satisfaction, if its prosperity were not repugnant to this primary law. But he likewise persuades himself, that never, for the sake of some transient profit to individuals, will his ancient allies be the first to injure England in this essential part. Considering the thing in this light, I cannot doubt but that your High Mightinesses will give the King the pleasure to hear that they, for their subjects, have honestly abandoned it, and that this stumbling block is for ever removed. In settling this point, his majesty commands me to include in it the charge, commonly called *Overfcheepen*, which is made of a French vessel into a Dutch vessel, when the former dares not continue her course, and endeavours to save herself by carrying neutral colours, in order to avoid seizure at sea by the King's ships. Your High Mightinesses, while you acknowledge the justice of my first demand, cannot refuse the second ; since that would be to declare, that you treat with good faith, whilst, at the same time, a more dangerous door will be left for fraud. Such a conduct is unworthy of the equity of your High Mightinesses, especially in the present case, when the question is the prevention of any subject of future dispute, and the restoration of harmony and good neighbourhood between the two powers.

The last point of my instructions, which relates to the amicable demands made by his majesty to your

High Mightinesses, requires a more minute consideration, I cannot enter upon that subject yet ; but reserve it till afterwards. I must, nevertheless, observe to you, that the King has seen, not without pain, yet without giving them any molestation, a great number of Dutch ships pass by his harbours since the commencement of the war, laden with all sorts of materials for building and repairing the enemy's fleets. His majesty asks that certain articles of naval stores may be comprehended in the class of *Contraband* : but he will so settle it with your High Mightinesses, as that the inoffensive trade of your subjects to the north of Europe (if I may use that term) shall not be involved in this article. Your High Mightinesses, who are yourselves a maritime power, and know how to contend for and defend your prerogatives as such, must always allow, that in the present war against France, it is both the King's interest, and his duty, not only to hinder the maritime of his enemy from becoming too formidable, but also to employ all means to weaken it. Can it be disputed that naval stores are not in this view, as prejudicial as balls and gunpowder ?

Let France be without ships, and her warlike stores will never make England uneasy. The importance of this article is so evident, that the King ventures to refer it to the judgment of your High Mightinesses. These, my lords, are my instructions with regard to the satisfaction which the King would think himself entitled to require from the friendship and justice of the republic, if he had no other foundation for his claim. But I have already informed you, that it is his majesty's

majesty's sincere desire to unite his own safety with the convenience of your High Mightinesses ; which makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge on this head.

In this representation of the points on which I have orders to insist with your High Mightinesses, I have endeavoured to follow the method which you yourselves have begun to put in practice ; that is to say, first to state the claim, and afterwards propose the expedients.

I come now to the articles of your resolutions of the 25th of September last.

I. As to the demand contained in the first article, I must observe to your High Mightinesses, that this very treaty, which you so strongly insist on, prescribes the manner of proceeding in case of seizure or detention ; and that you cannot claim the exercise of an extrajudicial power by his majesty, whose hands are tied with regard to his own subjects, by the laws ; and with regard to foreigners, by treaties. If there have been any irregular sentences, either the judge must have been misled by appearances at the hearing of the cause : or delays were made, of which there was just reason to complain. The supreme court, established for judging in the last resort, hath always been ready to revise and correct abuses, if at any time any could be discovered in the sentences of the inferior courts. But your High Mightinesses will give me leave to observe, that it is very extraordinary, that not one appeal hath yet been thrown in, notwithstanding the assurances given to your High Mightinesses by many persons. This is a fact at which every body in England is astonished : and, doubtless, had the appellants desired to be heard,

the number of complaints would have been greatly diminished.

Mean while, to assist and relieve the subjects of your High Mightinesses as much as possible, and to avoid confounding the innocent with the guilty, his majesty hath just now ordered an exact list to be delivered to him of all the Dutch vessels detained in his harbours, in order to call those to an account who may have brought them in on frivolous pretences ; to oblige them to release them, and to hasten the finishing of the trials in general. If there remains any thing more to be done for the further facility and security of the navigation of the republic, it will readily be agreed to by his majesty. The nation is desirous to second the King's good intentions on this head. I flatter myself that these assurances will be sufficient to dissipate those ill-grounded fears which possess certain persons in these provinces. A mutual confidence, and the desire to avoid any subject of animosity, are highly requisite in treating of matters of such importance, and of such a complicated nature.

II. As to the second article of the said resolutions, I almost dare venture to assure your High Mightinesses, that if you cordially interest yourselves in his majesty's situation in the present war, and discover a readiness to grant the points which he thinks he hath a right to require of you, you will receive all possible satisfaction and security. It is his majesty's intention that the subjects of your High Mightinesses should enjoy all the privileges and immunities resulting from the treaty of 1674, so far as the tenor of it is not derogated from by the present accommodation.

III. As to the third article, as soon as your High Mightinesses shall have agreed with his majesty on the points which I have mentioned in his name, it will be easily settled.

IV. The fourth article contains complaints for which perhaps there is too much foundation by the violence committed by English privateers, or vessels pretending to be such. His majesty is sincerely grieved that such disorders should have been committed, to the disgrace of his subjects. The whole nation joins with the king in endeavouring to suppress those robberies. I take the liberty to communicate to you the orders issued by the admiralty of Great Britain against such behaviour: and, for the honour of the merchants of London, I must add the advertisement published by them, offering a reward for discovering the offenders. His majesty intreats your High Mightinesses to assist him on this occasion, by exhorting your subjects to bring to justice the authors of those offences; in which they may depend on the utmost protection and encouragement. As to the rest, the king is astonished, that, after so many applications made here for obtaining proofs of the facts alledged, not one, notwithstanding the reward offered, has gone over to England to give evidence.

I take the liberty to refer to the contents of my first article for an answer to the fifth resolution of your High Mightinesses; only adding, that his majesty will with pleasure agree to any method that shall be proposed to him for authenticating the genuineness of ship papers, in which point too many abuses have been committed.

*A Memorial presented to the General of the French islands, by the Governors and Lieutenants du Roi of the several quarters in the island of Martinico, Jan. 1. 1759.*

THE orders given us by the general, the 25th of last November, for holding our several districts in readiness to march; and the report spread of an armament fitted out in England, which was said to be destined for these colonies, have determined us to lay before the general the condition of this island, and its different districts, the command of which is intrusted to us, under his directions.

The precautions necessary for securing his majesty's possessions become more pressing, as we are threatened by the enemy; and we should think ourselves deficient in our duty, if we omitted representing to our governor the means conducive to the security and defence of the island.

Our trade with the Dutch is become our sole dependence: the general must be convinced of it, since he hath authorised it: we can expect no succour from Europe, as we have been abandoned by it ever since the war broke out; and the manner in which traders have been suffered to come among us has been of little service to the colony. The merchants, who have had permissions granted them, have abused and defeated the intention of the general. Possessed of this privilege, they have made themselves the arbitrary disposers of all provisions brought in, and of all our own commodities sent out; and of consequence, the former have been at as high a price as their avarice could raise it, and the latter

latter as low as self-interest could sink it. While the general meant providing, by this means, supports for the country, and the inhabitants were the object of his good intentions, they, by a criminal abuse of the permissions granted, have not reaped the least benefit from them. The colony, for two months, has been destitute of all kinds of provisions; the view of the general was, to provide some in sending men of war to convoy vessels from St. Eustatia, to this island; but the use the merchants of St. Pierre's have made of their permissions, has destroyed all our expectations of relief by that method. By this means, the island still suffers for want of provisions: all our own commodities lie upon our hands; and masters are unable to support their slaves, who are perishing through hunger. The interests of the king and country are mutual and reciprocal; the loss of negroes diminishes his majesty's revenue; and the great, not to say the entire stop put to the exportation of our commodities, is such a blow to our trade, that we feel it in the most sensible manner. Many of our inhabitants have not been able to repair the mischief and damage done their buildings and plantations by the last hurricane; and their reduced situation incapacitated them from furnishing negroes, so easily as could have been wished, for the use of the public works. Every one is animated with the warmest zeal and inclination: but ought we not to be apprehensive of dreadful consequences from slaves, who are half-starved, and to whom all bondage is equal. Misery debases mankind; and when it has reduced them to a precarious situation, we often find them have recourse to confusion and

despair, as a remedy against the ills which oppress them.

From the accounts we daily receive of what passes in our districts, and the enquiries it is our duty to make into every condition, we can, without exaggeration, affirm, that the best provided of our inhabitants partake largely of the present calamity, and want many of the common necessities of life, whilst others have not so much as a grain of salt in their houses.

Another great misfortune, is, that the inhabitants are reduced to the necessity of killing their cattle, to keep their negro children, and sick people alive: but this resource must soon fail, and our mills stand still for want of cattle to work them; and by this means, we shall consume beforehand the reserve we might otherwise have in case of a siege.

It is sufficient to represent to the general these misfortunes: the goodness of his heart for a people entrusted to his care, will point out a remedy, in suppressing the permissions granted to particular merchants, and in permitting neutral vessels to come freely into all our ports, and trade with the inhabitants, without first addressing themselves to our merchants. When every quarter becomes stocked with provisions, and men can eat, we shall see their zeal, which the famine had damped, revive again; and when the inhabitants see their properties secured, by finishing the public works, and taking all precautions necessary for their defence, they will be easy, and unite themselves in repulsing the enemy, with the courage they have always hitherto testified. Care, however, ought to be taken for securing his majesty's duties, and there is a method of doing it; for in every port

where there are no guns to command such vessels importing the provisions, the commandant of the quarter may oblige the custom-house officers to visit them, and bring their sails on shore, till the king's duties are paid.

In times of calamity, the king gives every assistance to his distressed subjects, and this colony claims help and relief against the famine, which is devouring it:

The citadel of Fort Royal seems the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depends. The loss of that must necessarily be attended with the loss of the whole island. We may indeed retire into the woods; but how are we to subsist there? When the enemy are become masters of this place, how are we to expect succours from without? The whole colony ought to make the most vigorous efforts to stop the progress of an invading army, and every man will set about it in earnest, if the fort was properly provided with every thing for its safety and defence; and if magazines for furnishing the necessities of life, as well as of war, were established in the different quarters of the island. Signed,

Chaillon,	Lou. Villiers,
De Folleville,	De Poincey,
De Lignery,	Rouille.

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*The genuine legal sentence pronounced by the high court of judicature of Portugal upon the Conspirators against the life of his most Faithful majesty with the just motives for the same.*

*The preliminary facts are as follows.*

**I**T appears that the Duke of Aveiro had conceived an implacable resentment against the King,

for preventing a marriage which he had precipitately adjusted between his son and the sister of the Duke of Cadaval, endeavouring, at the same time, by vexatious artifices, to prevent the duke, who is a minor, from marrying, in order to secure to his family, the possessions and honours of that house; and for defeating several projects to preserve a pernicious influence which he acquired in the latter years of the late reign.

That he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with all persons, who were dissatisfied with the government, of what party or condition soever, and therefore, as soon as the jesuits were dismissed from court, he forgot an inveterate enmity which till then had been implacable against them, invited them to his house, and made them frequently long and secret visits, at their houses, where the death of the King was concerted, the jesuits declaring, that whoever should kill his majesty would not by that act become guilty even of venial sin.

That the Duke of Aveiro, and the jesuits, drew the Marchioness of Tavora into the confederacy, notwithstanding the mutual jealousy between the two houses, and the marchioness drew in the rest of her family.

That the Marquis of Tavora having entrusted Joseph Romeiro, an old servant, who had attended him to and from the Indies, with the conspiracy, committed to him the care of waiting, with horses ready saddled, where the conspirators were to mount.

That the Duke of Aveiro several times rode and walked with Alvares Ferreira, his late wardrobe keeper, and Joseph Policarp, Ferreira's brother-in-law, to acquaint them with  
the

the carriage in which the King usually rode; that he ordered them to buy two horses, not known, and some unknown arms.

That after the fact, the duke reproached Alvares, telling him the shot which he discharged did no service, but when he was about to reply, he added, "Hush! for the devil himself can know nothing of the matter, if thou dost not tell him." He then ordered him not to sell the unknown horse he had bought directly, lest it should cause suspicion.

The legal sentence of the court is as follows:

Agreed by the persons of the council and the senate of our Lord the King, &c. After examining the proceedings, which according to the form of law and his majesty's decrees were succinctly carried on against the criminals, Joseph Mascarenhas, heretofore Duke of Aveiro; Lady Eleanor of Tavora, heretofore Marchioness of that title; Francis-Affizes of Tavora, heretofore Marquis of the said title; Lewis-Bernard of Tavora, heretofore Marquis of the same title; Don Jerome of Ataide, heretofore Count of Atouguia; Joseph-Maria of Tavora, heretofore adjutant of the military orders of the marquis his father; Blaize-Joseph Romeiro, corporal in the company commanded by the criminal, Lewis-Bernard of

Tavora; Antony-Alvares Ferreira; Joseph Policarp de Azevedo; Emanuel Alvares Ferreira, keeper of the wardrobe to the criminal, Joseph Mascarenhas; and John Michael, attending page to the said criminal Joseph Mascarenhas; together with the rest of the depositions, and papers annexed; allegations, articles, and defences made by the said criminals, &c. &c. &c.

I. And whereas it appears fully proved by the confessions of the major part of the said criminals, and by many witnesses, that the Duke of Aveiro\* had conceived an implacable wrath against our Lord the King, for defeating the schemes with which he had endeavoured to preserve all that pernicious influence, which, by means of the authority of his uncle F. Gaspar da Incarnação, he had had during the latter years of the foregoing reign; and for annulling the important commendams, which had been held, as grants for life, by the administrators of the house of Aveiro; and for having put a stop to the marriage, which he had hastily adjusted between his son the Marquis of Gouvea, and Lady Margaret de Lorena immediate sister to the Duke of Cadaval, with the design of making that marriage the means of blending with his own house the illustrious house of Cadaval, the actual lord of which was a minor, liable to the small-pox (fatal to his family) and unmarried. —

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\* Don Joseph Mascarenhas and Lencaſtre (or Lancaſter) Duke of Aveiro, Marquis of Torres Novas, and of Gouvea, and Earl of Santa Cruz, hereditary lord ſteward of the King's houſhold, which is the higheſt office in the palace, and preſident of the palace-court, or laſt tribunal of appeal in the kingdom, which is the ſecond ſtate officer in the realm; was related himſelf to the Tavoras, and married to a ſiſter of the elder marquis of that title. He was in the 51ſt year of his age; of the loweſt middle ſize, well made in his perſon, of an agreeable countenance, and lively diſpoſition.



It further appears, that the said criminal being excited by his malignant spirit, had distinguished himself by his endeavours to gain over all those whom he knew to be unjustly discontented with his majesty's most happy government; alienating them still more from the royal service, by infamously shunning it himself; and running into the infamous extreme of saying, "that for him, it was one and the same thing, to be ordered to go to court, as to have his legs cut off:" and giving into the folly of flattering himself, and approving his being told by others, that there was now no other eminence for him to reach than the throne, by becoming King himself.

It further appears, that notwithstanding the implacable aversion which subsisted between the said Duke of Aveiro and the jesuits, as soon as ever they were dismissed from receiving the confessions of their majesties and royal highnesses, and universally forbidden all access to court, he artfully patched up a re-union and intimacy with them, paying them frequent, long, and secret visits in all their houses; and receiving them in like manner at his own house.

It further appears, that the execrable effects of that reconciliation were, that all the aforesaid persons linked themselves together, in a conspiracy, for contriving the death of the King, the said jesuits promising

indemnity to the said criminal, in the execution of that infernal parricide; and giving it as their opinion, that whoever should be the parricide of our said lord, would not so much as sin, even lightly.

II. It further appears, that the criminal and the said jesuits, proceeded to the drawing the Marchioness of Tavora\* into the same detestable confederacy, in which by their united artifices, they succeeded, notwithstanding that there had constantly existed a declared jealousy between the said marchioness and the criminal, concerning which should gain the ascendant in ambition and haughtiness; notwithstanding the most stimulating envy, with which the said marchioness was tortured, at seeing the house of the said criminal exalted above her own honours and wealth; and notwithstanding the said criminal had rendered that hatred still more stinging, by the many and great efforts he had made, while the marquis, her husband, was absent in India, to deprive him of the copyholds of Margaride, and of the free states of his house.

It further appears, that the marchioness set herself up for one of the three ringleaders of this barbarous and horrid conspiracy; and in conjunction with the said jesuits set about persuading all their acquaintance that Gabriel Malagrida, a member of the society of Jesus, was  
a man

\* Marchioness of Tavora in her own right, and wife to the marquis, was in the 39th year of her age; she was of the lower middle size, and thin; extremely genteel; and in her youth had been very beautiful. In the duties of life she appeared highly amiable, being an extreme good mother; and demonstrated herself as a good wife, by accompanying her husband to India, at the age of 50, when he was appointed vice roy of the Portuguese dominions in that country; of which undertaking, before hers, there had been but a single example. Her deportment in general was courteous and affable, and she was allowed to be a lady of a good understanding.

a man of great self-denial, and a saint; the said marchioness performing spiritual exercises under his guidance and direction, and shewing that she entirely followed his dictates and counsels, in order to excite aversion and hatred to his majesty's royal person and most happy government; agreeing that it would be very useful, that our said lord should cease to live; and supporting the sacrilegious insult of the night of the 3d of September of last year, by associating herself immediately with the perfidious and sacrilegious perpetrators of that execrable insult, and contributing sixteen moidores, in part of the reward, which was given to the infamous monsters, who in the aforesaid night fired the sacrilegious shot, which produced those enormous mischiefs, which we all deplore.

It further appears, that the said marchioness, having arrogated to herself the despotic direction of all the actions of the marquis her husband; of her sons; of her daughters; of her son-in-law; of her brothers-in-law; and of other persons; infamously prostituted the authority, which she assumed over them, to the

perversion of them all. Using, for the instruments of this infernal work, not only the opinion she affected to have of the pretended sanctity of the afore-named Gabriel Malagrida; but also the letters, which he frequently wrote to her, to persuade all her relations to join with him in spiritual exercises.

III. It further appears, that, in consequence of these diabolical previous steps, the first of the followers, who miserably plunged himself into the said conspiracy, was the Marquis Francis-Affizes of Tavora\*, the husband; who personally assisted in one of the ambushes, which were infamously laid in that most unfortunate night of the 3d of September; in order that our Lord the King, escaping from any of them, might fall into the others, and contributed twelve moidores towards that infamous reward, which fell to the share of the two assassins already mentioned.

IV. It further appears, that the second of the followers, whom the said marchioness drew into the same infamous conspiracy, was the Marquis Lewis-Bernard of Tavora†, her son, who, two days before the

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\* Francisco de Affiz and Tavora (this family being above taking the title of Don) Marquis of Tavora, and Earl of St John and of Alvor, general of horse, &c. This nobleman was himself the eldest branch of the Alvor family, the third stoble house of the Tavoras; and by marrying his kinswoman, the heiress of the said marquisate, became, in her right, the Earl of St. John and Marquis of Tavora. The family of Tavora is the most illustrious of the kingdom, as well for the purity as antiquity of their descent; deriving their origin from the Kings of Leon, and having ever preserved their dignity, by disdaining to make any other than the most noble alliances; insomuch, that it has of late been the practice of the branches of this family, to marry only with one another. They themselves conquered from the Moors the lands they possess, and on which there is a town, a river and an ancient castle of their name; and they even pretend to be lords of Tavora, by the Grace of God. The marquis was in the 56th year of his age, of the highest middle stature; a genteel person, comely countenance, and grave deportment.

† Luis Bernardo de Tavora, younger marquis of that title, was the eldest son of the abovementioned couple, and in 36th year of his age. He was married

perpetration of the sacrilegious insult of the 3d of September, with studious precaution, sent to the stables of the Duke of Aveiro, two horses ready bridled and saddled, and covered with their saddle-cloths; and personally assisted at the ambushes, which in that most unfortunate night were laid against his majesty; as also at the family-meeting, which was held at the house of the Duke of Aveiro; at which some of the persons present reproached the assassins, who fired the sacrilegious shot, for that these had not all their detestable effect; while others flattered themselves, that the said detestable crime had been fully accomplished, if the carriage of our Lord the King had but passed by the place where these barbarous boasters were way-laying him.

V. It further appears, that the third of the followers, whom the said three seditious and detestable ringleaders drew into this infamous conspiracy, was Don Jerome

of Ataide†, Count of Atouguia, son-in-law to the aforesaid Marquis Francis-Affizes, and Lady Eleanor of Tavora; it being proved, that he, with the countess, his wife, almost every night, assisted at the seditious and abominable cabals, which were held in the house of the marquis and marchioness, his father and mother-in-law; that he contributed eight moidores towards the most worthless reward of the assassins, who fired the sacrilegious shot; and that he was an associate in the way-layings, which were posted against his majesty. —

VI. It further appears, that the fourth follower, entangled in this conspiracy, was Joseph-Maria of Tavora\*, adjutant of the military orders of the Marquis of Tavora his father: for it is proved, that this youth was also personally present at the insidious and sacrilegious ambushes so often mentioned: that, in like manner, he was present at the other meetings; and

ried with dispensation from the Pope, to his father's youngest sister, Dona The-reza da Tavora, and Lorena (or Lorain) who was twenty days elder than himself. This is the lady who is said to be in the nunnery of Santos, without our having been informed whether she was sent thither a prisoner by order of the court. She is a middle-sized lady, comely in her person, and extremely elegant in her deportment. The marquis her husband was a little man, and thin; well enough made, but not of a pleasing aspect, though with a considerable resemblance of his mother. He was neither deficient in wit nor humour, but not amiable in his conduct, nor extremely correct in his morals. This couple have a daughter living, in the twelfth year of her age, Dona Joanna de Tavora, who is exceeding beautiful; but who is, by the sentence of her father, grandfather and grandmother, deprived of the very name, of which she would otherwise have become chief.

† Don Jeronymo de Ataide, Earl of Atouguia, one of the oldest, if not the most ancient title of the kingdom. This nobleman was in the 38th year of his age, related himself to the Tavoras, and married to the eldest daughter of the elder marquis and marchioness of Tavora, sister to the young marquis and Joseph Maria of that name. He was of a middle stature, clumsy in his make, of a heavy aspect, and ungraceful demeanour, and of slow parts, but in his general conduct an inoffensive man.

\* Joseph-Maria de Tavora, second and youngest son of the elder marquis and marchioness of Tavora, in the 23d year of his age; of a middle size, most beautiful face, genteel person, agreeable deportment, and amiable disposition.

that

that he was the very person who (alluding to the prodigy of his majesty's escaping with his life) uttered those savage and shocking words: "Alas! the man ought not to have escaped."

VII. It further appears, that the fifth following in the before-mentioned sacrilegious insult, was Blaize-Joseph Romeiro, an old servant of the Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, who had attended them to and from the Indies, and was now in the service of the marquis their son; was a corporal in his company, steward of his household, and his grand favourite; by whose confession it was proved, that the said marquis, Lewis-Bernard of Tavora, not only trusted him with all that passed, but also that the marquisses, father and son, had given him the charge, under tie of secrecy, to lead the three horses, which in the night of the insult, they ordered to be saddled, armed, and forwarded to the grounds, where the said insult was committed, and where he was present, when that execrable crime was perpetrated.

VIII. IX. It further appears, that the sixth and seventh followers, whom the head of this conspiracy, the Duke of Aveiro, engaged in it, were the criminals, Antony-Alvares Ferreira, formerly keeper of the wardrobe to the said duke, and Joseph Policarp de Azevedo, brother-in-law to the same Antony-Alvares. It being fully proved, that both the said criminals went several times on foot, and horseback, in company of the said duke, in order to become acquainted with the carriage in which his majesty usually rode; that, for this purpose, he ordered

them to buy two horses not known, which the criminal Antony-Alvares did; that he also ordered them to buy unknown arms, which the aforesaid criminal, Antony-Alvares, did not buy; he, together with his said brother-in-law, making use of one blunderbuss of his own, of another which was borrowed, and of two pistols, which he had borrowed from a foreigner, (under pretext of making trial of them.) That the premium, which these two most savage criminals received from the duke, was forty moidores; sixteen at one time, four at another, and twenty at another: that immediately after having discharged the said arms on the back of the carriage, the said Antony-Alvares, and his brother-in-law, retreated directly to Lisbon: and finally, that the criminal Antony-Alvares, going two days afterwards to the house of the duke, he reproached him greatly, saying: "That those shot had been of no service: and uttering (with his finger on his mouth, and great serenity) the following words, "Hush! for the devil himself can know nothing of the matter, if thou dost not tell him;" and charging him not to sell the horses directly, that he might not become suspected. . . .

X. It further appears, that the eighth follower, whom the Duke de Aveiro drew into his conspiracy, was Emanuel-Alvares Ferreira, who brought to the said duke the cloaks and wigs with which he disguised himself the night of the insult: who till the time of his being taken, concealed the knowledge he had of the whole transaction; and who was the very person, that at the country-house of Azeitao, made the resistance, by snatching the

sword from the side of the notary Lewis-Antony de Leiro, when he honourably and resolutely stopped the Duke of Aveiro, in the escape he was attempting to make.

XI. It further appears, that the ninth follower was John Michael, attending page, and the grand confident of the aforesaid duke : this appearing, by the name of John, to have been, in the night of the third of September of the last year, one of the associates in the insult in question : and his said master afterwards declaring this very criminal, John Michael, to have been the very identic John, who was associated with him under the arch.

It further appears, that, by means of all the confederacies, associations and assistances, above-rehearsed, the aforesaid three ringleaders of this conspiracy, and their associates, prepared and executed the most horrid insult of the said night of the third of September of last year, in manner following ; namely,

That after Joseph Mascarenhas, and Lady Eleanor of Tavora, had settled a most sordid gathering, to which the other associates did also contribute, towards making up the poultry sum of 192 milreis, which were the premium given to the two savage and unnatural assassins, Antony-Alvares Ferreira, and Joseph Policarp ; and after, with the two infamous and savage malefactors aforesaid, the associates in the crime had completed the number of eleven, they all posted themselves on horseback, divided into different parties, or ambuscades, within the little tract of ground which lies between the northern extremity of the houses belonging to the garden called do Meyo, and

the opposite southern extremity of the garden called de Cima, through which our Lord the King usually returned home, when he had been abroad in a private manner, as was the case the night of the most horrible insult in question ; that if his majesty escaped from the first way-layings, he might not fail of being destroyed by the others which succeeded them.

It further appears, that our said lord having turned the corner of the said northern extremity of the above-mentioned houses belonging to the garden do Meyo, the ringleader of the conspiracy, Joseph Mascarenhas, came forth immediately from the arch, which was in that place, and presented against Costodio da-Costa, the coachman who drove his majesty, a blunder-buss, which missing fire, and warring the coachman with the snap and sparks from the flint, obliged him, without declaring to his majesty what he had seen and heard, to push on the mules, so as to avoid the murder which he apprehended. The miscarriage of this firing was the first of the apparent miracles, with which the Divine Omnipotence, in that most fatal night, succoured all these realms, by the preservation of the inestimable life of his majesty ; it being impossible he should have escaped, if, the coachman falling dead with that infamous discharge, our said lord had remained a prey in the hands of those horrible monsters, who stood armed, in so many and such neighbouring ambushes against his most august and precious life.

It further appears, that on account of the hasty pace with which the coachman endeavoured to save himself, the two most savage malefactors,

ufactors, Antony-Alvares and Joseph Policarp, who were posted in the ambush, immediately following, could not take a steady aim at the spot against which they should fire. Wherefore galloping after the said carriage, they fired as fast as they possibly could upon the back of the same, the two sacrilegious and execrable shot, which caused in his majesty's most august and most sacred person, those most grievous and most dangerous wounds and dilacerations; which, from the right shoulder along the arm and down to the elbow on the outside, and also on the inner part of the same, occasioned a considerable loss of substance, from the variety of the contusions: six of which went so far as to offend the breast; a great number of slugs being extracted from them all. Whence on one hand is manifestly seen the cruelty with which the slugs were preferred to bullets, in order by that means the more certainly to secure the most fatal purpose of that savage and sacrilegious insult: and, on the other, that this was the second of the miraculous works of the Divine Omnipotence in that most unfortunate night, for the common benefit of these realms: for it cannot be in the common order of events, nor can it be in any wise ascribed to the casualty of accidental occurrences, that two charges of slugs, fired out of such pieces, should make their way through the narrow space of a carriage, without totally and absolutely destroying the persons who were in such carriage. . . .

It further appears, that this miraculous event was followed by a third, equal to it, or rather greater. For our Lord God making

use in that critical conjuncture of his majesty's heroic courage and unshaken serenity, to manifest his prodigies to us; his majesty not only bore those unexpected and most torturing mischiefs, without uttering a single word which indicated a complaint; but took the wonderful resolution to order the carriage to return back immediately from where he then was, to the house of the chief surgeon of the kingdom; where, not suffering his wounds to be uncovered till he had, by the sacrament of penance, first returned thanks to the supreme King of kings, for the preservation of his life from so great a danger, he first confessed at the feet of a minister of the gospel, and then proceeded with the same silence, serenity, and firmness, to submit to the painful operations necessary towards a cure. By these means his majesty avoided the perils from the other savage associates in the crime, which he could not have escaped, had he continued the route he was accustomed to take in returning home to his palace.

It further appears, that the aforesaid criminals assembled again the said night, and instead of shewing any symptoms of remorse, boasted of it one with another; the criminal Joseph Mascarenhas, then Duke of Aveiro, beating on the stones the blunderbuss, which had missed going off, and saying, in a passion, these infernal words, "Damnation seize thee! when I want thee, thou art of no use to me." The criminal Francis-Alfizes, expressing some doubt whether his majesty had perished; the said criminal Joseph Mascarenhas re-assuming the discourse said, "No matter, if he is not dead, he shall die." Another

ther of the associates taking up these words and replying, with the most impious threat, "The point is, that if he do but go abroad." And the other criminal Joseph-Maria of Tavora enquiring with great composure after the associate John Michael, who was not as yet arrived. On the day immediately following, in a family meeting, in consequence of the same inflexible obstinacy, savage despair, and deplorable abandon of all divine graces, they there persisted, some in reproaching the assassins Antony-Alvares and Joseph Policarp, for that they had not aimed their fires in such a manner, as to complete all their most mischievous intent: others in boasting, that they should have effectually completed the said execrable intent, had our Lord the King passed by the ambushes, where they themselves were posted to way-lay him, instead of turning back, as he did, by the descent of Ajuda to Juazeira.

It further appears, that, even if all the exuberant and conclusive proofs above rehearsed had really been wanting, the presumptions of the law, which condemns the ringleaders and such others as his majesty shall be pleased to permit, would amply suffice: for whereas all presumptions of the law are held for so many every way uncontrollable proofs, which dispense with the want of every other proof, and lay the person, who has them against him, under the incumbency of producing other contrary proofs, of such strength and efficacy, as may conclusively destroy them: not one only, but many are the presumptions in law, which the said ringleaders of this conspiracy, and principally the criminal Joseph

Mascarenhas, heretofore Duke of Aveiro, and the perverted members of the society of Jesus, have against them.

It further appears, in confirmation of the above premises, that whereas the law presumes that he who has been once bad, will be always such, in crimes of the same species with that he has already committed; not one, but many have been the iniquities which these two ringleaders have meditated against the august person and most happy government of our Lord the King, by a series of facts continued from the very commencement of his majesty's most happy government.

It further appears, with regard to the said jesuits, that finding themselves, by his majesty's incomparable penetration, deprived of that despotism in this court, without which they could by no means cover the usurpations they had made in the Portugal dominions in Africa, Asia, and America; and much less palliate the open war, which they had kindled in the north and south of the states of Brazil; they devised the most detestable intrigues against his majesty's high renown, and the public tranquillity, by various projects of an execrable nature in order to excite seditions in the very heart of the court and kingdom, and to draw the scourge of war upon the subjects thereof. From all which it follows that the said jesuits are thereby constituted in the proper terms of the aforesaid rule and presumption of the law; and it would then suffice, if all other proofs had failed, to convince our minds, that they were afterwards the persons, who devised the in-

sult

sult in question; till they should prove, in a conclusive manner, that the criminals guilty thereof were other people.

It further appears, in still fuller confirmation of all that has been said, that at the juncture in which our Lord the King was disconcerting all those wicked devices of the jesuits, by deposing the royal penitentiaries of that fraternity, and by forbidding to all the members thereof all access to the palace, it was seen on one hand, that instead of being humble, so far did they behave on the reverse, that they openly and undisguisedly went on, increasing in arrogance and pride, publicly bragging, that the more the court threw them off so much the more the nobility clung to them; threatening the court with divine chastisements, and suggesting, till the very latter end of August, that his majesty's life would be short; that the month of September would be the final period of it; and Gabriel Malagrida writing to different persons of the court, the said most wretched prognostics, in tone of prophecies: on the other hand, in contradiction of all this, it was seen, that when the criminals guilty of this horrible conspiracy were seized, the tone of the fraternity was suddenly changed; and John Henriques, their provincial, writing to Rome, implores the fathers of their order to recommend them to God, for that all the community were in great affliction; that the publick involved them in the insult of September 3d, and sentenced them to imprisonments, exiles, and a total expulsion from the court and kingdom; that they were in the greatest straits, in the utmost calami-

ty, full of dreads and frights, without any consolation, and without any hopes thereof, &c. Their resulting from these two contradictory extremes of writing this plain demonstration; that, before the said insult, they confided in the conspiracy, which emboldened them to speak and write with so much temporal haughtiness, and with so much spiritual arrogance, and in a tone of fatal and sacrilegious prophecy, and that after the discovery, all that chimerical structure of pride and arrogance, necessarily sunk into that abject faint-heartedness, which is indispensibly annexed to the conviction of guilt, and the want of means to cover and support the dissimulation with which it was committed.

With regard to the other ring-leader, Don Joseph Mascarenhas, that he also would be found under the same presumptions of the law, even had there been nothing more against him; for it is notorious that from the time of the decease of our late Lord the King, Don John V. to the present, he was author of the innumerable intrigues and cabals, with which he filled the court of our Lord the King, in order to surprise his majesty, and obstruct his resolutions, as well in the courts of judicature as in the cabinet, by means of the faction of his uncle F. Gaspar da Encarnação, and of his own party, in such manner as that neither truth nor his approach the presence of our said lord, nor any resolutions be taken, which were not obreptitious, subreptitious, and founded on false and captious informations. And as to the presumption that he was the person who committed the execrable insult in question, it will suffice



suffice to reflect, that both before and after it, he acted the very same part, which was acted by the jesuits: his pride and arrogance before it were generally scandalous, but after it had failed of producing the horrible effect, all that pride and arrogance sunk into confusion and dread, shunning the court, and retiring to his country-seat at Azeitao, where he was seized, after attempting to save himself, first by flight, and then by an ill-judged resistance.

With regard to Lady Eleanor of Tavora, heretofore marchioness of that title, the third ringleader, it is notorious, that her diabolical spirit of pride and insatiable ambition, was sufficient to excite her into the greatest insults. Instigated by those blind and ardent passions she had the boldness (along with her husband) to offer a remonstrance to our Lord the King, for him to be made a duke, notwithstanding his insignificant services had been fully requited with the promotions he had obtained in India; and that there were no precedent in the chanceries of the realm, of any person of his post being promoted to that title; yet both the said criminals, without consideration or shame, were instantly persecuting the secretary of state for domestic affairs for that promotion; inso-much, that in order to check those importunities, it became necessary to make them comprehend in a polite and decent manner, that their pretension had no precedent to support it: this proved the foundation of that passion, with which the said marchioness went and reconciled herself with the Duke of Aveiro, in order to obtain by his favour, with the ruin of his majesty

and the monarchy, that ducal title, which her vehement ambition had inflamed her with. However, all that pride, ambition and haughtiness, which she had exerted till the fatal epoch of the execrable insult of the third of September last, did after the said insult, fall spiritless into manifest confusion and dismay.

All which considered, and the rest contained in the process, this tribunal, to the end that it may proportion the penalties deserved by these infamous and sacrilegious criminals as much as possible to their execrable and most scandalous crimes.

“ They condemn the criminal Joseph Mascarenhas (who is already unnaturalized, divested of the honours and privileges of a Portuguese, and of those of a vassal and servant; degraded of the order of St. Jago, of which he was a commendatory; and resigned up to this tribunal and to the lay justice, which is therein administered) to the punishment, that he, as one of the three heads, or chief ringleaders of this infamous conspiracy, and of the abominable insult which resulted from it, be conveyed, with a halter about his neck, and proclamation of his crimes, to the square upon the quay of the town of Belem; and that there, upon a high scaffold, which shall be sufficiently elevated for his punishment to be visible to the whole people, whom the scandal of his most horrible crime has offended, after he has been broken alive, by the fracture of the eight bones of his legs and arms, he be exposed on a wheel, for the satisfaction of the present and future vassals of this realm: and that, after this execution being done, the same criminal be burnt alive,

alive, with the said scaffold on which he was executed, till all be reduced by fire into ashes and powder, which shall be thrown into the sea, that there may be no more notice taken of him or his memory: and though, as a criminal guilty of the abominable crimes of rebellion, sedition, high-treason, and parricide, he be already condemned by the tribunal of military orders, to the confiscation and forfeiture of all his real and personal estate to the use of the crown, as has been practised in these cases, wherein the crime of high-treason of the first rate has been committed; nevertheless, considering this as having been a case so unexpected, so unusual, and so extravagantly horrible and unthought of by the laws, that not even they have provided for, nor can there be found therein a punishment proportionable to its exorbitant foulness; therefore from this motive our said lord was entreated in the consultation of this court, and his majesty was pleased, in conformity to its request, to grant it the ample jurisdiction to establish all the punishments, which should be settled by a plurality of votes, over and above those, which by the laws, and the dispositions of law, are already established: and considering that the punishment, the most conformable to equity, is that of erasing and obliterating, by every means, every memorial, of the name and remembrance of such enormous criminals; they also condemn the same criminal, not only in the penalties of the common law, that his arms and achievements, where-ever placed, be pulled down, and rent in pieces; and that the houses, and material

edifices of his abode be demolished, and erased in such sort, that there may not a sign of them remain, being reduced to a wild, and covered with salt; but also, that all effective houses or estates by him enjoyed, in those parts thereof, which have been established in properties of the crown, or have issued from thence, be confiscated, and from this time forward forfeited, with effectual reversion, and reincorporation in the said crown, from whence they derived, &c.—The same they order to be observed, with respect to the copyholds of any kind whatever, with the proviso established, concerning the sale thereof in benefit of the lords of the manors. With regard to the other entailed estates, settled with the patrimony of the entailers, they declare, that the statutes are to be observed, in benefit of those, who ought to succeed to them."

They condemn to the same pains the criminal Francis-Affizes of Tavora, and ordain, that no persons whatever shall use the surname of Tavora, on pain of confiscation and outlawry.

They condemn the two savage monsters Antonio-Alvares Ferreira and Joseph Policarp, who fired the two sacrilegious shot, to be conveyed with halters about their necks to the great square; and that being there exalted on two posts, fire be set to them, which shall consume them alive, till their bodies be reduced to ashes and powder, which shall be thrown into the sea, their dwelling-houses erased, and their names blotted out. But the criminal Joseph Policarp having absconded, a power is given to any body to seize and kill him,

and a reward of 10,000 cruzados is offered for bringing him dead or alive before the senator of the palace; or 20,000 if taken in a foreign country.

They condemn the criminals Lewis - Bernard of Tavora, Don Jerome of Ataide, Joseph-Maria of Tavora, Blaize - Joseph Romeiro, John Michael, and Emanuel-Alvares, to be conveyed to the same place of execution, with halters about their necks, to be first strangled, and afterwards to have the eight bones of their legs and arms broken, and then their bodies to be reduced by fire into powder, and thrown into the sea, &c. with confiscation and forfeiture of goods, &c. to the use of the crown, demolition, erazement, and salting of their dwelling-houses, and pulling down and defacement of arms and achievements.

And the criminal, Lady Eleanor of Tavora, for certain just considerations, they condemn, only to be conveyed to the same place of execution, with a halter about her neck, and there to be beheaded, her body reduced to powder by fire, and thrown also into the sea, &c. with extinction of memory, and all other confiscations.

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*Observations on the sentence pronounced upon the conspirators against the life of the King of Portugal. By William Shirley, late of Lisbon, merchant.*

**M**R. Shirley's principal objection against the pamphlet on which he animadverts is, that it does not exhibit the evidence by

which the facts alledged in it were proved; that the letters said to have been written by the jesuits, are not made public; and that the criminals were proceeded against with more severity, than those who attempted to assassinate a former King of Portugal, tho' their crime was attended with many aggravations, from which the crime of these is free. The four lords who were executed for a conspiracy against John IV. in 1641, were conveyed to a great square in the city, called the Rocio, the preceding night, and lodged in separate apartments of the same house. On the next morning they were conducted from the first floor of the house by a passage which had been built on purpose, up to a scaffold, whereon there were placed four armed chairs in which they were executed, with an observance of rank in their situations; Don Agostinho Manoel's being placed on the floor of the scaffold: the Conde de Armamar's on an elevation of one step; that of the Marquis of Villareal on one of two steps; and that of the Duke of Caminha on one of three; while all the meaner conspirators were hanged on a higher gallows than ordinary, and afterwards quartered. Thus far were the proceedings against those offenders without any levelling of distinction. The noblemen had no halters put about their necks, nor were condemned to any such ignominy. When they went separately out, each had his thumbs tied together with a black ribbon, and was accompanied by judges, justices, gentlemen, and his own servants, with Portugal king at arms, in his habit, to make the publication of offences; and they were afterwards buried in sacred ground.

ground. Nay, with such humanity does a cotemporary court writer treat of their suffering, that he mentions, with detestation, a barbarity of the rabble's towards the Marquis of Villareal in the following words: "The executioner, who with his face covered performed the execution, bound him by the arms and legs to the chair in which he was seated. In this horrid situation, he sent to ask of the people, who in great numbers were assembled in the Rocio, their pardon for the offence he had committed against the kingdom. But that blind and outrageous monster imagined the pardon he asked was, that he might live, and with high fury repeated three times, Die. An outrage that greatly affected the spirits of those who were less inconsiderate." Such was the decorum of high judicial proceedings in those days; such were the regards paid to rank in the worst of offenders; and such the delicacy of representation of the matter by a court author; in all points far differing from what we have lately seen and heard of from the same country.

Mr. Shirley, upon this occasion, relates a barbarous execution made by Peter the first, surnamed the Cruel, in the year 1357. Peter had married in his father's life-time, and was become a widower with but one son; and having had an intrigue with Donna Agnes de Castro, a lady of distinction, his passion for her became so violent that he was married to her in secret. His father, Alfonso IV. who had no other son living, nor any collateral heirs to his crown, knowing of Peter's amour, but not of his marriage, was extremely desirous of espousing him to another; but finding his son's

attachment to a supposed mistress unalterable, he at last employed three of his courtiers to make away with her. This they did, unhappily for themselves; for Peter soon after succeeded to the throne, when they, fearing his indignation, fled the kingdom. But his wrath was so implacable, that he was determined on revenge, and accordingly agreed with Peter the Cruel of Castile, to give up some offenders to him, who had taken shelter in Portugal, for Pedro Coelbo and Alvaro Gonsalves, two of the assassins; as for Deogo Lopez, the third, he fortunately got a securer sanctuary. When he had those two men in his power, he ordered their hearts to be torn out alive, and their bodies to be burned, which was accordingly executed in his presence. This, however, Mr. Shirley observes, appears to have been no condemnation of the law, but the arbitrary act of an inflamed tyrannical spirit, as may be judged from the frantic extravagance of affection that appeared in every thing he did concerning that lady, whose body he caused to be taken from the grave, had it solemnly crowned, obliging the states of the kingdom to kiss her hand, in token of their acknowledging her for queen, and then buried her at the royal convent of Alcobaca, with every circumstance of regal pomp, declaring her to have been legally his wife; and some of the children he had by her he moreover caused to be acknowledged for legitimate princes.

There is in this pamphlet another remarkable relation, which we extract with great pleasure, not only because it produces a lively sense of the privilege of British subjects, but because it is a striking proof, that

that the cruelty practised in other countries is ineffectual for the purposes it is intended to answer.

A conscientious judge having observed the effect of the rack on supposed criminals, in making them ready to confess any thing, to the sacrificing of their lives, in order to get released from the torture, felt in his own mind some strong sensations on the conviction of accused persons by such methods; inasmuch that, from something which had happened in a particular case, his concern was so great as to determine him upon trying an experiment.

It is a capital crime in that country to kill a horse or a mule, and he happened to have one of the former species which he very much esteemed. In prosecuting of his scheme, he took care one night to keep all his servants employed, so that no one but the groom could go into the stable. But, when all were afterwards fast asleep in their beds, he stole thither himself, and cut off the tail of his horse, by which wound the creature bled to death. Great confusion, it may be supposed, followed the discovery of the mischief on the succeeding morning, when the master, upon being informed of what had happened, appeared highly incensed. Strict enquiries being made about the person who could have committed the crime, the other servants all found means easily for the justifying of their own innocence, so that the whole of the imputation of course rested on the groom, who was thereupon apprehended and committed to prison. The poor fellow upon his arraignment, it may be supposed, pleaded not guilty; but the presumptions being very strong a-

gainst him, he was ordered to the rack, where the extremity of torture soon wrung from him a confession of the crime, he choosing to submit to death, rather than endure the misery he was undergoing. Upon this confession he had sentence of hanging passed upon him, when his master (who from having been prosecutor, could not of course be one of his judges) went to the tribunal, and there exposed the fallibility of confessions obtained by such means, by owning the fact himself, and disclosing the motives that had influenced his making the experiment: since which time the practice has been discontinued of applying the torture in any cases that are determined in their public courts.

*Translation of an intercepted letter from M. Lally, to M. de Leyrit.*

*From the camp before Madras, the 14th of February, 1759.*

A Good blow might be struck here: there is a ship in the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The Expedition is just arrived, but M. Gorlin is not a man to attack her: for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas; and on the vague report of 13 ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright; and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough, even to take on board twelve

twelve of her own guns, which she had lent out for the siege.

If I was the judge of the point of honour of the company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforesaid Bristol, with her twelve guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are said to be good men; and were they employed only to transport 200 wounded men, that we have here, their service would be of importance.

We remain still in the same position; the breach made these 15 days; all the time within 15 toises of the wall of the place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

I reckon we shall, at our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavouring to learn some other trade; for this of war requires too much patience.

Of 1500 Cipayes which attended our army, I reckon near 800 are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugars, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we came here.

I am taking my measures from this day, to set fire to the Blacktown, and to blow up the powder mills.

You will never imagine, that 50 French deserters, and 100 Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of 2000 men of the King's and company's troops, which are still here existing, notwithstanding the

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exaggerated accounts that every one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made of them; and you will be still more surprized, if I tell you that, were it not for the two combats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or, speaking more properly, which were unskilfully made, we should not have lost 50 men, from the commencement of the siege to this day.

I have wrote to M. de Larche, that if he persist in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Paleagers for me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling, directly or indirectly, with anything whatever, that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go, and command the Caffres of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy, sooner or later, even though that from heaven should not.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Signed, LALLY."

P. S. I think it necessary to apprise you, that, as M. de Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is impowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back, either to Arcotte, or Sadrasse. Send therefore your orders, or come yourselves, to command it; for I shall quit it upon my arrival there.

Q

Articles

*Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies the hon. Major General Barrington, and John Moore, Esq; commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's land and sea forces in these seas, and M. Nadau Dutreil, governor for his most christian majesty, of Gaudaloupe, Grande Terre, Deserades, and the Saintes.*

## ARTICLE I.

**W**HE the governor, staff and other officers, of the regular troops, shall march out of our posts, with one mortar, two field-pieces of brass cannon, with ten rounds for each piece, arms, baggage, and the honours of war. Granted, except the mortar; and as to the cannon we will allow only four rounds for each piece; and on condition that the troops of his Britannic majesty shall take possession of the different posts at the three rivers, and the hospital to-morrow morning the second of May, at eight o'clock; and that all magazines of provisions, ammunition, and implements of war, as well as all papers relating to the revenue, be delivered into the possession of a commissary to be named by us for that purpose.

II. That we shall be sent to Martinico, in a good vessel, well provided, and by the shortest passage. Granted.

III. That the commissary-general, officers of justice, admiralty, and all such as have the King's commission, shall likewise be sent to Martinico in a good vessel, and well provided, and by the shortest passage. Granted only for the commissary-general, and to the officers

of the admiralty, and refused to the other.

IV. That the staff and other officers shall have leave to take with them their wives and children to Martinico; and shall have a good vessel well provided to carry them by the shortest passage. Granted.

V. That the staff and other officers shall have the same number of servants granted them, as were allowed by the most christian King, viz. To the governor 24; to the commissary-general 24; to the lieutenant-governor 18; to the fort-major 15; to the captains 12 each; to the lieutenants eight each; and to the ensigns six each. Granted.

VI. That it shall be allowed to all the officers who have estates in this colony (except me the governor, unless the King permits me also) to appoint attornies to act for them until the peace; and if the island is not then ceded, the above mentioned officers shall have leave to sell their estates, and carry off the produce. Granted.

VII. That a good vessel shall be allowed to the lady of M. Ducleu, lieutenant-governor-general of the islands, and captain of one of the King's ships, to carry her to Martinico, with her equipage, furniture, and plate, and servants suitable to her rank: and also to the governor's lady, and the wives and widows of the staff officers of this island. Granted: one vessel for all the ladies.

VIII. That M. de Folleville, lieutenant governor of Martinico, shall have a good vessel to carry him and his volunteers thither, by the shortest passage, with only such

such arms, baggage, and servants, as they brought with them. Granted.

IX. That the Sieur Avril of Dominico and his detachment, shall be sent thither with their arms and baggage. Granted.

X. That the prisoners, soldiers, and sailors, shall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

XI. That all the negroes who were enlisted and continued till the last day of the attack, in the companies of Bologne, Petit, Dumolier, and Ruby, agreeable to the list that will be given in of them, shall have their freedom at the expence of the colony, as by agreement. Granted, upon condition that they are immediately sent out of the island.

XII. That the men belonging to the privateers, who desire to go to Martinico, shall have a vessel to carry them thither. Granted.

XIII. That there shall be a reasonable time allowed for removing the furniture, effects, and cloaths that are in the reduit, or other places, belonging to the persons who are to be sent to Martinico; and that his excellency General Barrington, shall grant his protection for the safe conveyance of the above-mentioned effects to the place of embarkation. Granted.

XIV. That there shall be an hospital ship provided for the wounded and sick that are in a condition to be removed; and the rest shall be taken care of and sent with a flag of truce to Martinico, as soon as they are recovered. Granted. Those that remain here shall be taken care of, at the expence of his most christian majesty.

XV. That the subjects formerly belonging to the King of Great

Britain, who for crimes were forced to fly their country, and have carried arms in this island, shall be pardoned, and allowed to remain in the island as inhabitants. They must go out of the island.

XVI. That the same honours, and conditions shall be granted to the King's troops in the Grande Terre, as are given to those in Gaudaloupe. They shall have neither mortar nor cannon.

XVII. That the troops at the head of the reduit, as well as those at the three rivers, shall march to the post of the camp de la Garde, and remain there until the day of embarkation.

The transport ships shall be at the great bay to-morrow morning to receive the troops of the garrison, the privateers men, and those who are to pass to Martinico.

John Moore. J. Barrington.  
Nadau Dutreil.

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*Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies the hon. Major General Barrington, and John Moore, Esq; commanders in chief of his Britannic majesty's land and sea forces in those seas, and the inhabitants of the island of Gaudaloupe, represented by Messrs. Debourg, De Clairvilliers, and Duquerny, by virtue of full powers to them given for that purpose, and authorised by Monsieur Dutreil, Knight of the noble military order of St. Louis, governor of the island.*

#### ARTICLE I.

THE inhabitants shall march out of their posts, with all the honours of war, viz. with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying,



ing, drums beating, and lighted match. Granted, in consideration of the brave defence which the inhabitants have made, during an attack of three months upon condition that they lay down their arms, so soon as they have marched by our troops; and that a'll the forts, posts, batteries, cannon, mortars, firelocks, and bayonets, with all kind of ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to a commissary to be named by us; and that we shall have a power of fixing garrisons in all such places, as we shall think proper.

II. The inhabitants of the islands of Martinico, Marigalante, and Dominico, who came to the assistance of this island, shall have leave to retire, with their arms and baggage, and a ship shall be provided to carry them and the servants they brought with them, to their respective islands, with provision for their passage. Granted, excepting those from Marigalante, who shall be sent to Martinico.

III. The inhabitants shall be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; the priests and religious shall be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions; and the superiors of the several orders shall be permitted to send for such as they think necessary, from France, and the neighbouring islands; but all letters wrote upon this occasion shall be transmitted by the governor appointed by his Britannic majesty. Granted.

IV. They shall observe a strict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms against his most Christian majesty, or against any other power. Granted, on condition that they take an oath within a month, or

sooner, if possible, to maintain all the clauses of the capitulation, as well as to remain exactly faithful and neuter.

V. They shall be allowed their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordinances; justice shall be administered by the same persons who are now in office; and what relates to the interior police of the island shall be settled between his Britannic majesty's governor and the inhabitants. And in case this island shall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, at the peace, the inhabitants shall have their choice, either to keep their own political government or to accept that which is established at Antigua and St. Christopher's. Granted; but when any vacancies happen in the seats of justice, the superior council of the island is to name proper persons to fill up those vacancies, who must receive their commissions from his Britannic majesty; and all acts of justice whatsoever, are to be in his name. But in regard to any change in the political government, we grant it, if agreeable to his majesty's pleasure.

VI. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, shall be maintained in the property and enjoyment of their possessions, goods moveable and immoveable, noble and ignoble, of what nature soever they be; and shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions: and the free negroes and mulattoes in their liberty. Granted.

VII. They shall pay no other duties to his Britannic majesty, but such as they have hitherto paid to his most christian majesty, without any charge or imposts; the expences attending the administration of

of justice, the pensions to curates, and other customary charges, shall be paid out of the revenue of his Britannic majesty, in the same manner as under the government of his most christian majesty. Granted; but if this island is ceded to his Britannic majesty at the peace, it shall be subject to the same duties and imposts as the other English Leeward islands the most favoured.

VIII. All prisoners taken during the attack of this island, shall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

IX. The free mulattoes and negroes, who have been taken, shall be considered as prisoners of war, and not treated as slaves. Granted.

X. The subjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in this island, whether criminals or debtors shall have leave to retire. Granted.

XI. No other but the inhabitants actually residing in this island shall possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant or otherwise, before a peace; but if at a peace this island should be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the English government, shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed. Granted; but such of the inhabitants as chuse to retire, shall have leave to sell to none but subjects of Great Britain.

XII. In case there should be any exchange at the peace, their Britannic and most Christian majesties are desired to give the preference to this island. This will depend on his majesty's pleasure.

XIII. The inhabitants shall have free liberty to send their children to

be educated in France, and to send for them back; and to make remittances to them whilst there. Granted.

XIV. The absent inhabitants, and such as are in the service of his most Christian majesty, shall be maintained in the enjoyment and property of their estates, which shall be managed for them by attornies. Granted.

XV. The wives of officers and others, who are out of the island, shall have leave to retire with their effects, and a number of servants, suitable to their rank. Granted.

XVI. The English government shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be imported into England. Granted; as the island produces nothing but what may be imported into England.

XVII. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to furnish quarters for the troops, nor slaves to work on the fortifications. Granted; but barracks will be provided as soon as possible, for the lodgment of the troops; and such negroes, who shall be employed, with the consent of their masters, in public works, shall be paid for their labour.

XVIII. The widows, and other inhabitants, who through illness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot immediately sign the capitulation, shall have a limited time allowed them to accede to it. Granted; but all the inhabitants who chuse to partake of the advantage of the capitulation, shall be obliged to sign it within a month from the date hereof, or to quit the island.

XIX. The men belonging to the privateers, and others who have no property in the island, and are desirous to leave it, shall have vessels

to carry them to Martinico or to Dominico (at their option) and shall be furnished with provisions for the passage. Nevertheless those persons who have any debts with the inhabitants of the island, shall be obliged to settle their accounts with them before they leave the island. Granted.

XX. The inhabitants shall have leave to give freedom to such negroes as they have promised it to, for the defence of this island. Granted, on consideration they are immediately sent off the island.

XXI. The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his Britannic majesty's subjects throughout the extent of his dominions. Granted, but without affecting the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on the trade in any other than English bottoms.

XXII. The deputies of the Grand Terre, not having a sufficient power to sign the capitulation, though the colony adheres to the conditions of it, under the authority of M. Naudou, may sign it when they have their full powers, and they will be comprehended in all the clauses. Granted.

Given at the head quarters in the Cape terre Guadeloupe, the 1st day of May, 1759.

*J. Farrington. John Moore.  
Nadau Dutrei! D. de Clairvilliers.  
Duqueruy.*

ed that they had in their power one of the robbers, who they however released, although the Lords of the Admiralty offer five hundred pounds reward for an evidence of the fact. The Earl of Holderness wrote the following letter to M. Hop, the Dutch resident at London, on receiving a complaint of this sort.

“Sir, the letter, which you have been pleased to write to me, a few days since, gave me the first advice of a piracy committed by an English ship. I immediately gave notice thereof to the Admiralty. By the following post, I received from Mr. Yorke, a circumstantial account of that affair, and saw with great regret that they had released in Holland the English seaman whom they had in custody, instead of sending him prisoner to England. I am persuaded, Sir, that you do justice to the sentiments of the King and of his ministry, and that you must be sensible how much they ardently wish to punish rigorously those who are found guilty of crimes, like unto that in question: but, at the same time, you cannot be ignorant, that the fundamental basis of our liberty is, that no person can be tried in a criminal case without witnesses. Therefore it appears astonishing, that such as have cause to complain of having been ill-treated in this manner, should not proceed formally, and in a due course of justice, against those from whom they received the damage; and the more so, as the Admiralty has offered, long since, a reward of 500 l. sterling, to whomsoever shall give information of, and prove an act of piracy. You know, Sir, that no magistrate can issue a warrant for the apprehending of any person accused, without taking depositions; and that, consequently, the

**T**HE Dutch having complained of fresh piracies committed on their ships, and even pretend-

the Admiralty cannot enter an action upon a simple representation.

This, Sir, is all I can say at present, in answer to your letter. I cannot, nevertheless, dispense with adding, that if it be true, that such kind of excesses have been frequent, you cannot render a more acceptable service to the King, than by enabling me to suppress these robberies, methodically, and according to the laws of the country, &c.

*Translation of the speech made to the King by the Dutch deputies, on delivering their credentials.*

**W**E have the honour, Sire, to present to your majesty our letter of credence from their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, our lords and masters. Your majesty will see, by its contents, how ardently their High Mightinesses desire to cultivate the sincere friendship which hath so long subsisted between the two nations, and which is so necessary to their common welfare. May we be happy enough, pursuant to our masters commands, to remove those difficulties which have for some time past diminished this friendship, and caused so much prejudice to the principal subjects of the republic, who, by the trade they carry on, are its greatest strength and chief support.

We place our whole confidence in your majesty's equity, for which the republic hath the highest regard; and in the good will your majesty hath always expressed towards a state, which on all occasions hath interested itself in promoting your glory, and which is the guardian of the precious trust left by a princess so dear to your majesty.

Full of this confidence, we presume to flatter ourselves, that your majesty will be graciously pleased to listen to our just demands; and we shall endeavour, during the course of our ministry, to merit your approbation, and to strengthen the bonds which ought to unite the two nations for ever.

*His Majesty's answer.*

Gentlemen, I have always had a regard for the republic, and I look upon their High Mightinesses as my best friends. If difficulties have arisen touching trade, they ought to be considered as the consequences of a burthenome war we are obliged to wage with France. You may assure their High Mightinesses, that I shall endeavour, on my part, to remove the obstacles in question; and I am glad to find, gentlemen, that you are come here with the same disposition.

*The following declarations were published by Count Dobna, a Prussian general, on his entering Poland with a body of Prussian troops.*

*On the 15th of June.*

**H**IS Prussian majesty finding himself under a necessity to cause part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them against the threatened invasion of the enemy, declares, that,

It must not be understood that his majesty by this step taken, intends to make any breach into the regard he has always had for the illustrious republic of Poland, or to lessen the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between them, but, on the contrary, to strengthen the same, in expectation that the illustrious

trious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is desired.

The nobility, gentry, and magistracy, in their respective districts, between the frontiers of Prussia, so far as beyond Posen, are required to furnish all kinds of provisions, corn, and forage, necessary to support an army of 40,000 men, with the utmost dispatch, with an assurance of being paid ready money for the same. But if, contrary to expectation, any deficiency should happen in supplying this demand, his majesty's troops will be obliged to forage, and use the same means as those taken by the enemy for their subsistence.

In confidence therefore that the several jurisdictions upon the Prussians frontiers, within the territories of Poland, will exert themselves to comply with this demand as soon as possible, for the subsistence of the royal army of Prussia, they are assured that thereby all disorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready money.

*On the 17th of June,*

It was with the greatest astonishment that the King my most gracious lord and master, heard that several of his own subjects had suffer'd themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far, as to enter into the service of a potentate, with whom he is at war: his majesty, therefore, makes known by these presents, that all of his subjects serving in the enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country,

Of which all whom it may concern are desired to take notice, &c.

*On the 22d of June.*

We invite and desire, that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbey, convents, seignories, magistrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road to Posen, and beyond it, would repair in person, or by deputies, in the course of this week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian head quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commissary at war, for the delivery of forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the Prussian troops to desert; that no assistance will be given them in such perfidious practices; that they will neither be sheltered, concealed, or lodged; which would be followed by very disagreeable consequences; we expect, on the contrary, that persons of all ranks and conditions will stop any run-away or deserter, and deliver him up at the first advanced post, or at the head quarters; and all expences attending the same shall be paid, and a reasonable gratification superadded.

If any one hath an inclination to enter into the King of Prussia's service, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years.

If any prince or member of the republic of Poland, be disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Prussian army, to make a common cause with it, he may depend on a  
gracious

gracious reception, and that due regard will be shewn to his merit, &c.

*Orders of his serene highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, relative to the behaviour of the troops under him at the famous battle near Minden on the 1st of August, 1759.*

**H**IS serene highness orders his greatest thanks to be given the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the English infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to General Wagenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps and Hammerstin's; the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His serene highness declares publickly, that next to God he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures them he shall retain the strongest sense of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occasion, he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure. His serene highness orders his particular thanks to be likewise given to General Sporcken, the Duke of Holstein, Lieutenant Generals Imhoff and Urff. His serene highness is extremely obliged to the Count de Buckeburg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was served with great effect; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz. Col. Browne, Lieutenant Colonel Hutte, Major

Hasse, and the three English captains, Phillips, Drummond, and Foy. His serene Highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to Major Generals Waldegrave and Kingley, for their great courage and good order, in which they conducted their brigades. His serene highness further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant General the Marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more compleat and more brilliant. In short, his serene highness orders, that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired, be named, as the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilton aid-de-camp to Major General Waldegrave, Adjutant Generals Erstoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the Count Tobe and Malerti; his serene highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. And his serene highness desires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occasions when orders are brought to them by his aid-de-camps, that they be obeyed punctually, and without delay."

And his serene highness on discovering a mistake in the preceding order of thanks, to the officers of the British artillery, by which Captain Macbean was omitted to be mentioned his serene highness was pleased to write a letter with his own hand, to Captain Macbean, which was delivered by his Excellency Count La Lippe Buckeburg, grand master of the artillery in the allied army, and of which the following is a translation.

SIR,

SIR,

"It is from a sense of your merit, and a regard to justice, that I do in this manner declare I have reason to be infinitely satisfied with your behaviour, activity, and zeal, which in so conspicuous a manner you made appear at the battle of Thonhausen on the first of August. The talents which you possess in your profession did not a little contribute to render our fire superior to the of the enemy; and it is to you and your brigade that I am indebted for having silenced the fire of a battery of the enemy, which extremely galled the troops, and particularly the British Infantry.

Accept then, sir, from me, the just tribute of my most perfect acknowledgments, accompanied with my sincere thanks. I shall be happy in every opportunity of obliging you, desiring only occasions of proving it, being with the utmost distinguished esteem,

Your devoted, and  
entirely affectionate servant,

FERDINAND,

Duke of Brunswick and  
Lunenburgh."

To Captain Macbean, of the  
Royal British artillery.

Again his serene highness on the third issued the following order.

"In the compliment his serene highness made to the troops yesterday, he forgot four regiments that particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Hardenburgh's, third battalion of Hessian guards, Prince William's, and Gillse's: it is not that his serene highness has reason to complain of any others. but as they had particular opportunities of distinguishing themselves, it is for that reason his serene highness mentions the at-

tention he himself gives to their good conduct."

"Head quarters at Bielefeld,  
Aug. 7, 1759.

"His serene highness Duke Ferdinand sent orders to Monsieur Hedeman, his treasurer, to pay the following officers of the British artillery the undermentioned gratuities, as a testimony of his great satisfaction of their gallant behaviour in the late action of the first of this month.

To Capt. Phillips 1000 crowns.

To Capt. Macbean 500

To Capt. Drummond 500

To Capt. Williams 500

To Capt. Foy 500

I hope the said gentlemen will accept of this present from his highness, as a mark of his particular esteem for them."

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*Several accounts of Marshal Belleisle's letters to Marshal de Contades, with Mr. Maubert's reflections upon them.*

**A**Mong the papers which were taken at Detmold, on the 5th of August, by his majesty's light troops, an original letter is found, from the Marshal Duc de Belleisle to Marshal Contades, dated Versailles, July 23, 1759, in which there is the following passage.

"I am still afraid that Fischer sets out too late: It is, however, very important, and very essential, that we should raise large contributions. I see no other resource for our most urgent expences, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we must likewise procure subsistence of all kinds (independently of the money) that

that is to say, hay, straw, oats, for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horses, even men, to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen, between this time and the end of September, to make a downright desert before the line of the quarters, which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us: at the same time reserving for ourselves a bare subsistence on the route which may be the most convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up, or seize upon the enemy's quarters. That this object may be fulfilled, I cause the greatest assiduity to be used, in preparing what is necessary for having all your troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, and well equipped, and well re-fitted, in every respect, before the end of November, with new tents, in order that if it should be advisable for the King's political and military affairs, you may be well able to assemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offensively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January: and that you may have the satisfaction to shew your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a general as you are, and a minister of the department of war, that can foresee, and concert matters with the general.

You must be sensible, sir, that what I say to you may become not only useful and honourable, but perhaps even necessary, with respect

to what you know, and of which I shall say more in my private letter."

M. DUC DE BELLEISLE.

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*Some account of the letters from the Duke de Belleisle to Marshal de Contades.*

THESE letters, which are undoubtedly genuine, were found among Contades's papers after the battle of Minden, and disclose many of those artifices which in a public capacity are practised without either compunction or disgrace, but which in a private capacity could only be the effect of habitual villainy, and would incur not only infamy, but the pillory. The following extracts are inserted to justify this censure:

"After observing all the formalities due to the magistrates of Cologne, you must seize on their great artillery by force, telling them, that you do so for their own defence against the common enemy of the empire; that you will restore them when their city has nothing farther to fear, &c. After all, you must take every thing you have occasion for, and give them receipts for it."——

"You must, at any rate, consume all sorts of subsistence on the higher Lippe, Paderborn, and Warburg; you must destroy every thing which you cannot consume, so as to make a desert of all Westphalia, from Lipstadt and Munster, as far as the Rhine, on one hand; and on the other, from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Cassel; that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or the Lower Roer;



and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under M. de Soubise, that they may not have it in their power to take possession of Cassel, and much less to march to Marpourg, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lahn, or to those which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left side of the Roer, and on the right side of the Rhine as far as Dusseldorp, and at Cologne."

"You know the necessity of consuming, or destroying, as far as is possible, all the subsistence, especially the forage, betwixt the Weser and the Rhine on the one hand; and on the other, betwixt the Lippe, the bishopric of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra; and so to make a desert of Westphalia and Hesse."—

"Although the Prince of Waldeck appears outwardly neutral, he is very ill disposed, and deserves very little favour. You ought, therefore, to make no scruple of taking all you find in that territory; but this must be done in an orderly manner, giving receipts, and observing the most exact discipline. All the subsistence you leave in his country will fall to the enemy's share, who will, by that means, be enabled to advance to the Lahn, and towards the quarters which you are to occupy on the left side of the Roer. It is therefore a precaution, become in a manner indispensibly necessary, to carry it all away from thence."—

"The question now is, what plan you shall think most proper for accomplishing, in the quickest and surest manner, our great purpose; which must be to consume, carry off, or destroy all the forage and subsistence of the country

which we cannot keep possession of."—

"The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the most plentiful; they must therefore, be eat to the very roots."—

"You did mighty well, to talk in the most absolute tone with regard to the necessaries Racroth and Dusseldorf must furnish our troops; it is necessary to speak in that tone to Germans; and you will find your account in using the same to the regencies of the Elector of Cologne, and still more to that of the Palatine."—

"After using all becoming ceremony, as we have the power in our hands, we must make use of it, and draw from the country of Berge what shall be necessary for the subsistence of the garrison of Dusseldorp, and of the light troops, and reserve what may be brought thither from Alsace and the bishoprics for a case of necessity."—

It appears by the following letter, written by the French King's agent at Cologne, to M. l'Abbe Bernis, that the accounts which have from time to time been published of the dissolute and irregular behaviour of the French troops were not without foundation.—

"Sir, I must not conceal from you what the chancellor told me; that the Elector was extremely surprised to see how little the French were on their guard. The French, said he to me, have neither guards, out-posts, nor centinels; there is no order in their camp, every body lives there in the utmost security, strangers walk there at pleasure, no body asks them any questions; they are suffered to go every where, even among your batteries; spies have nothing to fear there; they say

say, likewise, that Hanoverian officers in disguise, come there every day, hear every thing that is said, see every thing that passes, and observe all your posts : your councils of war are held in a tent, where they speak so loud, that the people in the field, if there be any thing nigh, hear every thing that is treated in them. We hear, however, that your army, after this day (which was the 6th) will encamp on one line; this gives us some security; but you see how much this exposes you, and us at the same time. Every day there is almost a third of your army taking their pleasure in Cologne, who frequently return to the camp drunk; and, it is said, that instead of paying your spies liberally, you think it enough to make them drink.

I have observed that within these two days that people have been informed of these particulars, fear and disquiet have very much increased at this court."

The exhausted state of the French finances, and the exigences to which they were driven long before the late stoppage of their payments, appears from the following extract.

"I am going to write a long letter to M. Gayot on the article of expences; they are insupportable; and as I am incessantly asking money from the comptroller general, who has none to give me, we must, at least, do our endeavour, and I beg you, Sir, to help me, as well as M. Gayot, to save, otherwise we shall want money for the most essential articles."

It appears also from the following passage, that the clamour of a corrupt and disappointed faction against our expeditions on the French coast

was the effect either of ignorance or of enmity to their country.

"You don't doubt how much I desire to procure you the pleasure of having your son and nephew with you. I had taken some steps towards it; but the new enterprise with which the English again threaten us, has obliged me to retain all the troops on the coasts. All the orders were already expedited. I have been obliged to dispatch couriers into Normandy, Bretagne, Poitou, and Annis, to draw all the troops nearer the coasts. How was it possible then for me, during the winter, to call back regiments which were posted on the most western parts of the coast, and order them to join your army? These regiments must have come to you quite harrassed and ruined, especially as they have had, and have still, many sick."

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*The following reflections on the publication of Belleisle's letter by the English ministry, are published in the Brussels Gazette, the author says, by desire.*

"IN consequence of the affair of the 1st of August, a part of the allied army carried off, among other papers of the Marshal de Contades of little importance, a dispatch of the Marshal de Belleisle, dated July 23, which turned chiefly on the measures which it might perhaps be proper to take for making a barrier, at the end of the campaign, between the quarters of the [French] King's army, and those of his Britannic majesty's forces.

A few days after, a part of the letter in question appeared in the Gazette that is printed at London

don by authority; and several papers, dispersed in England, have sufficiently shewn what was the design of the English ministry on publishing this passage. They flattered themselves that every body would, as they had done, take in the literal sense that passage, which mentions, that *perhaps it might be necessary to make a downright desert before the line of the quarters, which it might be thought proper to keep during the winter*; and that they should thereby be able to convict France of adopting a plan of devastation, which that crown will ever hold in abhorrence. We should not be surprised that it should be natural for the court of London, as if it were in spite of themselves, to give such a false and odious interpretation to the expression just mentioned: the unheard-of vexations exercised by their ally the King of Prussia in Saxony, in Mecklenbourg, and in Franconia, have accustomed them to think that there is no other method of making a barrier before the quarters to be kept but total devastation; but this sense will never enter into the heads of the impartial public on reading the passages, who know how repugnant such a conduct would be to that system of equity, disinterestedness, and moderation, from which France has never once departed. It is easy to conceive, that a country may be made a downright desert for an army, without making a desert for the inhabitants. To make a desert which may serve for a barrier against any enemy, is to leave in it no tenable post, nor any subsistence which might draw them thither: and in this sense the expression in the Marshal de Belleisle's

letter, of a downright desert, will be generally understood.

It is, moreover, sufficiently evident, from the very part of the letter which is published, that only subsistence proper for an army is meant; for it expressly says, *reserving for ourselves a bare subsistence on the route which may be most convenient for us to take in the middle of winter*. It should seem that this reflection escaped the English ministry. It were to be wished, for the sake of their honour, that the same supposition could be made with regard to some other passages, which they have not thought proper to publish: they may recollect one, in which M. de Contades is commended for the rigid discipline which he causes to be observed, and for the measures taken by him in relation to *some outrages committed at Osnaburg against the English prisoners*; and another passage, wherein it is expressly recommended to him, to see *that every body be satisfied, and that the country be not laid waste; and that nothing be taken by pillage, or any other kind of exaction*. This may suffice to shew the design of the English in publishing a part only of the Marshal de Belleisle's letter.

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*Translation of a letter from M. de la Clue to the Count de Meric, ambassador of France at the court of Lisbon, dated Lagos, Aug. 28.*

I Was not in a condition to write to your excellency when I dispatched a domestic to inform you of the disaster that had befallen the King's squadron under my command. I passed the Streights in the night between the 16th and 17th.

of

of August, with twelve ships of the line, and three frigates. I was not afraid of meeting Admiral Boscawen, though his squadron was stronger than mine; but by an unaccountable fatality, five of my ships and three frigates parted from me, so that next morning at day-break I found I had only seven with me; fortunately they were the largest, viz. the Ocean, the Redoubtable, the Centaur, the Guerrier, the Souverain, the Temeraire, and the Modeste. At sun-rising we discovered eight sail to windward; I believed them to be my ships, and waited for them, keeping as near the wind as possible, with very little sail. In a little time their number increased so much that we counted eighteen. I made no doubt of their being the enemy's fleet. I immediately determined to make all the sail I could to gain the weather gage, and made the proper signal to my ships, but I was obliged to wait for the Souverain, which is a heavy sailer, and by that means the enemy got up with me sooner than they would otherwise have done. Whilst the wind blew a brisk gale, they had no advantage over us: but at noon the wind dying away, I found that they sailed much better than we. At half an hour after two, the Centaur, Capt. de Sabran, which was in the rear, was attacked by two ships, one on the larboard, the other on the starboard side, and defended herself with uncommon bravery. The Guerrier was attacked soon after; then the Ocean and the Souverain. The heat of the action was with these four ships, each of which fought both sides of the ship without intermission. Admiral Boscawen, who came down upon me with all the

sail he could make, came athwart me within gun shot, about four o'clock, and poured a furious broadside into me, which I returned, and my shot were so well aimed that his mizen-mast was carried away, his main-top-sail yard came in two upon the deck, the sprit-sail yard and the jack-staff were cut away, all his sails were torn, and he sheered off to be out of the reach of my fire. I was struck at this time with a piece of iron, which made a large wound in my right leg, and broke my left leg; so that I was forced to leave the Count de Carne to fight the ship. Never was such a fire seen as my squadron kept up. I have all reason in the world to believe, that if I had all my ships I should have beat them. The English admiral, on leaving me, fell upon the Centaur, and made the fifth ship which she had to engage; so that she was forced to strike after performing prodigies of valour. At night the engagement ceased, the enemy kept the wind under an easy sail.

I cannot express to your excellency the valour and courage shewn by our ships companies, which did not slacken one moment. The enemy's superiority did not frighten them. This was, no doubt, owing to the example of the officers, who discovered a courage truly heroic. My ship fired 2500 cannon-shot. I judge that we had about 100 killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded; one garde pavillon was killed, and several officers were wounded. We employed the night in preparing for a second engagement; but the Count de Panat, who commanded the Souverain, and M. de Rochemore, captain of the Guerrier, left me in the night, which greatly dimi-

diminished the force of my squadron, and daunted the courage of my people.

On the 18th, at day-break, the enemy crowded sail to come up with me. I then judged my ruin unavoidable. Finding myself on the coast of Portugal, I determined to burn the king's ships there, rather than surrender them to the enemy. I ran the Ocean ashore two leagues from Lagos, under the fort called Almadana, and sent notice to the commander of that fort, who fired three cannon shot at the English, but they paid no regard to them. The Marquis de St. Aignan also ran his ship on shore, and both of us endeavoured to land our men, but the sea being rough, this took up a great deal of time. M. de Castillon, captain of the *Temeraire*, and M. de Mouvre, captain of the *Modeste*, did not follow my example, but anchored as near as they could to forts Exavier and Lagres, hoping that the English would respect these forts; but they paid no regard to them, and came and anchored close by the two French ships, which they fought until they struck.

One of the enemy's ships came and anchored behind the Ocean, and fired into her, and into the boats that were carrying the men ashore. The Count de Carne, finding he could not get out of the ship, was forced to strike his colours, and to surrender prisoner, with M. Darbaud, and the Chevalier de Glan-deves, M. de Sufrim, the chevalier de Damas, and five inferior officers; the rest were soldiers with some gunners, making in all about sixty, whom the English took on board, and set fire to the vessel, which burnt in the night.

I was carried on shore, and pas-

sed the night with the officers and the wounded men, without either bread or water. On the 19th the governor of Lagos sent to invite me to that place. I was carried thither, and all my people followed me; he gave us all the assistance that wretched country could afford. Our people had no more than a quarter of a pound of bread a day, each day, for two days; nor could I procure straw for the sick and wounded. I and the wounded officers are lodged with the Capuchins; these good fathers take great care of us. I am infinitely obliged to the Corregidor for his civilities.

We have sent all our ships companies to Cadiz, chiefly by sea: I remain here with three wounded officers, the Chevalier Beaucour; and my nephew, who stays to bear me company; he serves me for secretary, and presents his compliments to your excellency.

My wounds are in a very good way; but I know not when I shall be able to leave this place. I am uneasy about the domestic I sent to you, on account of the difficulties which, I hear, attend travelling in this country. If you have not seen him, I desire you would cause enquiry to be made about him.

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*Abridgment of the placart published by his excellency Gen. James Wolfe, commander in chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, on his arrival in the river St. Lawrence, in the month of August, 1759.*

“THE King, justly exasperated against France, has set on foot a considerable armament by land and sea, to bring down the haughtiness of that crown. His aim

aim is to destroy the most considerable settlements of the French in North America. It is not against the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he designs making war. He laments the misfortunes to which this quarrel exposes them, and promises them his protection, offers to maintain them in their possessions, and permits them to follow the worship of their religion; provided that they do not take any part in the difference between the two crowns, directly or indirectly.

The Canadians cannot be ignorant of their situation: the English are masters of the river, and blocking up the passage to all succours from Europe. They have, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of General Amherst.

The resolution the Canadians ought to take is by no means doubtful: the utmost exertion of their valour will be entirely useless, and will only serve to deprive them of the advantages that they might enjoy by their neutrality. The cruelties of the French against the subjects of Great Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Englishmen are too generous to follow so barbarous examples. They offer to the Canadians the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war; it is left to their own selves to determine their fate by their conduct. If their presumption, and a wrong-placed, as well as fruitless courage, should make them take the most dangerous part, they will only have their own selves to blame, when they shall groan under the

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weight of that misery to which they will expose themselves.

General Wolfe flatters himself that the whole world will do him justice, if the inhabitants of Canada force him, by their refusal, to have recourse to violent methods. He concludes in laying before them the strength and power of England, which generously stretches out her hand to them: 'a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, and even at a time when France, by its weakness, is incapable of assisting them, and abandons them in the most critical moment.'

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*The following letter is inserted as the strongest picture that can be drawn of the difficulties that opposed themselves to the British arms, in the reduction of Quebec, as well as of the activity and patience of the general who surmounted them. The piece is no less valuable, as one of the clearest and most elegant accounts of a series of military operations, which has, perhaps, ever been published.*

*Head quarters at Montmorenci, in the river St. Laurence, Sept. 2. 1759.*

S I R,

I Wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (though superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country, which the

R

Marquis

Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec; that five battalions of regular troops, compleated from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation; I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought however an occasion to attack their army, knowing well, that with these troops I was able to fight, and that a victory might disperse them.

We found them encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, and intrenched in every accessible part. The 27th of June we landed upon the isle of Orleans; but receiving a message from the admiral, that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery, and a force upon the point of Levi, I detached Brigadier Monckton with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post: the advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side.

Colonel Carleton marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans, from whence our operations were likely to begin.

It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because, from either one or the other, the enemy might make

it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of Quebec, or even within two miles of it.

Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great dispatch on the point of Levi, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries: the enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them, Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery had been so great, (though across the river) that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

The works for the security of our hospitals and stores on the isle of Orleans, being finished, on the 9th of July at night, we passed the N. channel, and incamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorenci between us. The next morning Capt. Dank's company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign: the enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops.

The ground, to the eastward of the falls, seemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is besides a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes, that possibly means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. Montcalm, upon

upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was intrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but in these encounters we had forty (officers and men) killed and wounded.

The 18th of July, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports, with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on ours, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most, was, that if we should land between the town and the river Cape Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael's, about three miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar, (which, being so near to Quebec, they could increase as they pleased) to play upon the shipping: and as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt) it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist.

However, to divide the enemy's

force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment under the command of Colonel Carleton, to land at the Point de Trempe, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there.

The colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods: he searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

After this business, I came back to Montmorenci, where I found that Brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself, of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot (for want of a sufficient depth of water) come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments, to annoy them in the least, the admiral had prepared two transports (drawing but little water) which upon occasion could be run a-ground, to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket shot of the intrench-



ment upon the hill: if the enemy supported this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st of July in the afternoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of General Monckton's brigade from the point of Levi: the two brigades under the brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery which commanded the ford: this ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their intrenchments.

From the vessel which run aground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more, as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musquetry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchments. Orders were sent to the brigadiers general to be ready with the corps under their command. Brigadier Monckton to land, and the brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore, many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop Brigadier Townshend's march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land: we took one flat bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the second royal American battalion, got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brigadier Monckton's corps as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and Brigadier Townshend was at a considerable distance, tho' upon his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers were checked

checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careless of their persons) had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves under Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach, in extreme good order.

By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night, a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that I thought it most advisable, not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest (in case of a repulse) the retreat of Brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked: and it is probable, that if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and center (more remote from our artillery) must have bore all the violence of the musquetry.

The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is.

The place, where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabout. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in case of a repulse)

was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one nor other of these advantages can any where else be found. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs considerable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the King's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

Immediately after this check, I sent Brigadier Murray above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist Rear Admiral Holmes in the destruction of the French ships, (if they could be got at) in order to open a communication with General Amherst. The brigadier was to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore, without success; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at De Chambaud, and burnt a magazine there, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms, and baggage, of their army.

The prisoners he took, informed him of the surrender of the fort of

Niagara; and we discovered, by intercepted letters, that the enemy had abandoned Carillon and Crown Point, were retired to the isle Aux Noix; and that General Amherst was making preparations to pass the lake Champlain, to fall upon M. Bourlemaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to 3000.

The admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They were all of opinion, that, (as more ships and provisions have now got above the town) they should try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men, (which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence) to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it into execution.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault: but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them, and

from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added, (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprize. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men, should be exerted only, where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

J. WOLFE.

*Articles of capitulation agreed on, between General Townshend and M. de Ramzay, Commander of Quebec.*

## ARTICLE I.

**M.** DE RAMZAY demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six piece of brass cannon, two mortars, or howitzers, and twelve rounds. — The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.

II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges. Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia. Granted.

IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers, or inhabitants, shall not be touched. Granted.

V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty, between their most Christian and Britannic majesties. Granted.

VI. That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries,

particularly to the bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency, which his character, and the sacred mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic majesties. — The free exercise of the Roman religion, safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall bear liberty to come and exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian majesties.

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof. Granted.

VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their most Christian and Britannic majesties on Feb. 6, 1759. Granted.

IX. That before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the English forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations. Granted.

X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general, of the reduction of

the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry, to inform them thereof. Granted.

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution, under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. Granted.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before Quebec, Sept. 18, 1759.

C. Saunders. G. Townshend.  
De Ramzay.

Killed in the battle of the 13th. One general, one captain, six lieutenants, one ensign, three serjeants, forty-five rank and file.

Wounded. One brigadier general, 4 staff-officers, 12 captains, 26 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 25 serjeants, 4 drummers, 506 rank and file.

Artillery One engineer wounded, 1 gunner killed, 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, 5 matrosses wounded.

*An account of the guns, &c. found in Quebec, on its surrender to his majesty's troops.*

Brafs guns 6 pd.	1	Brafs mor. 13 in.	1
4	3	Do howitzs. 8	3
2	2	Iron mort. 13	9
Iron guns 36	10		10 1
24	45		8 3
18	18		7 7
12	13	Shells 13 in.	770
8	43		10 150
9	66	8 and	} 90
4	30	6	
3	7	Bra petards	2
2	3		

with a considerable quantity of powder, ball, small arms and in-

trenching tools, &c. the number of which cannot be ascertained.

There have been also 37 guns and one mortar found, on several batteries between St. Charles river and Beauport.

*Memorial presented to the States General on the 19th of October of this year, by the Count d'Affrey, ambassador from France.*

High and mighty Lords,  
THERE are at this time at Amsterdam, iron cannon and balls of different sizes belonging to the King my master. Upon the report which I made to his majesty, that your High Mightinesses made a difficulty of suffering them to be carried out of your country, he has commanded me to represent how contrary this refusal is to the neutrality which your High Mightinesses have embraced.

Your High Mightinesses will be pleased to remember, that during the whole course of this war, the King has required nothing from your friendship that was inconsistent with the strictest impartiality; and if his majesty has departed from the engagements that subsisted between him and your High Mightinesses, it was by granting the most essential and lucrative favours to the commerce of your subjects, who would now have been in possession of the immense advantages which the prudence of your resolutions had procured for them, had they not been disturbed in it, in violation of the faith of the most solemn treaties, by the enemies of the King my master, and your rivals in trade.

I shall not enter into a circumstan-

tial

tial detail of the assistance which our enemies, notwithstanding their behaviour to your republic, have derived from the trade of your subjects, and the protection which their effects have found in the territory of the republic. I cannot, however, forbear taking notice, High and Mighty Lords, that the artillery, stores, and gunpowder, that was at Wessel, were deposited in the United Provinces; that every body knows how little the Hanoverian army respected the territory of the republic on occasion of their passing the Rhine, and the circumstances that preceded and followed that event.

It is also known, that when that army was obliged to repass the Rhine, it had recourse to the only method of saving a great part of their sick and wounded, whom they were obliged to leave behind, from falling into our hands, by putting them into boats, and sending them to places whither they knew that our respect for the neutrality of the republic would not suffer us to follow them. It was at this time that the Hanoverian army saved most of the grain, that was in the magazines, a part of which is still laid up in some towns of the republic. Our enemies have also purchased and contracted for very considerable quantities of gunpowder in the United Provinces.

These and several other circumstances might have been made the subject of the justest complaints; but the King did not think it proper to require that the freedom and independency of the subjects of the republic should be restrained in branches of trade, that are not inconsistent with its neutrality, because he is persuaded, that the faith of an engage-

ment ought to be inviolably preserved, notwithstanding some accidental and transient disadvantages. Add to this, that his majesty, being informed of the present critical state of the republic, was desirous of giving your High Mightinesses an essential proof of his friendship, by ordering the generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the republic, and transferring thither the theatre of war, when the enemy's generals, before they were forced to repass the Rhine, seemed to shun the King's army.

Your High Mightinesses will certainly acknowledge, that after such marks of regard on the part of the King, his majesty would have the justest ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectation, he should hear that the cannon and balls belonging to him, which are at Amsterdam, were detained there; and that he could not help regarding such a proceeding as a violation of the neutrality which your High Mightinesses have solemnly engaged to observe, whilst the enemy, under cover of this neutrality, draw from the subjects of your republic the succours they want.

I therefore demand, in the name of the King my master, that your High Mightinesses will be pleased to give the most efficacious orders, that the artillery and balls in question, may be carried without delay, by the canals of Amsterdam, and the inland navigation to Flanders. Your High Mightinesses will doubtless not hesitate about this just demand, so agreeable to your known equity and your grateful sense of repeated marks of invariable friendship given you by the King my master;

ster; disregarding the imperious and groundless pretensions of a neighbouring and jealous power, which, not content with interrupting your navigation and commerce, pretends to give law in the bosom of your state, and whose national system tends to ruin your subjects, if it cannot make them share in the calamities and dangers of the war. England will not accomplish this; and your High Mightinesses will prove to all Europe, that nothing can make them depart from that most impartial neutrality which they have embraced, by giving the King my master the speediest and most ample satisfaction where he is so much intitled to it; by leaving to your subjects that liberty which is necessary to their trade; and by granting them that protection which the system and proceedings of the English render indispensable.

with which I could not avoid being offended, I have been obliged to cause all them to be removed to the town of Spandau, which must not be confounded with the fortress of that name, from which it is entirely separate, and where they will enjoy the same ease as at Berlin, but will be more narrowly observed. This is a resolution no one can blame. I am sufficiently authorised in it by the law of nations, and by the powers who are leagued against me; the court of Vienna having never suffered any of my officers, that have fallen into their hands, to go to Vienna, and the court of Russia having sent some of them even to Casan. However, as my enemies let slip no opportunity of blackening my most innocent proceedings, I have thought proper to acquaint you with my reasons for making this alteration, with regard to the officers who are my prisoners, &c."

**T**HE enemies of his Prussian majesty having complained of the treatment of their prisoners of war in the Prussian territories, that monarch, who suffers no unjust calumny to prevail against him, has caused the following justification of his conduct to be sent to his ministers at foreign courts.

"It is known to all Europe, that I have provided for all the officers who are my prisoners of war, as well Swedes, as French and Austrians, and lately for the Russians, the best accommodations, and every conveniency; having, for that end, permitted them to pass the time of their captivity in my capital. Nevertheless, as some of them have grossly abused the liberty allowed them, by keeping up illicit correspondences, and by other practices,

*Saturday, O<sup>c</sup>t. 20. This day the right hon. the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, waited on his majesty, and being introduced by the right hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt, made their compliments on the late successes of his majesty's arms, in the following address.*

*May it please your Majesty,*

**T**O accept the most humble but warmest congratulations of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, in common council assembled, upon the rapid and uninterrupted series of victories, and successes, which, under the divine blessing, have attended your majesty's arms  
by

by sea and land, within the compass of this distinguished and ever memorable year.

The reduction of Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio; of the island of Goree, in Africa; and of Guadaloupe, with its dependence, in the West Indies; the repulse and defeat of the whole French army by a handful of infantry, in the plains of Minden; the taking of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point; the naval victory off Cape Lagos; the advantages gained over the French nation in the East Indies; and above all, the conquest of Quebec, (the capital of the French empire in North America) in a manner so glorious to your majesty's arms, against every advantage of situation and superior numbers, are such events, as will for ever render your majesty's auspicious reign the favourite æra in the history of Great Britain.

But whilst we reflect with surprise and gratitude upon this last and most important conquest, permit us, most gracious sovereign, to express our regret for the immense (though almost only) loss which has attended it, in the death of that gallant general, whose abilities formed, whose courage attempted, and whose conduct happily effected the glorious enterprise in which he fell, serving to future times an heroic example of military skill, discipline and fortitude.

Measures of such national concern, so invariably pursued, and acquisitions of so much consequence to the power and trade of Great Britain, are the noblest proofs of your majesty's paternal affection and regard for the true interest of your kingdoms, and reflect honour upon those whom your majesty has been pleased to admit into your councils, or to

intrust with the conduct of your fleets and armies.

These will ever command the lives and fortunes of a free and grateful people, in defence of your majesty's sacred person, and royal family, against the attempts of all your enemies. And we humbly trust, that Almighty God will bless your majesty's salutary intentions, with a continuance of success, and thereby in time lead us to a safe and honourable peace.

*To which address his majesty was pleased to return this most gracious answer.*

I receive with particular satisfaction, this most dutiful and loyal address, as an additional mark of your affection to my person, and of your signal zeal for the honour of my government, in this just and necessary war. Our successes are, under the blessing of God, the natural and happy fruit of union amongst my people, and of ability and valour in my fleets and armies. I have an entire confidence in this truly national spirit; and the city of London may depend on my tender care for the rights, trade, colonies, and navigation of my faithful subjects.

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*Abstract of the report made to his Catholic majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the Prince Royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his royal highness has been declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, Sept. 27.*

1. **T**Hough his royal highness Don Philip is 13 years old, he is of low stature, and yet the King his father, and the Queen his mother,



mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His royal highness has some contraction in his joints, though he can readily move, and make use of them on all occasions.

3. His royal highness is apt to stoop and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The prince most evidently squints; and his eyes frequently water and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot say he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his royal highness can without doubt distinguish objects, both as to their colour and situation.

5. In his natural functions, and the most common sensations, he is sometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impetuous. In general, his passions are not restrained by reason.

6. The prince has an obstinate aversion to some kind of common food, such as fruits, sweatmeats, &c.

7. All sorts of noise or sound disturbs and disconcerts him; and it has the same effect whether it be soft and harmonious, or harsh and disagreeable.

8. The impressions that he receives from pain or pleasure, are neither strong nor lasting, and he is utterly unacquainted with all the punctilio's of politeness and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places, he sometimes remembers them and sometimes not; but he seems not to have the least ideas of the mysteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childish amusements; and those which are most boisterous please him best. He

is continually changing them, and shifting from one thing to another.

Signed by Don Francis Beniore, chief physician to the King and kingdom; Don Emanuel della Rosa, physician to the Queen; and the physicians Caesar Ciribue, Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francis Sarrao, and Don Dominique San Severino.

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*Act of abdication and settlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies by his most Catholic majesty, in favour of his third son, and in prejudice to the natural right of the elder.*

WE CHARLES, &c. &c. &c. The manifest weakness of mind under which the Prince Royal, our eldest son, most unhappily labours, has greatly increased the anxiety occasioned by the important affairs and concerns of the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, devolved to us by the death of our well-beloved brother, his Catholic majesty, Ferdinand VI. According to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe requires that the sovereignty of Spain should be separated from that of Italy, when it can be effected without transgressing the rules of justice. As we are resolved then to provide a legal successor to our dominions in Italy before we set out for Spain, it is necessary before we proceed to the choice of one of the many sons bestowed on us by heaven, to determine which of our youngest sons shall be found qualified to govern the people, and succeed to the states of the Two Sicilies, without uniting them with these

those of Spain and the Indies. This reason of convenience for the tranquillity of Europe (which we are desirous of adopting, lest it should take the alarm on seeing by our leaving this affair undecided, the sovereignty of Spain united in our person with the Italian monarchy) demands that we immediately take our resolution, with regard to the succession of Italy.

A considerable body, which we have composed of our counsellors of state, the privy counsellor of Castile, the chamber, of St. Clair, the chamber of the finances, and the whole junto of Sicily, to whom we have added six of our most eminent physicians, have reported to us, that, notwithstanding all the examinations, and all the experiments which they have made, they have not been able to find in the unfortunate prince royal, either the principles of reason, reflection, or judgment, and that as he has been in that state ever since his infancy, he is not only incapable of any act of religion or reason, but there is not even the least shadow of hope that he can ever acquire the use of his faculties; unanimously concluding from thence, that we could not think of disposing of it in his favour, though it might be agreeable to nature, and our paternal duty and affection. Being constrained then by the divine will, for this time to pass, by the right of our eldest son, in favour of the infant Don Ferdinand, our third son according to the order of nature, his minority obliges us, when we shall resign the sovereignty of Italy, to vest the management of these realms in a regency, as it is impossible for us to act as a guardian

to a son who shall be King of the Two Sicilies immediately on our departure for Spain.

Having therefore put Don Ferdinand, our third son, in a condition of receiving the cession of the Italian kingdoms, we previously declare, though perhaps it is unnecessary, that we emancipate, and set him at liberty by this present act (which we ordain to be solemnly observed, and have all the force of a legal act, nay even of a law) and that he is, from this time, freed, not only from all obedience to our paternal power, but even from all submission to our supreme and sovereign authority.

In the next place, we establish and appoint a council of regency, for the time of the minority of our above mentioned third son (who is to be sovereign of our Italian kingdoms, and lord of all the estates formerly possessed by us) in order, that this council may exercise the sovereignty, during that time, according to the orders prescribed by us in an ordinance of this day's date, signed with our own hand, sealed with our own seal, and countersigned by our counsellor and secretary of state for the department of state and palace royal; desiring that this ordinance shall be regarded as an essential part of this present act, as if it were inserted therein, and repeated word for word, to the end that it may have equally the force of a law.

In the third place, we fix and determine (according to the perpetual and established law of our estates and demesnes of Italy) that the minority of the princes, who succeed to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall expire when they have

have accomplished their sixteenth year, and that then they shall act as sovereigns, and have the entire power of the administration.

In the fourth place, we establish likewise, as a constant and perpetual law, with regard to the succession of the infant Don Ferdinand, and for the more ample explanation of the foregoing arrangements, that this succession be regulated, according to primogeniture, with right of representation in the masculine line, from male to male. In case the last representative of the direct line should die without children, the eldest of the males of the nearest branch shall succeed to him, whether it be his uncle by the father's side, or his brother; or in a more distant degree, provided he is the eldest of the line (according to the form before specified) and sprung from that branch, which shall become, or has already become, the nearest to the eldest and direct line of the infant Don Ferdinand, or the immediate preceding reigning prince.

We establish the same order in default of all the male issue of the males of the masculine line of the above mentioned Don Ferdinand (from male to male) in course, to the infant Don Gabril, our son, to whom the succession shall then devolve, and to his descendants from male to male, as it is before set forth. If the said Don Gabril, or his descendants, shall fail of issue, (proceeding from males) the succession shall pass, in the same order as above, to the infant Don Anthony, and to his male descendants (proceeding from males;) and in failure of male issue (proceeding from males) of this last, and his posterity, the succession shall de-

volve, always after the same method, to the infant Don Xavier, and after him and his masculine descendants, (as before specified) to those infants, which it shall please God hereafter to grant us, according to the order of nature, and, in course, to their issue male.

In case of the extinction, in our posterity, of all the males (proceeding from males) the succession shall belong to the female issue of the same blood, (descending in a direct male line) who shall be living at the time of this extinction (whether it be our daughter, or the daughter of any other prince of our posterity, proceeding from the male line) who shall be nearest to the reigning king, or to the last of the males (descended from males) who fails of issue, or to the immediately preceding prince, who shall die without issue; always understanding, nevertheless, that the right of representation be constantly observed, and that the proximity, and quality of the eldest female be adjusted accordingly, with respect to the male descent, in regard to which, as well as the masculine descendants of the male issue of her who shall succeed, the order above established shall be observed.

In default of all which the succession shall devolve to the infant Don Philip, our very dear brother, and to his descendants, from male to male, *ad infinitum*; and if this branch should likewise fail, the said succession shall likewise pass to our very dear brother the infant Don Lewis, and to his descendants from male to male; and in short if these should likewise fail, to the heirs female in a direct male line, following therein the order above prescribed; observing always, that  
accord-

according to the order of succession, before set forth, the monarchy of Spain shall never be united with the sovereignty of the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies.

That the males or females descended from us, above specified, may never be admitted to the sovereignty of the states of Italy, in case they shall be, or ought to be declared Kings of Spain or Princes of Asturias, another male must be appointed, who, in virtue of this present disposition, may succeed to the Italian kingdoms: but if such is not to be found, the King of Spain shall be obliged to transfer the dominions in Italy to a younger son, a nephew, or a nephew's son, if any he has.

Having thus established the succession of our descendants in the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies, we humbly recommend to God the infant Don Ferdinand, giving him at the same time our paternal benediction, recommending to him the Catholic religion, justice, clemency, vigilance, and a love for the people, who deserve our sincere acknowledgments for the unfeigned fidelity they have always manifested for us, and for our royal family. We cede, transfer, and make over to the said Don Ferdinand, our third son, according to the order of nature, the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies, and all the other estates, pretensions, rights, titles, goods, and stocks, which we possess in Italy, making from this moment, a full and compleat delivery, without reservation of the smallest particle; to the end that from the instant of our departure from this capital, the said infant may with advice of the council of state and the regency, administer

and govern all that which we have just now assigned, transferred, and made over. We hope, that this law of emancipation, the constitution for the age of majority, the appointment of the tutelage and curatage for the King, during his minority, the succession of the estates, and jurisdictions of Italy, the cession and donation, will turn out for the advantage of the people, the tranquillity of our royal family, and that in short it will contribute to the repose of all Europe.

The present ordinance is signed by us, and by our son the infant Don Ferdinand, and sealed with our arms, and countersigned by the councillors, and secretary of state, who undersign it likewise, in quality of members of the regency, and tutors of the above named infant Don Ferdinand.

At Naples, Oct. 6. 1759.

CHARLES FERDINAND.

This law has been read in presence of the chambre royal of St. Claire, the Syndic, &c. of the city of Naples, the deputies of the senate and cities of Palermo, &c. &c.

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*Translation of a memorial presented to the States General, by Major Gen. Yorke, on the 28th of September, of this year.*

**I** Am expressly commanded by the King my master, to acquaint your High Mightinesses, that his majesty hath received repeated advices of a contraband trade carried on by some merchants residing in these provinces, in favour of France.

This trade consists in cannon and warlike stores, which are brought from the Baltic to Holland in Dutch

Dutch vessels: and his majesty hath too much confidence in the friendship of the republic, to entertain the least doubt that your High Mightinesses will not suffer his enemies to be aided by your subjects, and still less permit them to make arsenals of your towns. Such a trade is, on the one hand, wholly repugnant to the connections which, by treaty, ought to subsist between the King and your High Mightinesses, and on the other to every idea of neutrality, whether formal or tacit. Your High Mightinesses are informed, not only by the public voice and the immense preparations making on the coasts of the ocean, but also in an authentic manner, by the French ambassador residing here, that his court intends to invade his majesty's kingdoms; and your High Mightinesses will easily perceive that such an acknowledgement authorises the King to take his measures, on every side, for his security; and the demand I have this day the honour to make to you, is much less than his majesty is intitled by treaty to reclaim in such a conjuncture.

The vigilance of the English squadrons hinders warlike stores from being openly carried to the ports of France, and lays that crown under a necessity of procuring them by the most secret methods, which it hopes to do under the borrowed names of private persons, by bringing them on the rivers and canals of this country, and through the Dutch fortresses to Dunkirk, and other places.

Your High Mightinesses will easily perceive how hurtful this conduct is to the King; and I doubt not but you will make him easy on

that head, and immediately put a stop to it.

The attention which his majesty hath lately given to the representations of your High Mightinesses, against the excesses of the English privateers, by confining their cruizes and their searches, by an act of parliament, gives his majesty a good title to the same regard on your part.

The trading towns of your provinces feel the good effects of it, and that freedom of navigation which your subjects enjoy, amidst the troubles by which Europe is distracted, hath augmented your commerce much above what it hath been for several years past. Some return ought to be made for such a solid proof of the King's friendship and moderation; at least the merchants who are so ready to complain of England, ought not to be permitted to give into excesses which would have justified the most rigorous examination of their conduct. Accordingly, his majesty hath no doubt that your High Mightinesses will give all possible attention to this matter. Permit me, High and Mighty Lords, to recall to your memories, that, during the course of the present war, the King hath several times applied, through me, to your High Mightinesses and to your ministers on the liberty given to carry stores through the fortresses of the republic, for the use of France, to invade his dominions; and if his majesty hath passed over in silence many of these instances of complaisance to his enemy, his majesty was not the less sensible of them; but he chose rather to be a sufferer himself, than to increase the embarrass-

barrassment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war.

Even the court of Vienna has, on more than one occasion, employed its interest with your High Mightinesses, and lent its name to get passes for warlike stores and provisions for the French troops, under pretence of the Barrier treaty; which it no longer observes; and after having put France in possession of the ports of Ostend and Nicuport, in manifest breach of that treaty, and without any regard to the rights which your High Mightinesses, and the King, my master, have acquired in that treaty, at the price of their treasures, and the blood of their subjects, all the world knows that that treaty was never made to serve France against Great Britain.

The undersigned flatters himself, that from the equity of your High Mightinesses, and the value you set on the friendship of the King my master, you will soon be able to make his majesty easy by the wise measures you shall take to prevent any thing from being done for the sake of private interest, that may prejudice the King's cause, and the treaties subsisting between his majesty and you.

J. YORKE.

Hague, Sept. 28, 1759.

*This piece may be deemed curious, inasmuch as it shews the independency of the States of the United Provinces of each other.*

Hague, Nov. 8.

THE following placart has been stuck up in all the towns of this province.

“The States of Holland and  
VOL. II

West-friezeland, to all whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas the States of the town of Groninguen and Ommelanden did, in former times, negotiate, in behalf of their province, large sums of money on annuities, which were furnished to them by many inhabitants of this province, as letters delivered to the persons concerned do testify: the said Lords the States were at first very negligent in fulfilling their promises, and afterwards, from time to time, fell so much in arrear, that, since the year 1685, the greatest part of the said annuities have remained unpaid; so that the total of the just claims on them amounts to several hundred thousand florins.

Though the said Lords the States could not controvert the authenticity of the debt, nevertheless the frequent just complaints made by the parties concerned of default of payment, and the divers repeated representations and solicitations which we caused to be made, and which were often supported by their High Mightinesses themselves, have not had any effect (except a small payment made several years ago, when vigorous proceedings were begun in this province;) inasmuch as the said Lords the States, who always found methods to content their own subjects, have never wanted pretences to protract this affair, as far as the inhabitants of this province were concerned, tho' they made continual promises to take the speediest and most effectual resolutions to remove all subject of complaint. But all these solemn promises have had no effect, and we are fully persuaded that they were not made with an intention to be fulfilled; of which we had lately

lately a palpable proof: for his late most serene highness, of glorious memory, having in 1749, by virtue of powers given him by the said Lords the States, put the political and juridical affairs of the said province upon a solid and equitable footing, by a law and regulation that was never to be repealed; and in conformity thereto, the parties concerned having sued the said Lords the States for the arrears they owed, and after the suit had lasted some years, the said Lords the States seeing no way to avoid being cast, did, in contempt of the laws they themselves had made, exclude the said concerned from the courts of justice; without regarding the powerful intercession of his late royal highness of glorious memory, and his repeated instances to them to discharge this just debt, or at least to take proper measures in behalf of the said concerned.

The affair being thus managed, and brought into a situation that ill suited between allies, and was even inconsistent with all justice, or even common honesty; we have judged upon the whole, that according to law and equity, as well as precedents, nothing remained for us but to grant the parties concerned our protection, and permission to make use of open force, in such a manner as the said parties have already employed it, as the only method of recovering the arrears justly due to them: and this step was not taken by us, till after giving notice thereof long before-hand to the said Lords the States, that they might prevent it by reasonable measures; but as they paid no regard thereto, and contented themselves with offering,

in a disobliging and indecent rescript, 15 per cent. of the said arrears, which would scarce pay the costs the parties had been at in so many years to obtain payment: and moreover, we having heard with great surprize, that the said Lords the States of Groninguen, instead of being thereby induced to make some amicable regulations with regard to a debt which they themselves acknowledge to be so just, and afterwards to make us equitable proposals to prevent further broils, and hinder the province and its inhabitants from receiving other detriment, they were, on the contrary, greatly piqued at our manner of proceeding, to which they themselves forced us; and sought to blacken it, by alledging that it was contrary to all law, to revive old claims, to the prejudice of their inhabitants; from this idea they have proceeded to measures, which we, in order to shew our moderation towards our allies, deferred taking till we should see what other turn might be given to affairs, and of all with which the province of Groninguen charges us there is not one thing which did not take its rise from themselves, who ought to have granted redress: and as we are by no means disposed to drop our legal proceeding, till we obtain proper satisfaction, we find ourselves forced to oppose the unjust conduct of the States of Groninguen, and to grant the most efficacious protection to our inhabitants who are so much injured.

For these causes, we have thought proper to grant permission, as we do by these presents, that the parties concerned in the said annuities on the province of Groninguen (besides the attachment they

they have already, in consequence of our permission, laid on some vessels, effects, or merchandize belonging to the said province, or some of its inhabitants, or the attachment they may hereafter lay) seize all other effects, actions, debts, and sums of money, without exception, which the inhabitants of the province of Groningen may possess or be entitled to in this province; the inhabitants whereof we enjoin not to make, in any manner whatever, any remittances of money or effects to those of the province of Groningen, nor to make them any payments or transfer, but to keep the whole in their possession; we moreover will, that those, who, contrary to this present prohibition, shall make these sorts of payments or transfers, be not only judged to have violated those attachments; but farther that, in case those sums of money or effects should be demanded of them a second time, the receipts they may have for such payments or deliveries shall not be judged valid; but they shall be bound to deliver such sums of money and effects to the persons appointed by a judge, in the same manner as if they had payed nothing; the whole to the end that in case the said States of Groningen should, contrary to expectation, persist in refusing to give the said concerned proper satisfaction, by this or other methods hereafter to be employed, payment of the said arrears may be procured, with some indemnification for the farther damage caused to our inhabitants by the proceedings begun by the States of Groningen, and all other losses resulting from a conduct, not only so unjust in itself, and so unusual among allies, but

also repugnant to the laws and principles of right and equity.

We moreover give notice by these presents to all our trading inhabitants, and all others whom it may concern, that on occasion of the violences committed by the States of Groningen, contrary to all right and reason, and merely to elude the payment of a debt acknowledged to be just, against the states and effects of the inhabitants of this province, that they abstain from sending any effects or merchandizes to the province of Groningen, that they may not be exposed to suffer loss: the whole provisionally, and until we give further orders."

*The humble address of the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, presented to his majesty on the fourteenth day of November, 1759.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your majesty with the warmest sentiments of duty, and with hearts full of the most sincere joy, to congratulate your majesty upon the great and signal success, with which it has pleased Almighty God to prosper your majesty's unwearied endeavours for the safety, welfare, and honour of your people.

We acknowledge, with all thankfulness and humility, the goodness of the divine providence, in the many glorious events, which will for ever distinguish this memorable year.

We entirely rely upon your majesty's constant regard and attention



to the true interest of, your subjects, from the full experience which we have had of the wise and effectual use, which your majesty has made of all the extensive powers, with which the confidence of parliament has, from time to time, strengthened your majesty's hands. But we must, in a particular manner, gratefully acknowledge the extraordinary vigilance, vigour, and wisdom of your majesty's measures, in the steady and successful direction of so many various operations in different parts of the world.

The happy progress of your majesty's arms, from the taking of Goree on the coast of Africa, and some of the French sugar islands in the West Indies, to the acquisition of many important places in America, and the defeat of the enemy's army in Canada, with the reduction of the capital city of Quebec, against the greatest disadvantage of situation and numbers, has exceeded the most sanguine hopes of your majesty's faithful subjects: nor has the good effects of your majesty's prudent measures been less conspicuous, in the disappointment of the dangerous designs of your enemies in the East Indies; in the effectual blocking up the principal part of the French fleet in their own ports; and the important advantage gained off Cape Lagos; while your majesty's care has preserved your own kingdoms from any hostile attempt, and has protected the navigation and commerce of your own subjects, in almost as full a security as during the time of profound peace.

The memorable victory gained over the French near Minden, cannot but make a deep and lasting impression upon every British mind.

Whether we consider the great and able conduct of your majesty's general Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the valour of your majesty's troops, the inequality of force, or the imminent peril of that important crisis; the happy deliverance wrought by that action, and the glorious consequences of it, must ever be the subject of our praise and thankfulness.

It is matter of just exultation to us, that the British officers and private men, both by sea and land, have given so many shining instances of personal bravery and military conduct. Their example will animate others; their reputation is national strength, and will convince the enemy what they have to apprehend from a brave and gallant people, fired with zeal in defence of their King and country.

We beg leave to express the high sense we have of the magnanimity and transcendent abilities of the King of Prussia; which have, in a surprising manner, prevented the mischievous effects of the united force of so many considerable powers, by which he has been attacked and surrounded on all sides; against whom he has bore up and supported himself by the fortitude and inexhaustible resources of his own mind, and the courage and discipline of his troops.

Permit us to declare, how highly we applaud your majesty's moderation and true greatness of mind, in restraining every impulse of resentment, and desiring to prevent the farther effusion of christian blood, by putting an end to the war (into which your majesty entered, not from views of ambition, but solely for the defence of the laudable rights, possessions, and commercial

mercial interests of your kingdoms) as soon as such terms of peace can be established, as shall be just and honourable for your majesty and your allies; and by procuring such advantages, as, from the successes of your majesty's arms, may in reason and equity be expected, shall bring with them full security for the future.

In order to the attainment of this great and desirable end, we beg leave to assure your majesty, of our utmost readiness to concur in the effectual support of such further measures, as your majesty, in your great wisdom, shall judge necessary or expedient, for carrying on the war with vigour in all parts, and for disappointing and repelling any desperate attempts which may be made upon these kingdoms.

Our prayers are sincere and fervent for the prolongation of your majesty's most precious life; our endeavours shall never be wanting to continue and confirm that affection to your majesty's sacred person, that confidence in your government, that zeal for the protestant succession in your royal family, and that union and harmony so conspicuous amongst all your subjects, which is so essential to their own security and happiness, and to the frustrating the designs of your majesty's enemies. His majesty's most gracious answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this very dutiful and affectionate address. The satisfaction you so unanimously express in the successes with which it has pleased God to bless my arms by sea and land, and the assurances you give me of your further support, are extremely agreeable to me; and cannot fail to produce the best effects in the present conjuncture.

*The humble address of the house of Commons to the King.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty our most humble thanks for the speech delivered, by your majesty's command, to both houses of parliament.

Permit us, Sir, with the sincerest zeal and duty, to congratulate your majesty on the glorious and uninterrupted series of success and victory, which hath attended your majesty's arms, during the whole course of this distinguished and memorable year.

With the deepest reverence, and most devout gratitude to divine providence, we acknowledge that manifest blessing and protection, which God hath vouchsafed to bestow upon your majesty's counsels and arms, and offer up our most ardent vows and prayers for its continuance.

Your majesty's faithful Commons will not attempt to enumerate all the advantages and glories derived to your majesty, and these kingdoms, from the various successes, which have been extended into every quarter of the world; but we humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that our hearts are filled with the most grateful and lively sense of the happy consequences, which, under God, are owing to the wisdom, vigilance, and vigour, of your majesty's measures in the prosecution of this just and necessary war: particularly the taking of the island of Goree, and the extension of our commerce on the coast of

S 3

Africa:

Africa : the defeat of the French fleet in the East Indies; and the repulse of their land forces before Madrafs, whereby the dangerous designs of our enemies there have miscarried, and protection hath been given to our trade and settlements in those countries : the valuable conquest of Guadaloupe and Mariegalante in the West Indies : the reduction of so many forts and places in North America, compleated and crowned by that glorious and decisive victory over the French army in Canada, and the surrender of their capital city Quebec, effected with so much honour to the courage and conduct of your majesty's officers both by sea and land, and with so much lustre to your intrepid forces : the important success of your majesty's fleet, in pursuing, taking, and destroying a considerable part of the French squadron off Cape Lagos; and blocking up, for so many months, the rest of the navy of France, in their own ports, which had greatly augmented the distress of our enemies, whilst it has protected and secured our commerce and navigation.

Nor can we ever forget that critical, signal, and memorable defeat of the French army near Minden, so justly the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness, if we consider the superior numbers of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his serene highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, or the unconquerable valour of your majesty's troops.

When we reflect upon this continued train of successes, part of which would have been sufficient to have signalized this long and active campaign, it is impossible for us not to express the highest satisfac-

tion at the great ability, resolution, and perfect harmony, so conspicuous in your majesty's admirals and generals throughout the execution of your commands; and at the ardent courage, which hath manifested itself in the behaviour of the officers and forces by sea and land, with such personal and national glory. Nothing but this spirit could have enabled them to surmount every difficulty arising from the superior number, and advantageous situation, of the enemy; and we are fully persuaded, that the like resolution, ardour, and zeal, excited and animated by these best incentives, your majesty's gracious acceptance and royal approbation of their eminent services, followed by the warmest and most universal applause of their country, will continue to give terror to the enemies, and confidence to the allies of Great Britain.

We view, with the highest admiration, the magnanimity and unexampled efforts of that great prince, your majesty's ally the King of Prussia, whose consummate genius, unwearied activity, and unshaken constancy of mind, seconded by the bravery of his troops, have been able, in every situation, to supply resources sufficient to resist the united forces of so many and such formidable powers.

Your majesty's faithful Commons feel, with due gratitude, your paternal care and concern for the peace and happiness of your people; and cannot too much admire that true greatness of mind, which disposes your heart, in the midst of prosperities, to wish that a stop may be put to the effusion of christian blood, and that public tranquillity may be restored.

We

We entirely rely on your majesty's known wisdom and firmness, that this desirable object, whenever it shall be attained, will be on such terms as shall be just and honourable for your majesty and your allies; and shall bring along with them full security for the future, on solid and durable foundations, by procuring such advantages as may, in reason and equity, be expected from the success of our arms, and which will fix, in the minds of a grateful people, the lasting remembrance of this happy æra, and of the benefits derived to them, under your majesty's glorious and auspicious government.

In order to effect this great end, we are thoroughly sensible that ample provision must be made for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour: and we assure your majesty, that we will cheerfully grant your majesty such supplies, as shall be found necessary to sustain, and press with effect, all our extensive operations against the enemy, and at the same time, by the blessing of God, to repel and frustrate their daring designs against these kingdoms; convinced, from the long experience we have had of the wisdom and goodness of your majesty, that they will be applied in such a manner, as will best answer these great purposes.

We cannot sufficiently testify our grateful sense of the high satisfaction, which your majesty has been pleased to express, in that perfect union and good harmony, which so happily subsists amongst your faithful subjects, the salutary effects of which have been most conspicuous; and the pleasing experience we have had of them, joined to your majesty's paternal recommendation, must be the most powerful motives to enforce the continuance

of those dispositions, so essential to the full exertion of our utmost strength, as well as to the tranquility, good order, and happiness, of your majesty's people.

His majesty's most gracious answer.

I return you my hearty thanks for this most dutiful and affectionate address, and for your unanimous zeal for the defence of my crown, and for the support of my allies. You may always rely on my constant care for the lasting welfare of my people.

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*Extract of a letter published in the Paris Gazette, from Marshal Conflans to Comte St. Florentin, Secretary of marine, dated at Vannes in Bretagne, Nov. 22. 1759.*

PURSUANT to his most christian majesty's orders, having received a reinforcement of men out of M. Bompard's squadron, I sailed from Brest the 14th instant, with a design to give battle to the British fleet, who had been making their bravadoes all the last summer off our harbour; but was deceived in my expectation; for the enemy (as I imagine) being informed of our design, had abandoned the coast. I cruized two days in hopes of their return, but to no purpose. At last I formed a resolution to cut off Commodore Duff's squadron, consisting of twenty sail of the line, moored in Quiberon Bay. Upon the 20th in the morning, being a little S. W. of Belleisle, the weather hazy, and a fresh gale at N. W. I saw to windward a fleet of ships, which I took to be a convoy of victuallers for M. Duff's squadron, not judging it possible for the enemy's fleet to be so near: nevertheless

less, whatever might happen, I made the signal for a line of battle. We were not half formed, when the weather clearing up, we could plainly see it was the enemy's fleet, consisting of forty sail of the line of battle, besides frigates, advancing in three divisions; so that we were in a manner surrounded. I judged it most conducive to the good of his majesty's service to avoid hazarding a general engagement at that time; and rather to train on the enemy through the shoals and rocks in the entrance of the river Vilaine. At half an hour past two in the afternoon, the enemy's van came up with our rear, and were warmly received by Mons. Verger, who commanded that division: but he and all his officers being killed, there being no less than twelve of the enemy's ships engaged with him, his ship, the *Formidable*, struck at last to Admiral Hawke. The *Thesee* and *Superbe* were overfet by a squall of wind. At half an hour past four, a ship of three decks, carrying a flag, which I took to be Mons. Hawke's, came alongside the *Soleil Royal*, where I commanded; but he met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to sheer off in a little time; though our rigging and sails were so shattered, that the ship not answering the helm, was obliged to run ashore in the night; as did the *Hero* in the same condition: nor could we hinder the enemy from burning both ships next morning. Mean time the *Orient* alone drove two of their capital ships ashore upon a sand called *Le Four*. Next day we had the misfortune to lose the *Iuste* upon a rock in the mouth of the river Loire. The remainder of our fleet got fast into Rochfort

and the river Vilaine: and as they have not sustained more damage than may be soon repaired, I expect, by the junction of Mons. Bompard's squadron, to be soon able to give a good account of the enemy, notwithstanding they have the boldness to moor upon our coast.

*St. James's, Friday, Nov. 23.*

THE humble address of the chancellor, masters and scholars of the university of Oxford, was presented to his majesty by the Rev. Doctor Brown, vice-chancellor, and provost of Queen's college; which his majesty received very graciously. And they all had the honour of kissing his majesty's hand. To the King's most excellent majesty.

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"We the chancellor, masters and scholars of your majesty's most loyal and faithful university of Oxford, beg leave, amidst the general acclamations of a joyful and united people, to approach your sacred person with hearts full of duty and affection, most humbly to congratulate your majesty on the many glorious and happy events of this memorable year.

The uninterrupted and unparalleled series of successes which have attended your majesty's plans of operation, during the course of a war so uncommonly complicated and extensive, will ever stand distinguished with a peculiar lustre in the annals of Great Britain: successes, equally remarkable for their number, variety and importance: every quarter of the globe having afforded scenes for your majesty's signal triumphs both by sea and land

and been a witness of the repeated disappointments and defeat of your restless and ambitious enemies.

Among the numerous and happy effects of your majesty's prudent and vigorous measures; whether concerted for the support of the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe; or more immediately directed towards the preservation and advancement of the commercial interest of your British dominions; the truly difficult and glorious conquest of Quebec (attempted in vain more than once by your royal predecessors) doth, on many accounts, demand more particularly our warmest congratulations. So valuable and important an acquisition seems to have been reserved by providence to compleat and crown all the preceding glories of your majesty's most auspicious reign.

In this and many other arduous and successful enterprises, we cannot but see, and, after your majesty's great and pious example, devoutly adore the hand of divine providence, which hath on all occasions so visibly supported the justice of your cause, and the progress of your arms.

And we doubt not, but that, under the protection of the same good providence, the utmost efforts of an enraged and desponding enemy, will be baffled and frustrated through your majesty's known wisdom and experience, through the abilities and activity of your ministers, the courage and conduct of your commanders, the intrepidity of your forces, and that perfect harmony and union, which happily subsists among all your subjects.

May your enemies themselves perceive at length, and acknowledge the interposition of heaven, so con-

spicuous in your majesty's favour; and, by entertaining more serious sentiments of equity and moderation, give your majesty an opportunity of accomplishing the desire of your heart, by dispensing to contending nations the greatest and most comprehensive of all temporal blessings, a general and lasting peace!

May your majesty long live to enjoy such glorious fruits of your unwearied labours for the public good! and may there never be wanting in your royal house a succession of illustrious princes, inheriting your majesty's crown and virtues, and reigning, like your majesty, in the hearts of all their subjects!

Given at our house of convocation, this twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1759.

#### DUBLIN.

*The following address of the Roman Catholics of the city of Cork, having been transmitted to the Earl of Shannon, has by his lordship been presented to his grace the Lord Lieutenant.*

*To his grace, John, Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.*

The humble address of the Roman Catholics of the city of Cork.

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**E his majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of the city of Cork, humbly beg leave to congratulate your grace on the unparalleled successes which have attended his majesty's arms, in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.

We are truly sensible of his majesty's paternal care and tenderness for

for his kingdom of Ireland. And it is with the deepest sense of gratitude, we acknowledge the protection and indulgence we have experienced under his majesty's most mild and auspicious reign.

With the greatest indignation do we hear of the threatened hostile invasion of this kingdom, (particularly intended against these coasts) by an enemy, who grown desperate from repeated defeats, may possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance here, from the former attachments of our deluded predecessors. But so inconsistent are such schemes with our principles and intentions, that we assure your grace, in the most solemn manner, we will to the utmost exertion of our abilities, with our lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his majesty's royal person and government, against all invaders whatsoever. And will be always ready to concur in such measures, and to set such parts in the defence of this kingdom, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, as your grace in your great wisdom shall be pleased to appoint. And we think ourselves particularly happy, to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, and so important and distinguished a governor as your grace.

We most earnestly wish that his majesty's arms may be crowned with such a continuance of success, as may enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace."

It must a great pleasure to all true lovers of his majesty's person and government, to find so much loyalty amongst all the subjects of

this kingdom, the Roman Catholics of this city as well as of Corke, having offered large loans in case of necessity, to support our present happy establishment, against all our enemies, which is the strongest test of their fidelity.

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*Admiral Boscawen's letter, in relation to some complaints of his stopping and searching Dutch ships.*

"S I R,

**I**N answer to your's of the 4th instant, concerning a memorial of Messrs. Hopp, Boreel, and Meerman, complaining that I caused some Dutch merchantmen to be searched near Cape Palos, who were under convoy of the Prince William man of war, Captain Betting; and farther alledging, that notwithstanding the representations of this captain, I detained some of them; I must observe, that having certain advice, that the Dutch and Swedes carried cannon, powder, and other warlike stores to the enemy, I gave particular orders to the captains of all the ships under my command, carefully to examine all the vessels of those nations bound to the ports of France. On the day mentioned in the memorial, and near Cape Palos, I made the signal for the Warspite, Swiftsure, America, and Jersey, to intercept some vessels then in sight; and which, on their approach, were found to be some of the Dutch ships under convoy of the Prince William, and bound to different ports of the Mediterranean, particularly two to Marseilles, and two to Toulon. They were as strictly searched as could be done, at sea, in the space of an hour; but as no pretext was found for detain-

taining them, they were suffered to proceed on their voyage, and the captains assured me, that every thing passed with great civility and good order. I never received any complaint on this subject from Captain Betting, nor indeed, had he an opportunity to make me any, as he continued his course to the Mediterranean, and I steered for Gibraltar, from whence I came soon after to England. As it is well known that the Dutch merchants assist the King's enemies with warlike stores, I think I did no more than my duty in searching the vessels bound to those ports.

I would have answered your letter sooner, but I was willing to inform myself, first, from the captains who are now in England, whether any thing had happened on occasion of this search, which they had omitted to mention in their report to me.

E. BOSCAWEN."

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*Wednesday, Dec. 5. Translation of the declaration, which his serene highness Duke Lewis of Brunswick has delivered to the ministers of the belligerent powers, residing at the Hague, in the name of his Majesty, and of the King of Prussia.*

THEIR Britannic and Prussian majesties, moved with compassion at the mischiefs which the war, that has been kindled for some years, has already occasioned, and must necessarily produce; should think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to their tender concern for the preservation and well-being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the proper means to

put a stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of public tranquillity. In this view, and in order to manifest the purity of their intentions, in this respect, their said majesties have determined to make the following declaration, viz.

"That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place, which shall be thought most proper, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a solid and general peace, with those whom the belligerent parties shall think fit to authorise, on their part, for the attaining so salutary an end."

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*A short address from Lord George Sackville to the Public.*

THE various reports that have been propagated to my disadvantage, and the many falsehoods which have been asserted to ruin my character, lay me under the necessity of remaining not entirely silent, though I am debarred at present from stating my case to the public, as I should have done, had I not had assurances of obtaining a court-martial for my trial, the only legal and effectual method of convincing the world, how little foundation there has been for the torrent of calumny and abuse, which has been so maliciously thrown out against me.

I had rather, upon this occasion, submit myself to all the inconveniences that may arise from the want of stile, than borrow assistance from the pens of others, as I can have no hopes of establishing my character, but from the force of truth. I shall therefore, as plainly, and distinctly, as possible, relate a few circumstances,



circumstances, which will at least shew that nobody could be more desirous than I was to bring truth to light, and subject my conduct to the strictest scrutiny.

The instant I found by the implied censure given out in orders, the 2d of August, that my conduct had appeared in an unfavourable light to Prince Ferdinand, on the day of action, I endeavoured to inform myself what particular I had either failed in, or neglected my duty; I heard in general of disobedience of orders, but I could fix no certain period of time to my supposed crime, till Colonel Fitzroy acquainted me with what had passed between his serene highness and him upon this subject, in regard to the orders delivered to me by him (Colonel Fitzroy) that day; whenever my trial comes, I shall endeavour to clear up that point to the satisfaction of the public: my own assertions may have little weight, but the oaths of witnesses, whose veracity cannot be called in question, will, I trust, prove my innocence beyond the possibility of doubt.

Under these circumstances, I immediately applied for his majesty's permission to return to England, that I might answer any accusation that should be brought against me; for, as commander in chief of the British forces in Germany, no person there could order a court-martial for my trial, had there been an accusation laid; the power of summoning courts-martial and approving their sentences, was vested in me by my commission, and no British officer or soldier could be tried by any other authority.

As soon as I arrived in London, on Friday evening the 7th, I in-

stantly wrote the following letter to the secretary of state.

*My Lord,*

"I have the honour of acquainting your lordship with my arrival in England, in pursuance of his majesty's permission, sent to me, at my request, by your lordship.

I thought myself much injured abroad, by an implied censure upon my conduct; I find I am still more unfortunate at home, by being publicly represented as having neglected my duty in the strongest manner, by disobeying the positive orders of his serene highness Prince Ferdinand. As I am conscious of neither neglect nor disobedience of orders; as I am certain I did my duty to the utmost of my abilities; and as I am persuaded that the prince himself would have found, that he had no just cause of complaint against me, had he condescended to have enquired into my conduct, before he had expressed his disapprobation of it, from the partial representation of others: I therefore most humbly request, that I may at last have a public opportunity given me of attempting to justify myself to his majesty, and to my country, by a court-martial being appointed; that if I am guilty, I may suffer such punishment as I may have deserved; and, if innocent, that I may stand acquitted in the opinion of the world: but it is really too severe to have been condemned before I was tried, and to be informed neither of my crime, nor my accusers.

*I am, my Lord, &c. &c. &c.*

G. SACKVILLE."

I received an answer to this letter on Monday the 10th, in which I was assured, that a court-martial, upon my application, would be granted.

granted, as soon as the officers, capable of giving evidence, could leave their posts; but previously to the receipt of that letter, I was dismissed from all my military employments: notwithstanding which dismissal, I still hope, and am informed, that I may have the advantage of a legal trial.

In the mean time, the only indulgence I have to ask is, that the public will suspend its judgment till such facts can be produced, from whence alone the truth can appear. But if plans of a battle are to be referred to, which can give no just idea of it; if dispositions of the cavalry and infantry are supposed, which never existed; if orders for attacks and pursuits are quoted, which never were delivered; and if disobedience to those imaginary orders, are asserted as a crime, what can an injured officer, under such circumstances, have recourse to, but claiming that justice, which is due to every Englishman, of being heard before he is condemned? The sooner that happens, the happier I shall be, as I am conscious my innocence must appear, when real facts are truly stated and fully proved.

G. SACKVILLE.

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*We shall likewise subjoin the following letters, which have been published under the title of a Vindication of his lordship's conduct.*

*Copy of Lord G—— S——'s letter to Colonel Fitzroy.*

Minden, Aug. 3, 1759.

Dear Sir,

THE orders of yesterday, you may believe, affect me very sensibly. His serene highness has

been pleased to judge, condemn, and censure me, without hearing me, in the most cruel and unprecedented manner; as he never asked me a single question in explanation of any thing he might disapprove, and as he must have formed his opinion upon the report of others, it was still harder he would not give me an opportunity of first speaking to him upon this subject: but you know, even in more trifling matters, that hard blows are sometimes unexpectedly given. If any body has a right to say that I hesitated in obeying orders, it is you. I will relate what I know of that, and then appeal to you for the truth of it.

When you brought me orders to advance with the British cavalry, I was very near the village of Halen, I think it is called; I mean that place which the Saxons burnt. I was there advanced by M. Malhorte's order, and no farther, when you came to me. Ligonier followed almost instantly; he said the whole cavalry was to advance. I was puzzled what to do, and begged the favour of you to carry me to the duke, that I might ask an explanation of his orders.—But, that no time might be lost, I sent Smith with orders to bring on the British cavalry, as they had a wood before they could advance, as you directed; and I reckoned, by the time I had seen his serene highness, I should find them forming beyond the wood.—This proceeding of mine might possibly be wrong; but I am sure the service could not suffer, as no delay was occasioned by it.—The duke then ordered me to leave some squadrons upon the right, which I did; and to advance the rest to support

port the infantry. This I declare I did, as fast as I imagined it was right in cavalry to march in line.—I once halted by Lord Granby, to complete my forming the whole. Upon his advancing the left before the right, I again sent to him to stop.—He said, as the prince had ordered us to advance, he thought we should move forward.—I then let him proceed at the rate he liked, and kept my right up with him as regularly as I could, till we got to the rear of the infantry and our batteries.—We both halted together, and afterwards received no order, till that which was brought by Colonel Webb, and the Duke of Richmond, to extend one line towards the morass.—It was accordingly executed; and then, instead of finding the enemy's cavalry to charge, as I expected, the battle was declared to be gained, and we were told to dismount our men.

This, I protest, is all I know of the matter; and I was never so surprised, as when I heard the Prince was dissatisfied that the cavalry did not move sooner up to the infantry. ---It is not my business to ask, what the disposition originally was, or to find fault with any thing.---All I insist upon is, that I obeyed the orders I received, as punctually as I was able; and if it was to do over again, I do not think I could have executed them ten minutes sooner than I did, now I know the ground, and what was expected; but, indeed, we were above an hour too late, if it was the duke's intention to have made the cavalry pass before our infantry and artillery, and charge the enemy's line.---I cannot think that was his meaning, as all the orders ran to sustain our infan-

try.---And it appears, that both Lord Granby and I understood we were at our posts, by our halting when we got to the rear of our foot.

I hope I have stated impartially the part of this transaction, that comes within your knowledge.--- If I have, I must beg you would declare it, so as I may make use of it in your absence; for it is impossible to sit silent under such reproach, when I am conscious of having done the best that was in my power.--- For God's sake let me see you before you go for England.

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant.

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*Copy of Colonel Fitzroy's letter, to Lord G——S——.*

Minden, Aug. 3, 1759.

My Lord,

**H**IS serene highness, upon some report made to him by the Duke of Richmond, of the situation of the enemy, sent Captain Ligonier and myself with orders for the British cavalry to advance. ---His serene highness was, at this instant, one or two brigades beyond the English infantry, towards the left.---Upon my arrival on the right of the cavalry, I found Captain Ligonier with your lordship.---Notwithstanding, I declared his serene highness's orders to you: upon which you desired I would not be in a hurry.---I made answer, that galloping had put me out of breath, which made me speak very quick.---I then repeated the orders for the British cavalry to advance towards the left, and at the same time, mentioning the circumstance,

Cumstance, that occasioned the orders, added, "That it was a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves; and that your lordship, by leading them on, would gain immortal honour."

You yet expressed your surprize at the order, saying it was impossible the duke could mean to break the line. — My answer was, that I delivered his serene highness's orders, word for word, as he gave them. Upon which, you asked, which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide. — I undertook to lead them towards the left, round the little wood on their left, as they were then drawn up, where they might be little exposed to the enemy's cannonade.

Your lordship continued to think my orders neither clear nor exactly delivered; and expressing your desire to see Prince Ferdinand, ordered me to lead you to him; which order I was obeying when we met his serene highness. — During this time I did not see the cavalry advance. — Capt. Smith, one of your aids de camp, once or twice made me repeat the orders I had before delivered to your lordship; and I hope he will do me the justice to say, they were clear and exact. — He went up to you, whilst we were going to find the duke, as I imagine, being sensible of the clearness of my orders, and the necessity of their being immediately obeyed. — I heard your lordship give him some orders. — What they were I cannot say. — But he immediately rode back towards the cavalry.

Upon my joining the duke, I repeated to him the orders I had

delivered to you, and appealing to his serene highness, to know whether they were the same he had honoured me with, I had the satisfaction to hear him declare, they were very exact. — His serene highness immediately asked, where the cavalry was, and upon my making answer, that Lord G—— did not understand the order, but was coming to speak to his serene highness, he expressed his surprize strongly.

I hope your lordship will think I did nothing but my duty, as aid de camp, in mentioning to his serene highness my orders being so much questioned by your lordship.

I am, &c.

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*Copy of the declaration of Captain Smith, aid de camp to Lord G——*  
S——

Minden, Aug. 3. 1759.

WHAT I have to say with regard to the orders Col. Fitzroy brought, and to their not being put in execution, is—I heard Lord G—— S—— say, on his receiving them, as they differed from those he had just before received by Captain Ligonier, he would speak to the prince himself; and accordingly put his horse in a gallop to go to him. I immediately went up to Colonel Fitzroy, and made him repeat the orders to me twice. — I thought it so clear and positive for the British cavalry only to advance where he should lead, that I took the liberty to say to his lordship I did think they were so; and offered to go and fetch them, whilst he went to the prince, that no time might be lost. His answer was,

was, he had also an order from the prince, from Mr. Ligonier, for the whole wing to come away; and he thought it impossible the prince could mean that. I replied, that if he would allow me to fetch the British, they were but a part, and if it was wrong, they could sooner remedy the fault. — He said, then do it as fast as you can. — Ac-

cordingly I went, as fast as my horse could go, to General Mottyn. — He knows the rest. — This is all that pass, as near as I can recollect. — It was spoke as we galloped, and could not be long about, as I have been on the ground since, and do not believe, when his lordship sent me back, I had above six hundred yards to go to General Mottyn.



# STATE of the MILITIA of this Kingdom, in July 1759.

Counties.	Noblemen & Gentlemen Lieutenants	Numb. to be raised.	Officer'd & near comp.	Now on duty
Bedford	Bedford	400		
Berks	St. Albans	560	560	
Bucks	Temple	560	560	
Cambridge	Royston	480	480	
Chesler	Cholmond.	560	560	
Cornwall	Edgecumbe	640		
Cumberland	Egremont	320		
Derby	Devonshire	560		
Devon	Bedford	1600	1600	
Dorset	Shaftesbury	640	640	
Durham	Darlington	400		
Essex	Rochford	960	960	
Gloucester	Shedworth	960	960	
Hereford	C. H. Williams	480		
Hertford	Cowper	560	560	
Huntingdon	Manchester	320	320	
Kent	Dorset	960	960	
Lancaster	Strange	800		
Leicester	Rutland	560		
Lincoln	Ancaster	1200	1200	

Counties.	Noblemen & Gentlemen Lieutenants.	Numb. to be raised	Officer'd & near comp.	Now on duty
Middlesex	Newcastle	1600		
Tower	Cornwallis	1160		
Hamlets				
Monmouth	Col. Morgan	240	240	
Norfolk	Orford	960	960	
Northampton	Halifax	640		
Northumb.	Northumb.	560	560	
Nottingham	Newcastle	480		
Oxford	Old Interest	560		
Rutland	Exeter	120		
Salop	Powis	640		
Somerset	Pawlet	840	840	
Southampton	Bolton	960	960	
Stafford	Gower	560		
Suffolk	Grafton	960	960	
Surry	Onslow	800	800	
Suffex	Abergavenny	800	800	
Warwick	Hertford	640	640	
Westmorl.	J. Lowther	240		
Worcester	Coventry	560		

Counties.	Noblemen & Gentlemen Lieutenants.	Numb. to be raised	Officer'd & near comp.	Now on duty
Wilts	Pembroke	800		
York, W. R.	Rockingham	1240		
York, N. R.	Holdernesse	720	236	
E. R.	Irwin	400		
Anglesea	Ow. Myrick	80		
Brecknock	Col. Morgan	160	160	
Cardigan	Lisburne	120	120	
Caermarth.	Geo. Rice	200		
Carnarvon	John Wynn	80		
Denbigh	R. Myddleton	280		
Flint		120		
Merionet.	Cholmond.	80		
Montgom.		240		
Glamorgan	Plymouth	360		
Pembroke	Wm Owen	260		
Radnor	H. Gwyne	120		

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Bedford	Bedford	400		
Berks	St. Albans	560	560	
Bucks	Temple	560	560	
Cambridge	Royston	480	480	
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Cornwall	Edgecumbe	640		
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Devon	Bedford	1600	1600	
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Stafford	Gower	560		
Suffolk	Grafton	960	960	
Surry	Onslow	800	800	
Suffex	Abergavenny	800	800	
Warwick	Hertford	640	640	
Westmorl.	J. Lowther	240		
Worcester	Coventry	560		

# CHARACTERS.

## *Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.*

WE shall look upon this nobleman in two distinct lights; as a statesman, in which we shall consider his integrity and corruption; as a writer, in which we shall observe his genius or incapacity. And first, as a statesman; that he was a very able counsellor and a trusty one to his prince, will appear from his great excellence in penning those several remonstrances, arguments, answers, and declarations, which tended to support the constitution of the people, in vindication of that just equilibrium between the King, Lords, and Commons, which was notoriously invaded by the usurpation of Cromwell and his partizans. The merit of these arguments has been hitherto given to his master Charles the first; and the enemies of Mr. Hyde have accused him of having led the King too far into non-compliance with the will of his parliament: this imputation, however, will appear groundless to any one who will please to remember, that he presumed so far as to advise the King to amend and soften the acrimony of his answers to the parliament, from whom he was one of the commissioners: if he had so great an inclination to prevent the King from non-compliance, as has been said by some, he had here a fair opportunity of making a most fatal breach between them, by suf-

fering the acrimony of that answer to have passed to the Commons.

His tender concern for that important branch of the constitution, episcopacy, cannot be too much commended by those who have a regard for the religion of the church of England. He must be allowed to have well discharged his trust, in faithfully attending and instructing his pupil, the Prince of Wales; and to Lord Clarendon cannot be imputed any of his royal highness's excesses, who held them in the highest detestation, and by repeated and open advice endeavoured to depress them; which freedom often and greatly provoked the King, who said, that the lord chancellor was obstinate and imperious, and never liked any thing but what he proposed himself; a manifest symptom that he advised him well, but not gratefully; that the counsel was salutary, but not palatable. Indeed most of the allegations laid to his charge are so unreasonable at first sight, that we are apt to be surprized at the virulence of his too powerful enemies, who at length triumphed in his disgrace; and, to make that disgrace more contemptuous, caused his apology to the Lords to be burnt by the common hangman, which, with the punter, was certainly a *burning shame* and a *flagrant ignominy*.

Neither Charles the first or second were fools as to their understandings, and they both equally revered the counsels of Mr. Hyde and the lord chancellor: the son  
paid

paid a veneration to his advice, because he believed it to be just and wise, though to him not toothsome. His generosity to his most inveterate enemies, Coventry and Arlington, was illustrious; for when it was well known, that a combination had been entered into by those gentlemen to undo the chancellor, under the mediation of the favourite lady, it is well known, that he was applied to by several members of the house of commons to accuse them, who told him, that they would accuse him, and be beforehand with him, if he did not. They said, "That there was but one way to prevent the prejudice against him, which was by falling first upon them, which they, the members, could and would assist him in, if he would join them in such information as it could not but be in his power to do if he pleased; that they were both grown very odious in general, the one for his supercilious behaviour towards all men, and for the manner of getting into his office, by having an old faithful servant turned away: and the other, for being formerly entrusted and employed by Cromwell, and as notoriously corrupt in selling all offices, when entrusted by the King." They further told the lord chancellor, "That he never said or did any word or action in the most secret council, but they two had declared to his prejudice; and that if he would now, as secretly as might be, give them such information and light as might furnish matter of impeachment against those two gentlemen, they would divert the storm which was gathering, and which threatened to break upon his head;" all which application he politely rejected.

As to the calumny of his having hoarded vast estates in his administration, by corruption and bribery, the badness of his fortune, at the time of his disgrace, very evidently proves the contrary; which could not be owing to dissipations of his own, from which he was very averse, being a temperate man, a great reader, and no way inclined to waste. Another imputation of being chief minister, and having the power and credit to do, or advise to be done, all he had a mind to, it must be urged in his defence, that he had no such weak masters, or joint privy counsellors, to deal with, as to be governed solely by him, or to be controlled or directed in their measures (often of a very delicate, dangerous, and extraordinary texture) by one man, he often having given up his opinion, particularly in the war, from which he was more averse than any other man in the kingdom, whose constitution was sore, and whose pulse he had a right to feel and understand as well as most, and whose wealth, the sinews of war, was no ways able to support, as there was little or no money in the nation, and no alliances made with the neighbouring princes; a war which, the chancellor foresaw, would be the greatest misfortune to the kingdom. Nor was it owing to his majesty's want of foresight that alliances had not been made previously thereto, nor to his own want of care, or to that of the other privy counsellors intrusted with him, as co-operators in the direction of state; but to the conjunct and complicated affairs which distracted France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, the Empire and England. As he did



from his soul abhor the entering into this war, so likewise did he never presume, when it was entered into, to give any advice or counsel, or any other way meddle in the conducting it, than merely as a privy counsellor, leaving the other extrajudicial branches of it to those of the military department. He absolutely and determinately refused, with scorn, 10,000 l. a year offered to him by the French King, to bring his majesty into a treaty with that monarch; and was so far from being sole manager in those affairs, that it was well known, and not to be denied, that he was not twice in any room alone with his majesty for one whole year, and very seldom for three whole years together; which could not very well have happened, if he had had the King's ear at his command.

The distraction and discomposure of those times were evidently and frequently amended, rather than made worse by his administration; and if he cannot, in the first place, be charged with invading the constitution with Cromwell, so neither can he be charged with deserting or prejudicing the regal authority to which he was a professed friend. The number of illicit grants to which he refused to set the seal in Charles the second's time, the lady, in favour with the King, her creature Mr. Bennet, and the duke's dangerous favourite Mr. Coventry, all together, with the accumulated weight of the unprecedented Duke of Buckingham, concurring at once to undo him, did really and effectually make him odious to the people, since to him this powerful junto imputed every miscarriage: we believe, and may

affirm, that he was no ways instrumental in introducing those great calamities the plague and pestilence, which ruined the lives and connections of the people; nor will the fire of London be laid at his door; nor ought Brouncker's infamous treachery and cowardice, though never punished, but screened and protected, be alledged against him; and yet these calamitous times gave many opens to his enemies towards exerting their power and improving their influence against him wherein he was no ways concerned; how then can he be charged with the more exorbitant accusations of a design, with the King, to establish absolute monarchy, to dissolve parliaments by supporting a standing army, and overturning the establishment; who had a fair opportunity, in a more distracted time, to have joined ambitious men in such formidable projects? and with as little colour of reason can he be supposed so weak as to express himself, in the hearing of many of his majesty's subjects, that the King was in his heart a papist, admitting that he had so believed.

To the charges of venality and other articles, particularly that of his having advised the King to the sale of Dunkirk, the treatment which he received from the French King in his flight, and exile in that kingdom, was a sufficient testimony that that prince did never apprehend himself or crown any way obliged to the lord chancellor for that or any other service; nor were or could any of the seventeen articles of impeachment against him be proved; though if it was possible to have been effected, it is notorious, he had enemies enough who would find out ways and means to prove

prove any single one of them, much more all of them.

And now having, as we apprehend, vindicated the lord chancellor from corruption, or foul administration as a statesman, and proved his ability, integrity, and trust as a servant, we shall consider him as a genius and a writer; and a most excellent writer he is confessed to be by his worst enemies. His history of the civil wars stands a monumental proof of his being the best, the most accurate, and polite historian of his time, or indeed any other time. He does not, like other historians, trifle away his labour in a detail of facts, a dry narrative, and insipid relation, a minute circumstantial account of things, persons, times, or places, but he illustrates those points by throwing incidental lights upon them; and a fact, when he relates it, becomes like a precious brilliant, reflecting rays from every point of it. When he makes us acquainted with persons, he introduces them with the accuracy of a diligent observer, one who knew the inmost recesses of the heart of man; he traverses their designs, and, like a lord chancellor, investigates, unravels and developes, all the windings, turnings, and evasions of the most subtle. How amiably does he handle a good character? we are enamoured with the virtuous, and lament the decay of goodness on the comparison with a vicious character, which he unmasks and lays open with the judgment of an artist. His colourings are of a most vivid and glossy complexion. His features are admirable, whether extraordinary on the side of virtue or vice. In short, few will deny to join in

commending the Lord Clarendon; as a very great man, but as a writer one of the best in the universe.

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*Character of the Stuart family, from Clarendon's life.*

THEY were naturally credulous, and submitted, very often, their judgments, which were very good, to be imposed upon by those who were weak. They were naturally virtuous, but easily led over and corrupted by the inclinations of those who were vicious; too much inclined to like men at first sight; did not care for men much older than themselves, despised old acquaintance, for no other reason, than because they were old. They could not deny any thing, and less to strangers than to themselves; they were enamoured of royal prerogative over-much, and thought a King of England, contrary to the constitution of England, should be like the King of France, agreeable to the constitution of France, that is, despotic. They were bounteous and generous, not for the sake of bounty or generosity, (which last was a flower that never grew naturally in the hearts of the Stuart family, or that of Bourbon) but because they could not deny, or withstand importunity, and often consented, where they were convinced they ought to have denied. If the Duke of York was more fixed than his brother Charles II. it was owing to his obstinacy, not to his judgments; he hated debate; and, to avoid it, resolved very often what and when he should not: his judgment was more subject to persons, than to arguments, which weighed little with him; whereas the king's judgment

was in greatest danger from quick starts, and was to be *taken by surprise*. The duke had both reverence and love for the king, and was in every respect more dutiful, submissive, and obedient to him, than any other subject the king had, some of whom he permitted to affront him unpunished; and to extort things from him by violence before his face, and contrary to his judgment: for the king's good-nature was excessive; he was over-facetious, over-familiar; and his excess in good-nature begat his excess in every thing else.

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*A succinct account of the person, the way of living, and of the court of the King of Prussia.*

**T**HE King of Prussia is about forty-seven years of age, in stature about five feet six inches, extremely well made, but somewhat remarkable in his deportment, yet very polite; his countenance is agreeable and sprightly; his voice musical and fine, even when he swears, which he rarely does, except when in a passion. He is better versed in the French language, and speaks it more fluent and correctly than the German, and never makes use of the latter, but to those whom he knows to be ignorant of the former. His hair is of a dark fine chestnut colour, and always in queue; he takes a pleasure in dressing it himself, and never wears night-cap, night-gown, or slippers, but only puts on a linen cloak when he dresses his hair. Three times in the year he has a new suit of the uniform of the first battalion of his guards, which is a blue cloth faced with red, and silver Brandenburgs,

after the Spanish manner; his waistcoat is plain yellow, a point d'ef-gagne hat, and white feather. He wears boots, and never appears in shoes, even at his public court days; this trifle gives him an air very constrained and particular to his foreign courtiers.

He always rises about five, and is busy till three quarters after six: at seven he dresses, and then receives letters, petitions, and memorials, and directs answers; and having dispatched these, at nine his ministers (or rather his domestics) attend him till eleven, at which time precisely he relieves his guards, and sees them perform their exercises; is very exact in correcting any mistake, and giving the word of command himself, unless he is indisposed; 'tis not therefore to be wondered, that most of the generals of other princes endeavour to imitate the Prussian exercise and discipline, as they are the best now in Europe: after this is done, he returns, and continues in the great hall of his palace, and grants public audience to any of his subjects, and permits them to present their own petitions; and so desirous is he to do justice, and relieve all injuries and oppressions, that he strictly commands his executive officers, to hear, determine, and adjudge all disputes without delay. Having dispatched his public affairs, he returns to his closet, and, though only his own domestics are present, he has so habituated himself in bending his body in a bowing posture, that he always retires bowing in the most courtly manner. As soon as he enters his closet, he resumes his business alone, or finishes with his ministers, if any thing remains undone before his going to the parade which frequently is the case; for  
let

let the business be never so important, he is punctual in relieving his guards at the stroke of eleven.

He sits down to dinner at half an hour after twelve in general, accompanied with his own ministers, and those of foreign princes, who are at Potsdam, and the officers of his first battalion of guards. His table consists of twenty-four covers, though it frequently exceeds that number. He is very elegant and particular in his deserts of fruit. The dinner-time does not exceed an hour; after dinner he walks about a quarter of an hour, conversing with some of the company, and then retires to his closet, bowing in his usual manner as he goes out.

He continues in private till five o'clock, when his reader comes to him and reads till seven, and his reading is succeeded by a concert, which lasts till nine. He takes great delight in, and understands music extremely well, and few can equal him upon the flute. His daily concert consists chiefly of wind instruments, and vocal music, which are the best in Europe; namely, three eunuchs, a counter-tenor voice, and Mademoiselle Astru, an Italian. These fingers cannot be equalled, for he will admit of none that are not superlatively excellent.

At nine, some of the Voltaires, Algarottis, Maupertuis and the other wits, never exceeding eight, including the King, and one or two of the King's favourites, who usually sup with him, meet in an apartment for that purpose: and supper is served up at half an hour after nine, which never consists of more than eight dishes, all introduced at the same time: from the time of supper wit flies about very freely till twelve, during which time the King lays

aside his majesty, and is only distinguished from the rest of the company by his superior wit and bons mots: at the stroke of twelve the King withdraws to bed, and is so exact, that the most entertaining subjects never make him exceed the time above five or ten minutes. In this manner the twenty-four hours are spent throughout the whole year; particularly during the nine months which the King spends at Potsdam; unless something extraordinary intervene, such as the present, when his thoughts are diverted from his private pleasures and amusements, and directed to the business of war. . . . He has an utter aversion to all sorts of gaming, and in general to most rural amusements.

The daily expence of his table for the kitchen is fixed at 33 German crowns, or five guineas and a half English money. For this sum he has 24 dishes, 16 for dinner and 8 for supper; the former consists of 24 covers, and the latter of eight; if there be more than 24 covers, he pays the overplus to the purveyor of the kitchen, at the rate of a crown a head: all the sea-fish and game is not included in this expence, but is charged to the King over and above the five guineas and a half. Out of the thirty-three crowns, the purveyor pays for wood and coals, and buys the kitchen furniture, such as tables, kitchen linen, and in general, every thing that belongs to it, the wages of the cooks excepted, which the King is charged with extraordinarily. There are four cooks employed in the kitchen, a Frenchman, Italian, Austrian, and Prussian, and each of them dresses four dishes for the dinner, and two for the supper; so that in this variety of cook-

ry. 'tis calculated that every man's palate may be pleased, which is the intent of the King in having four cooks of four different countries, of which his company generally consists. Whether the King be present or not, he gives a dinner all the year through to the officers of his battalion; and allows them a bottle of wine and a bottle of beer alternately each day, between two. There are also made ready every day at twelve o'clock, three large dishes of roast and boiled meat, bread and beer, for the officers of his two other battalions of foot-guards, and every one may take of this as he pleases; 'tis a sort of whet before dinner, the price of which is also fixed with the purveyor of the kitchen, who provides at his own discretion a certain quantity. . . .

The King has an universal knowledge; but excels in nothing so much as in the art of war, in which, by the mere natural strength and superiority of his judgment, he at once became a general and a hero. He distinguishes with precision, what inferior minds never discover at all, the difference between great difficulties and impossibilities, and being never discouraged by the former, has often seemed to execute the latter. He is indefatigably laborious and active, cool and intrepid in action, discerns as by intuition, seizes with rapidity, and improves with skill the short but favourable, and often decisive moments of battle. Modest and magnanimous after victory, he becomes the generous protector of the subdued and captive enemies. Resolute and undaunted in misfortunes, superior to distresses, and struggling with difficulties, which no courage nor constancy but his own would have resisted, or could have

surmounted. . . . He is a very good judge of composition, whether in verse or prose, in both which he has been an author himself with good success. He has a great deal of humour, and succeeds well in raillery, and is very satirical on those whom he has any dislike to.

He is a great politician, and very conversant on the nature of finances, and more so as to the value of commerce; and knows very well how to sow in order to reap. He treats every body with great civility and respect, being extremely solicitous to oblige the meanest of his subjects, and makes his dignity familiar to them, by the modesty and simplicity of his behaviour, and never thinks himself too great for the lowest offices of friendship and humanity. . . The salaries are but trifling which he annexes to the great officers of his court, and most of them *in partibus*. Through all his territories he has no governors of provinces or cities; he himself commands alone. The commanding officers of the regiments serve for governors, wherever they are in garrison; nor has he any establishment for a staff in any of his places. These three articles cost immense sums to other potentates. A soldier who distinguishes himself and is observant of military discipline, generally meets with the King's particular favour, and very probably in twenty or thirty years, may rise through all the steps till he gets the command of a regiment.

His only ministers are justice and humanity, though he has an officer stiled a chancellor, who does not open his mouth. A grand veneur, who dare not kill a quail. A cup-bearer, who knows not whether he has any wine in his cellar. A master of the horse, who dare not order

one of them to be saddled. A chamberlain, who has never given him his shirt. A great master of the wardrobe, who does not know his taylor. The functions of all these great officers are exercised by one single person, whose name is Frederickstoft, who is likewise valet de chambre, and private secretary in ordinary, and has filled all these nominal posts for several years. His own extensive mind forms all his plans of government, undebased by ministerial interests and misrepresentations.

His whole household consists of eight gentlemen pages, as many footmen, fourteen running footmen, and sixteen men with dresses of different sorts, after the manner of the Eastern nations, all in rose colour with galloon lace. In all his apartments the furniture is very neat and plain, the hangings of rose colour pale lilies, both for himself, the two queens, and the rest of the royal family.

The late King his father loved hunting, and kept a very expensive equipage on that account; but his present majesty has an utter aversion to it; and on his advancement to the throne, sent for the grand veneur (who was a great lover of the diversion) to lay before him an account of the annual expence of the chase; who represented it as a great benefit to the King to continue it, and urged it so far as to tell him, that if he suppressed it, he would lose 23,000 crowns a year by it: upon which the King told him, that he would give him all his game, and the fish in his rivers, in consideration of 20,000 crowns a year, and would pay him for all he had occasion for himself. The poor veneur who had asserted by his own account

that he must be a great gainer at this rate, durst not refuse the offer, and inadvertently laid a snare in which he was caught himself, and proved his ruin: for he was at last obliged to abscond, and had neither money nor game.

The queen consort is as good a woman as lives, and greatly esteemed by the King for her virtues, tho' he seldom sees her, and never cohabits with her. The Princess Amelia is very agreeable and lovely, and possessed of every amiable qualification to render her accomplished. Prince Henry is very amiable, and extremely polite and generous. Prince Ferdinand has distinguished himself in such an extraordinary manner in Germany, that his great qualifications are too well known to need a recital here: therefore let it suffice to say, that he is loved and esteemed by all who know him. . .

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*Character of General Wolfe.*

General Wolfe seemed by nature formed for military greatness; his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehension amazingly quick and clear: his constitutional courage was not only uniform, and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed that higher species of it, (if I may be allowed the expression,) that strength, steadiness, and activity of mind, which no difficulties could obstruct, nor dangers deter. With an unusual liveliness, almost to impetuosity of temper, he was not subject to passion: with the greatest independence of spirit, free from pride. Generous almost to profusion: he contemned every little art for the acquisition of wealth, whilst he searched after objects

jects for his charity and beneficence: the deserving soldier never went unrewarded, and even the needy inferior officer frequently tasted of his bounty. Constant and distinguishing in his attachments: manly and unreserved, yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners. He enjoyed a large share of the friendship, and almost the universal goodwill of mankind; and, to crown all, sincerity and candour, a true sense of honour, justice, and public liberty, seemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rule of his conduct.

He betook himself, when very young, to the profession of arms; and with such talents, joined to the most unwearied assiduity, no wonder he was soon singled out as a most rising military genius. Even so early as the battle of La-feldt, when scarce twenty years of age, he exerted himself in so masterly manner, at a very critical juncture, that it drew the highest encomiums from the great officer then at the head of our army.

During the whole war he went on, without interruption, forming the military character; was present at every engagement, and never passed undistinguished. Even after the peace, whilst others lolled on pleasure's downy lap, he was cultivating the arts of war. He introduced (without one act of inhumanity) such regularity and exactness of discipline into his corps, that, as long as the six British battalions on the plains of Minden, are recorded in the annals of Europe, so long will Kingsley's stand amongst the foremost of that day.

Of that regiment he continued lieutenant-colonel, till the great minister who roused the sleeping genius of his country, called him forth

into higher spheres of action. He was early in the most secret consultations for the attack of Rochfort: and what he would have done there, and what he afterwards did do at Louisbourg, are very fresh in every memory.

He was scarce returned from thence, when he was appointed to command the important expedition against Quebec. There his abilities shone out in their brightest lustre: in spite of many unforeseen difficulties, from the nature of the situation, from great superiority of numbers, the strength of the place itself, and his own bad state of health, he persevered, with unwearied diligence, practising every stratagem of war to effect his purpose: at last, *singly, and alone in opinion*, he formed, and executed, that great, that dangerous, yet necessary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat, and will for ever denominate him *The Conqueror of Canada*. But there — tears will flow — there, when within the grasp of victory, he first received a ball through his wrist, which immediately wrapping up, he went on, with the same alacrity, animating his troops by precept and example: but, in a few minutes after, a second ball, through his body, obliged him to be carried off to a small distance in the rear, where roused from fainting in the last agonies by the sound of *they run*, he eagerly asked, "Who run?" and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he said, "Then "I thank God; I die contented;" and almost instantly expired.

On Sunday, November 17, at seven o'clock in the morning, his majesty's ship Royal William (in which this hero's corpse was brought from Quebec to Portsmouth) fired

two signal guns for the removal of his remains. At eight o'clock the body was lowered out of the ship into a twelve-oar'd barge, towed by two twelve-oar'd barges, and attended by 12 twelve-oar'd barges to the bottom of the point, in a train of gloomy silent pomp, suitable to the melancholy occasion, grief shutting up the lips of the fourteen barges crews. Minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, from the time of the body's leaving the ship to its being landed at the point at Portsmouth, which was one hour. The regiment of invalids was ordered under arms before eight, and being joined by a company of the train in the garrison at Portsmouth, marched from the parade there, to the bottom of the point, to receive the remains. At nine the body was landed, and put into a travelling hearse, attended by a mourning coach, (both sent from London,) and proceeded thro' the garrison. The colours on the fort were struck half flag staff; the bells were muffled and rung in solemn concert with the march; minute guns were fired on the platform from the entrance of the corpse to the end of the procession; the company of the train led the van with their arms reversed; the corpse followed; and the invalid regiment followed the hearse, their arms reversed. They conducted the body to the Landport gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearse proceeded thro' them on their way to London. Although there were many thousands of people assembled on this occasion, not the least disturbance happened; nothing to be heard but murmuring broken accents in praise of the dead hero.—

On the 20th at night, his body was deposited in the burying place belonging to his family, at Greenwich.

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*Some particulars of the life of Dr. Halley.*

Edmund Halley was the only son of a soapboiler in Winchester-street. He was born in London, Oct. 29, 1656, and educated at St. Paul's school, under the tuition of Dr. Gale. In his early years he discovered an uncommon genius for learning, and before he was fifteen had made a considerable progress in mathematics, more particularly in those branches that led to the knowledge of heavenly bodies. In his seventeenth year he was entered a commoner in Queen's College; and before he was nineteen published in the Philosophical Transactions, a direct and geometrical method of finding the Aphelia and Eccentricity of the planets, by which the hypothesis advanced by Kepler was reduced to demonstration. Some observations which he made on an eclipse of the moon, June 27, 1675, and upon a spot in the sun the year following, determined the motion of the sun round its own axis, which was not till then sufficiently ascertained. The same year he observed at Oxford an occultation of Mars by the moon, which he afterwards had occasion to refer to in settling the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope.

Astronomy now became his favourite study. He had in his youth, by unwearied application, an uncommon share of classical learning; and this in his riper years gave him the more leisure to pursue

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due his progress in the sciences. He had accurately observed the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, and had corrected some errors in the tables of those planets; and he had taken some pains to complete the catalogue of fixed stars, a task which he soon found upon enquiry, was in other hands. He then formed his great design of perfecting the whole scheme of the heavens, by the addition of those stars which lie so near the South pole, that they could neither be seen by Mr. Flamsteed at Greenwich, nor Hevelius at Dantzick, the two astronomers who had undertaken to complete the catalogue. Full of this project he left the university, and with the consent of his father, and the royal recommendation, he embarked for St. Helena on board one of the East-India company's ships, in November 1676, before he had acquired, by his residence, any title of those degrees of university honours, that are alike conferred on wise men and fools.

After his arrival he lost no time in pursuing his task, and having finished it to his own satisfaction, in 1678 he returned to London, and delineated a planisphere, on which he laid down the exact place of all the stars near the South pole, and presented it to his majesty, who had already honoured him with his patronage, and who, as a further mark of his royal favour, gave him a letter of mandamus to his university for the degree of master of arts, in compliance with which the degree was conferred Dec. 3, 1678, and the same year he was chosen a fellow of the royal society.

By the tables, which he soon after published, he shewed, from his own observations, that former

astronomers had been defective in calculating the motions of the heavenly bodies; that Saturn moved much slower, and Jupiter more swiftly than had been before imagined; and that the obliquity of the ecliptic was no less erroneous.

About this time a contest had arisen between our countryman Mr. Hook, and the renowned Hevelius, already mentioned, about the preference of plain or glass lights in astronomical instruments; and Mr. Halley, who was scarce two and twenty, was pitched upon by the royal society to go over to Dantzick, to terminate the dispute. Mr. Halley was charmed with the old gentleman's manner, who had been an observer above forty years, and he was no less so with his conversation and the politeness with which he was received. From May 26, till July 18, the two astronomers continued their observations almost every night, and on taking leave, Mr. Halley gave a testimony of the accuracy of the old astronomer's apparatus, which not a little pleased him, and disgusted Mr. Hook. It would be foreign to our design to enter into the merits of this dispute, and therefore we shall only take notice that the learned Dr. Wallis took upon him, in some measure, to justify Mr. Halley, by declaring thus far in his favour, that if he had been too lavish in his commendations of Hevelius, Mr. Hook had been the same in his reprehensions; and thus the matter rested.

In 1680 Mr. Halley, accompanied by his friend and school-fellow, the pious Mr. Robert Nelson, set out for France, and about the midway between Calais and Paris he was the first who discovered the remarkable comet of that year, in its return from the

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fun. He had already observed it in its descent, and had now the satisfaction of a complete gratification of his curiosity, in viewing that extraordinary phænomenon from the royal observatory, which was then but just erected in France; and at the same time an opportunity of establishing a friendly correspondence between the royal astronomers of Paris and Greenwich, the celebrated Cassini and Mr. Flamsteed.

From Paris the travellers continued their journey, with a view to make what is commonly called the grand tour; and passing through Lyons, arrived in Italy, where they spent the greatest part of the year 1681: Mr. Halley's affairs calling him home, he left his companion at Rome, and returning by the way of Paris, he had a second opportunity of visiting Signior Cassini, whom he assisted in reforming his instruments, which he found very difficult to manage; and having communicated to one another their former observations upon this comet, as well those made at Greenwich, as those made at Paris, a foundation was laid for settling the path of it, and of the establishing a new astronomy with respect to these celestial bodies.

It was not, however, till two years after, that he predicted the comet which now appears, and which must now be universally acknowledged, to the honour of his memory, to have been foretold by an Englishman\*.

Upon his return to England he married Mary the daughter of Mr. Tooke, at that time auditor of the Exchequer, a young lady amiable in her person, and of excellent endowments, with whom he lived happy fifty-five years.

The following year, 1682, he settled at Islington, and published his theory of the variation of the magnetical compass, in which he supposes the whole globe of the earth to be one great magnet, having four poles or points of attraction, by which the needle is successively governed as it approaches nearest to either. But this hypothesis, tho' well received at first, by reason of its novelty, was afterwards found irreconcilable to practice, and rejected by himself for one that appeared to many no less whimsical than the former; but this he persisted in with great obstinacy, and the rather, as it solved all the appearances of the variation, without absolutely giving up the four poles on which rested the credit of his first conjecture. He supposed the outer surface of the earth to be a shell, like that (for illustration sake) of a cocoa nut; that within this shell was a smaller shell, not occupying the whole hollow space, but admitting a floating medium between the inside of the outer, and the outside of the inner shell; that both these, having the same common center and axis of diurnal rotation, would, by continual turning, vary a little; and by that means the

\* This comet in 1682 was accurately observed at Greenwich by Mr. Flamsteed, when it came to its perihelion, Sept. 4; and Mr. Halley having traced it back to its appearance in 1607, when the time of its perihelion was Oct. 16; and thence to 1531, when it came to its perihelion Aug. 25; ventured to foretell, that it would appear again about the end of 1758, or the beginning of 1759; a prediction which reflects immortal honour upon the memory of this great man, and upon the country in which he was born.

poles would in time become different; but that both the inner and outer poles having the same power of attraction, would produce the greater or lesser variation as they happened to be at a greater or less distance from each other: this amendment is by some disregarded; by none that we know of adopted; and yet some late experiments, made both by the French and English in different parts of the world, seem now to favour it.

Mr. Halley spared no pains to establish his theory by repeated experiments, and he had so much credit with King William after the revolution, that he obtained the command of the *Paramour Pink* to complete his observations. In his first attempt, his men proving sickly, and his first lieutenant refusing to obey orders, he returned without effecting any thing; but having suspended his lieutenant, and procured of the government another ship of less burthen to attend him, he took his departure from the coast of England in September 1699, and having traversed the vast Atlantic ocean from one hemisphere to the other, as far as the ice would permit, in his way back he touched at St. Helena, the coast of Brazil, Cape Verd, Barbadoes, Madeira, the Canaries, the coast of Barbary, and in many other latitudes, till at length he arrived in England in 1700, and published a general chart, shewing, at one view, the variation of the compass in all those seas where the English navigators were acquainted; by which he laid a foundation for the discovery of the laws of that variation, so different in different parts of the world.

The method of finding the longitude at sea, by the motions of the moon, was first projected by

Mr. Halley, who took great pains to reduce it to practice; but at the very time when he was most intent upon perfecting his observations, his father's death, and the unexpected reverse of fortune that happened to him on that occasion, put a period to his pleasurable studies, and obliged him to turn his thoughts to the support of a numerous family. His father, who, before the fire of London, was possessed of an estate in houses of 1000l. a year, partly by imprudence in marrying a second wife, and partly by misfortunes, died insolvent.

Mr. Halley, disappointed of his paternal inheritance, began to think seriously of converting that knowledge and experience, which had cost him so much labour and study, to his own more immediate advantage, and it was fortunate for him that he made himself acceptable to Sir Isaac Newton, by applying to him for the solution of a problem which had baffled the skill of Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Hook, who were at that time celebrated all over Europe for their great skill in the mechanical powers, and for their knowledge in the sciences; which Mr. Newton answered without hesitation. Mr. Newton was then at Cambridge, and employed in his *Principia*, a work now so well known, that it is scarce necessary to mention more of the title: he was pleased with the application made to him by Halley, and ever after conceived a friendship for him.

In the interval between his first voyage and his father's death, Mr. Halley had made many useful discoveries, which are omitted in their place, particularly a method of measuring the elevation of very high

high mountains and other eminences, by the barometer, and the physical causes of the trade winds and monsoons, which he illustrated by a chart, representing their direction, wherever they blow, in every part of the globe; he accounted also for the equality of height in the Mediterranean sea, notwithstanding the continual accumulation of waters to it by nine large rivers, and the constant setting in of the current in the mouth of the Straits, without any visible discharge by any canal whatever.

We should likewise have taken notice, that Mr. Halley was chosen assistant secretary to the royal society, on the resignation of Dr. Musgrave, in 1685; and in 1691 he was disappointed of the Savilian professorship at Oxford, by the jealousy of Mr. Flamsteed, who took it in his head that he had suffered in estimation of Sir Isaac Newton, by Mr. Halley's growing friendship with that great man.

Soon after this mortification, he published his tables, shewing the value of annuities for lives, calculated from the bills of mortality at Breslau in Silesia; and the same year came out his famous universal theories for finding the foci of optic glasses.

In 1695 he resigned the office of assistant secretary, and was appointed comptroller of the Mint at Chester in 1696. Here his active genius gave no way to idleness. He employed himself during the two years that this subsisted, in philosophical experiments and physical disquisitions, and his hypothesis concerning the cause of the universal deluge by the approach of a comet, which Mr. Whiston adopted

in his new theory of the earth, was about this time produced.

We have already related the success of his voyages in the *Paramour Pink*, before which he was employed by King James II. to observe the course of the tides in every part of the British channel, and to take the latitude and longitude of the principal headlands, which he performed with great accuracy, and in 1702 published a large map of the British channel. The same year he was sent by Queen Anne to the Emperor to view the coast of Dalmatia, and to construct a safe harbour for shipping, as commodious as possible for the trade of the Adriatic sea; but some objections being made to this project by the Dutch, the execution of the design was deferred, and Mr. Halley returned home, with very singular marks, however, of the Emperor's favour, who gave him from his own finger a ring of considerable value. Not long after his arrival in England he was again sent upon the same errand, and in his way to the Emperor's court, had the honour to sup with his late majesty King George I. at his palace of Herenhausen, where he was entertained with great marks of respect. On his arrival at Vienna he was again presented to the Emperor, who ordered his chief engineer to attend him to Istria, where they added some new works to the fortifications of Trieste, the port of Bocari being found capable of receiving ships of all burdens with the greatest safety.

In the year 1703, just before the great storm, he returned to England, and Dr. Wallis being then dead, he was now appointed Savilian Professor at Oxford without opposition, and was complimented with

with the degree of doctor of laws by that university. Here he was employed in translating, and revising some ancient authors on the abstruser parts of mathematics, particularly Apollonius de sectione rationis and Serenus's Conics.

In 1713 he succeeded Sir Hans Sloane in the post of secretary to the royal society; and, as perfecting the theory of the moon's motion was always uppermost in his thoughts, tho' prevented from it by the multiplicity of public business, he now applied all his leisure hours to that subject, and in 1715 he was able by that means to predict the central eclipse of the sun to a few minutes, and to project a map of the extent of the moon's shadow to such a degree of exactness, as advanced his reputation in that article of astronomy beyond the reach of party opposition. On the death of Mr. Flamsteed in 1719, he was appointed to succeed him. By this new employment he was not only enabled to pursue his favourite studies without interruption, but he was also possessed of a competency to support his family without that anxiety of mind, to which, by the uncertainty of his income, he had long been subject.

When he was advanced to Greenwich he was in the 64th year of his age; notwithstanding which he attended the telescope with uncommon application for 18 years without any assistance: in all which time a meridian view of the moon scarce ever escaped him whenever the disposition of the heavens would permit. In 1721 he resigned the post of secretary to the royal society, that nothing might interrupt the business of his new employment. Upon the accession of his present

majesty to the throne, the late Queen Caroline made a visit to the royal observatory, and being highly delighted with the polite reception she met with, was pleased to add to his salary the half-pay of a captain of the navy, to which, by his former commission, he had an undoubted claim; but he declined the offer that was made him of being appointed mathematical preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, as incompatible with his years, and the ordinary attendance of his duty at Greenwich.

In August 1729 he was admitted a foreign member of the academy of sciences at Paris, in the room of Signior Branchini; and in 1731 he published a proposal for finding the longitude at sea within a degree, having perfected his tables for one whole period of the moon's apogæum, in which time he had observed the right ascension of the moon at her transit over the meridian near 1500 times; a number not less than Tycho Brahe, Hævelius, and Flamsteed's added together.

In 1737 he was seized with a paralytic disorder in his right hand, an attack the more alarming as it was the first he had ever felt upon his constitution; which gradually increasing, he came at length to be wholly supported by such cordials as were ordered by his physicians, till being tired with these, he asked for a glass of wine, and having drank it, expired as he sat in his chair, on the 14th of January, and in the 86th year of his age, without a groan. He was interred at Lee, near Greenwich, in the same grave with his beloved consort. And as he was a member whose name reflected honour upon  
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the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, Mr. Mairan, according to custom, pronounced his eulogy, from which these further particulars are extracted. "He, says Mairan, possessed all the qualifications necessary to please princes who are desirous of instruction; great extent of knowledge, and a constant presence of mind; his answers were ready, and at the same time pertinent, judicious, polite, and sincere. When Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, came into England, he sent for Mr. Halley, and found him equal to the great character he had heard of him. He asked him many questions concerning the fleet he intended to build, the sciences and arts which he wished to introduce into his dominions, and a thousand other subjects which his unbounded curiosity suggested; he was so well satisfied with Mr. Halley's answers, and so pleased with his conversation, that he admitted him familiarly to his table, and ranked him among the number of his friends, a term which we may venture to use with respect to a prince of his character; a prince truly great, in making no distinctions of men but that of their merit. But Mr. Halley, continues this writer, possessed still more of the qualifications necessary to obtain him the love of his equals. In the first place he loved them; naturally of an ardent and glowing temper; he appeared animated in their presence with a generous warmth, which the pleasure alone of seeing them seemed to inspire; he was open and punctual in his dealings, candid in his judgment, uniform and blameless in his manners, sweet and affable, always ready to communicate, and disin-

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terested. He opened a way to wealth by all that he effected for the improvement of navigation: to the glory of which he has added, that of having done nothing to enrich himself: he lived and died in that mediocrity so much extolled by philosophers, the free choice of, which implies a great degree both of virtue and wisdom. The only mere lucrative place he ever had, was that in the mint at Chester, which soon determined, and he never desired another. He was generous, and his generosity exerted itself even at the expence of vanity, from which the learned are no more exempted than other men, and which perhaps they more frequently betray. I am furnished, proceeds Mr. Mairan, with an instance of this, by a letter which accidentally came into my hands about six years ago, written by him to an author whom he knew only by reputation. Mr. Halley, in this letter, with equal sagacity and politeness, points out an error in a very critical calculation which that author had fallen into, in treating on the principal point of a question in astronomy and physics. It must not however be concealed, that Mr. Halley never published that letter, although it would certainly have done him honour; but we must not too particularly reveal a secret, from the concealment of which he derives still more.

The reputation of others gave him no uneasiness, a restless jealousy and anxious emulation were strangers to his breast. He was equally ignorant of those extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. The friend, countryman, and disciple of Newton, he spoke of Dea

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Cartes with respect ; and successor to Dr. Wallis, he did justice to the merit or our ancient geometri- cians. To conclude, these uncom- mon and valuable qualifications were tempered in Mr. Halley with a vein of gaiety and good hu- mour, which neither his abstracted speculations, the infirmities of old age, nor the palsy itself, which seized him some years before his death, could impair : and this hap- py disposition, the gift of nature, was the more perfect, as it was still attendant upon that peace of mind, which is the noblest endowment of virtue." Since his death, his long expected tables of the sun and planets were published in 1752, in 4to. with this title, *Astronomical Tables, with precepts both English and Latin, for computing the places of the sun, moon, planets, and comets.*

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*An account of Baron Holberg, ex- tracted from An enquiry into the present state of polite learning in Europe.*

THE history of polite learn- ing in Denmark, may be comprized in the life of one single man ; it rose and fell with the late famous Baron Holberg. This was, perhaps, one of the most extraor- dinary personages that has done honour to the present century. His being the son of a private cen- tinel, did not abate the ardour of his ambition ; for he learned to read, though without a master. Upon the death of his father, being left entirely destitute, he was in- volved in all that distress, which is common among the poor, and of which the great have scarce any

idea. However, tho' only a boy of nine years old, he still persisted in pursuing his studies, travelled about from school to school, and begged his learning and his bread. When at the age of seventeen, in- stead of applying himself to any of the lower occupations, which seem best adapted to such circum- stances, he was resolved to travel for improvement from Norway, the place of his birth, to Copen- hagen, the capital city of Denmark. He lived here by teaching French, at the same time avoiding no oppor- tunity of improvement, that his scanty funds could permit. But his ambition was not to be restrained, or his thirst of knowledge satis- fied, until he had seen the world. Without money, recommendations, or friends, he undertook to set out upon his travels, and make the tour of Europe on foot. A good voice, and a trifling skill in music, were the only finances he had to support an undertaking so extensive ; so he travelled by day, and at night sung at the doors of peasants houses, to get himself a lodging. In this man- ner, young Holberg passed through France, Germany, and Holland, and, coming over to England, took up his residence for two years in the university of Oxford. Here he subsisted by teaching French and music, and wrote his *Universal History*, his earliest, but worst per- formance. Furnished with all the learning of Europe, he at last thought proper to return to Co- penhagen, where his ingenious pro- ductions quickly gained him that favour he deserved. He composed not less than eighteen comedies ; those in his own language are said to excel, and those which are wrote in French have peculiar merit. He

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was honoured with nobility, and enriched by the bounty of the King ; so that a life begun in contempt and penury, ended in opulence and esteem.

*To this account we shall subjoin the following extract from a work of Mons. Beaumelle, written originally in French, and published a few years since under the title of Mes Pensées, giving a farther account of Baron Holberg, and the present state of the Danish stage.*

**T**HE Danish comedy owes its birth and progress to the Baron Holberg : this learned and ingenious gentleman has drawn from his fruitful vein seven or eight volumes of dramatic performances ; his manner is exact, dry, natural, at least if one can judge by the German translation ; every where as correct as Terence, and sometimes as pleasant as Plautus : the reading of the modern French comic writers has not spoiled him ; no insipid dialogues, no metaphysical scenes, no over-exquisite and fine-spun sentiments. It is easier for a foreigner to say what he is not, than to guess what he is ; among his countrymen, such as are delicate and nice judges object to him his low jests, and a profusion of that gross humour proper only to please the taste of the mob ; they say that Mr. Holberg has not the language of the polite world ; that he makes choice only of the low and trivial in manners ; that he should have made more brilliant foibles the objects of his humour ; that he might have found in high life persons, characters, and follies more interesting : in a word, they compare him to those painters who co-

py nature exactly, but who never study nature in her beauties. But these censures are too severe ; because the professor Holberg deserves some indulgence, for his being not only the father of the stage, but besides that he has no successor ; not to mention that he is the first professor of a college who has obliged the world with valuable comedies.

Melampus, The Honest Ambition, The Whimsical Lady, Henry and Perine, are not farces : we translate every day English plays that are much inferior to them : this author had without doubt excelled in polite comedy, if the pit had permitted him to follow his own taste ; it was this pit that extorted from him the Political Pewterer, Plutus and Ulysses.

The stage might be easily perfected : we ought first to proscribe all the French farces which painful translators turn into Danish, at ten crowns a piece : there is in every country more than wit enough to compose good farces ; what occasion therefore is there for translating any ? We ought to be exceeding delicate in the choice of translations : in this kind their list of plays should offer only what are wrought in the highest perfection ; good œconomy requires that in matters of pleasure nothing should be borrowed from foreigners, but what is excellent and exquisitely finished : A stage should translate only to form itself ; it should therefore copy only great models : The Miser, the Misanthrope, the Gamester, the Boaster, will perfect the taste of authors and of the pit. The Mock Doctor, the Festin de Pierre and Nanine, are enough to vitiate both the one and the other.



To have good original pieces, it is necessary to encourage the authors; and to encourage them, we must solicit them with the temptation of gain: the stage should be the patrimony of men of parts and wit, and every performance paid according to the number of the representations. If authors consulted their interest, they would not print their pieces, 'till after the first fire of the public curiosity was somewhat abated. The custom observed in Denmark of printing the piece at the same time with the play-bill, irritates the spirit of criticism, and blunts the edge of our curiosity. The self-love of the poet cannot pay too great a regard to the delicacy of the spectator.

The Danish stage will be imperfect as long as there are no tragedies performed there; it will be, if I may be allowed the expression, a limping stage. The Danes have only some few scenes of the *Cid* translated by Mr. Rostgaard, the best of their poets. Some persons charge their language for not being proper for tragedy: but is it credible that a tongue, whose tone is so plaintive and so moving, should not be proper to convey the pathetic, and express sentiments? Others pretend that the character of the nation is repugnant to it: but is it conceivable, that a haughty, noble, and generous nation, cannot produce authors that can treat of the most highly interesting subjects; that are acquainted with the human heart, and are capable of moving the passions? If the Danes have no tragedies, 'tis neither the fault of their language, nor their want of genius; but is purely to be ascribed to circumstances: their stage is but in its infancy; and the

language of the poets among them is not yet become the language of the gods. Be this as it will, they never will have excellent comedies, till they have, at least, bad tragedies.

I forgot to observe, that their comedies are all in prose. At Paris, it is found infinitely difficult to keep up the spirit of the piece, in prose, for five acts: at Copenhagen they judge it infinitely more so to keep it up in verse, without reckoning that the mechanism of poetry seems there ridiculous in the mouths of people who should speak naturally, simply, and without any preparation.

The actors are as good as the pieces they perform. As the profession of a comedian in Denmark is neither stigmatized by the law, nor by religion, nor by the customs of the country, this occupation is exercised by young persons, who for the most part have had a liberal education, who have natural and improved understandings. In France, players are despised by the people, and caressed by the nobility: in Denmark they are not, 'tis true, caressed by the men of quality, but neither are they despised by the commonalty. It were to be wished, for the perfection of the stage, that they should be admitted into the best company; they would soon catch their manner, and amuse the public by copying them. Their *Harlequin* is tolerable: a tour to Paris would quite form him. Their *Fop* is such as suits a country where no such character is found in perfection.

As to the actresses, they are less handsome than pretty, more pretty than agreeable, more agreeable than good. The public is divided between *Mademoiselle Shilo* and *Mademoiselle*

demoiselle Materné, the one is more applauded, the other is better loved. Paris would look upon the first as a very delicate morsel.

Some people complain that the actors want taste in dress: this reproach falls with more justice upon the actresses. Yet, I must declare my sentiments, even at the risk of lying under the imputation of rudeness: their ornaments are without elegance, and their dress without imagination. The stage that should give the tone to fashions, receives them from the court, the court borrows them from the city, the city has them from Hamburgh, which imports them from Paris, from Berlin, from Dresden, and from Hanover, and spoils them all, by mixing with them that clumsy spirit which the heavy air of trade throws upon every thing.

Methinks the directors are not attentive enough to procure new subjects: they never have the first appearance of an actress, or setting out of a new actor. This is, however, the only means of putting the stage upon a solid footing, and of keeping continually alive the curiosity of the public.

The salaries of the actors are not very considerable, nor are those of the actresses proportionable either to their talents or to their conduct.

The room of the playhouse is built with judgment, the seats distributed with œconomy, the machines composed with a great expence and simplicity: the stage is almost as large as the pit; which is a sensible defect. They say that the music of the orchestra is very good; it may be so, but the interludes are so long, that it has always considerably tired me.

This company has its directors:

would it not be better that they directed themselves, and that they had, as in France, the gentlemen of the bed-chamber for their superiors?

Nothing of what tends to the perfection of the public spectacles and sciences can be indifferent to the public good; and I should be glad that Denmark, which distinguishes itself in so many particulars, would distinguish itself in every thing.

There is at Copenhagen a company of French comedians; they have a pension from the King. It would be an easy matter to take proper measures to put them in a condition to represent all the good pieces, and to represent them with success."

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*Characters of Magliabechi, and Hill an English taylor, with a parallel, by Mr. Spence.*

THE Italian, who forms one part of this comparison, is Signor Antonio Magliabechi, Librarian to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This man was born at Florence, Oct. 29, 1633. Such was the poverty of his parents, that they thought themselves happy in getting him into the service of a man who sold herbs and fruit. Here he took every opportunity, though he could not tell one letter from another, to pore on the leaves of some old books that served for waste paper, declaring that he loved it of all things. A neighbouring bookseller, who observed this, took him into his service. Young Magliabechi soon learned to read; and his inclination for reading became his ruling passion; and a prodigious memory his distinguishing

guished talent. He read every book that came into his hands, and retained not only the sense of what he read, but often all the words, and the very manner of spelling, if singular. To make trial of the force of his memory, a gentleman lent him a manuscript he was going to print. Some time after it was returned, the gentleman came to him, with a melancholy face, and pretended it was lost. Magliabechi being requested to recollect what he remembered of it, wrote the whole, without missing a word, or varying the spelling. He was consulted by all the learned who proposed to write on any subject. If a priest for instance, was going to compose a panegyric on a saint, Magliabechi would tell him every author, to the number of an hundred sometimes, who had said any thing of that saint, naming the book and the page, and the very words. He did this so often, and so readily, that he came at last to be looked upon as an oracle; and Cosmo III. Grand Duke of Florence, made him his librarian, the most suitable office to Magliabechi's genius. In the latter part of his life, when a book came into his hands, he would read the title page all over, dip here and there in the preface, dedication, and prefatory advertisements, if there were any; and then cast his eyes on each of the divisions, sections, or chapters. After this he could tell at any time what the book contained.

Though Magliabechi must have lived a very sedentary life, yet he attained to the age of 81. He died July 14, 1714. in the midst of the public applause, after enjoying, during all the latter part of his

life, such an affluence as very few persons have ever procured by their knowledge or learning. By his will he left a very fine library collected by himself, for the use of the public, with a fund to maintain it; and the overplus of the fund to the poor. It had been usual for every author and printer to make him a present of a copy of every thing they published.

Though he was not an ecclesiastic, he never would marry. He was quite slovenly in his dress. He received his friends, and those who came to consult him on any point of literature, in a civil and obliging manner; though in general he had almost the air of a savage, and even affected it; together with a cynical or contemptuous smile. In his manner of living, he affected the character of Diogenes: three hard eggs, and a draught or two of water, were his usual repast. When any one went to see him, they most usually found him lolling in a sort of fixed wooden cradle, in the middle of his study, with a multitude of books, some thrown in heaps, and others scattered about the floor, all around him; and this his cradle, or bed, was attached to the nearest piles of books by a number of cobwebs. At their entrance he commonly used to call out to them, "Not to hurt his spiders."

Mr. Spence selects to compare with this very extraordinary man, ROBERT HILL, born Jan. 11, 1699, at Miswell, near Tring, in Hertfordshire. His mother lost her husband within the year; and about five years after married another at Buckingham. This child was left with his grandmother,

who

who taught him to read, and sent him to school, for seven or eight weeks, to learn to write; which was all the schooling he ever had. At the age of eleven he was set to drive the plough: but his constitution being weakly, he was bound apprentice, in 1714, to his father-in-law, whose name was Robinson, a taylor, at Buckingham. Two years afterwards he got part of an accidence and grammar, and about three fourths of Littleton's dictionary. He conceived a violent passion for reading, and wanted greatly to learn Latin, for no other reason, that he remembers, but that he might be able to read the Latin epitaphs in the church. As his master would not allow him time from his work by day, he used to procure candles as privately as he could, and read for good part of the nights. In 1717, the small-pox coming into Buckingham, he was sent to Tringgrove, and employed in keeping his uncle's sheep. The happiness of the Arcadian swains of romance-writers was not equal to Robin's, while he could lie under an hedge, and read all day long; though his library consisted only of the Practice of Piety, the Whole Duty of Man, and Mauger's French Grammar.

Returning to Buckingham in 1719, he had the satisfaction of meeting with his old friend the Latin grammar, and by the assistance of the boys at the free-school, attained to read the Latin Testament, and Cæsar's Commentaries. A Greek Testament being soon after added to his books, he resolved to learn Greek. In the mean time, his wife proving a very good breeder, his income became deficient: he therefore in 1724, set

up for a school-master, as well as a taylor. In this new employment he was brought into a terrible dilemma: a boy from a neighbouring school, who had learned decimal fractions, came to Hill's school, when Hill himself had got but a little way in division. He set his new scholar to copy the tables of decimal fractions in Wingate, which engaged him about six weeks; and in the mean time, by sitting up the greatest part of every night, he made himself master of decimal fractions before that time was expired. About 1726, he maintained a controversy for two years with a popish bishop, who endeavoured to seduce one of his scholars. Two years after this he lost his wife, and in 1730, married a second, who proved a bad woman in all respects. The debts she brought upon him, obliged him, at the end of two years, to leave Buckingham, and to travel and work about the country as a taylor and staymaker. Some time before he set out, upon seeing some Hebrew quotations in the works of Mr. Weemsle, prebendary of Durham, he became extremely desirous of learning that language. For want of proper helps he laboured several years in this study with little success: and the difficulty of distinguishing between the pronunciation of the two vowels so alike, *Camæx* and *Camelscatter*, at last quite tired his patience, and he parted with all his Hebrew books. This was only a sudden gust of passion: his eagerness to master the Hebrew returned; and having bought (in 1737) Stennit's Grammar, it immediately cleared up his grand difficulty; and after this he went on successfully.

All this while, as it was necessary his place of residence should be concealed, he kept up no correspondence at Buckingham, so that death had kindly removed his greatest trouble, two or three years before he heard of it. She had, as he himself allows, one child, and, as she used to affirm, two by him: but the parentage of the latter was very equivocal. However, they both died soon after the mother, and Hill returned to Buckingham in the end of January, 1744. N. S. He maintained himself for four or five years, by his first occupation of taylor and staymaker; but marrying a third wife, in 1747. who proved as good a breeder as his first, this, with the dearth of provisions, and hardness of the times, reduced him to inexpressible distress.

Though his modesty had always made him keep his acquisition of the learned languages as secret as possible, it was rumoured about the country, "That he could read the bible in the same books, and the same strange figures as the travelling Jews did." A neighbouring clergyman, finding it to be true, took a liking to him, and has been his friend ever since. This gentleman, some time after, set him to write remarks on the *Essay on Spirit*, which appeared in 1753. and was the first piece of Mr. Hill's that was printed. The next thing the same gentleman employed him about was, a tract against the papists, shewing that the favourite doctrines of the church of Rome are novel inventions. About the same time he wrote *The Character of a Jew*, when the bill for naturalizing that people was in agitation. This, he says, was the best thing

he ever wrote, and was the least approved of. And, latterly, he has written *Criticisms on Job*, in five sheets, which is the largest of all his works.

He says, he would now engage to teach Hebrew to any body of tolerable parts, and with very moderate application, in six weeks, at an hour each morning; and another each afternoon. He is writing a Hebrew grammar, on which sort of subject he will probably succeed better than in any other, because it has been the most general study of his life. Mayr's grammar he thinks much the best of twenty Hebrew grammars he has read; he therefore intends to build his chiefly on Mayr's; as Mayr himself did on that of Cardinal Bellarmine. He says, it is very hard work sometimes to catch a Hebrew root; but that he never yet hunted after one which he did not catch in the end. He might affirm the same of every thing he has attempted, for his application and attention exceed what any one can conceive who hath not observed the process of his studies. He is a vast admirer of St. Jerom, whom he equals to Cicero. He says, he has had more light from father Simon, than from all our other writers put together. He thinks the Hutchinsonians wrong in almost every thing they advance. He is a most zealous son of the church of England. Of the poets, his chief acquaintance have been Homer, Virgil, and Ogilvy. The Iliad he has read over many times.

The Odyssey being put into his hands, in 1758, both in the original, and in Mr. Pope's translation, he was charmed with both, but

said

said that it read finer in the latter, than in Homer himself. Pope's Essay on criticism charm'd him still more: he called it "The wisest poem he had ever read in his whole life."

Hill seems to have been the better citizen, in marrying three times; and Magliabechi, perhaps, was the wisest student, in not marrying at all.

I am very sorry that there is still one point remaining, in which Hill is as unlike Magliabechi, as many of the preceding. Magliabechi lived and died, as has been already said, in very great affluence: he abounded in money, and his expences were very small, except for books; which he regarded as his truest treasure; whereas poor Mr. Hill has generally lived in want, and lately more than ever. The very high price, even of the most necessary provisions, for this and the last year, [that is 1758 and 1757] have not only made it often difficult for him to provide bread for himself and his family; but have in part stopt up even the sources for it, in lessening his business. Buckingham is no rich place at best; and even there his business has chiefly been among the lower sort of people; and when these are not able to purchase the food that is necessary for them, they cannot think of buying new cloaths. This has reduced him so very low, that I have been informed, that he has past many and many whole days, in this and the former year, without tasting any thing but water and tobacco. He has a wife and four small children, the eldest of them not above eight years old; and what bread they could get, he often

spared from his own hunger, to help towards satisfying theirs. People that live always at their ease, do not know, and can scarce conceive, the difficulties our poor have been forced to undergo in these late hard times. He himself assured me, upon my mentioning this particular to him, that it was too true, — "But alas! (added he) it is not only my case, but has been that of hundreds in the town and neighbourhood of Buckingham, in the last, and for the former part of this year [1758]; and I fear we must make many more experiments of the same kind, before it is at an end."

If any one in this age, so justly eminent for charities of almost all kinds, should be so far moved with the distress and necessities of so worthy and industrious a poor man, as to be inclined to help towards relieving him; they are humbly intreated to send any present which they might wish in his hands, either to Mr. Richardson, in Salisbury-court, Fleet-street, or Mess. Doddsley, booksellers, in Pall-mall, London; Mr. Prince, at Oxford; Mr. Thurlbourn, at Cambridge; Mess. Hamilton and Balfour, at Edinburgh; Mr. Faulkner, at Dublin; Mr. Owen, at Tunbridge; Mr. Leake, at Bath; Mr. Cadel, at Bristol; Mr. Hinxman, at York; Mr. Richardson, at Durham; Mr. Creighton, at Ipswich; Mr. Chafe, at Norwich; Mr. Burdin, at Winchester; Mr. Collins, at Salisbury; and Mr. Seeley at Buckingham: and they may be assured, that whatever may be thus collected, shall be put to the properest use for the service of him and his family.

*Some anecdotes extracted from the life of the Duke of Buckingham (son to the great Duke of Buckingham, killed by Felson, in the reign of Charles I.) from an original manuscript in the possession of the late Bishop Atterbury, written by Mr. Fairfax, and lately published.*

**T**HE duke, says Mr. Fairfax, inherited from his father the greatest title, and from his mother the greatest estate of any subject in England: and from them both so graceful a body, as gave a lustre to the ornaments of his mind.

The duke, and his brother Francis, were sent to Trinity college, Cambridge, whence they repaired to King Charles I. at Oxford; and there, says this their panegyrist, they chose two good tutors to enter them in the war, Prince Rupert, and my Lord Gerard; and went with them into a very sharp service, the storming of the Close at Litchfield. For this the parliament seized on their estates; but by a rare example of their compassion, restored it again, in consideration of their non-age.

They were now committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, and were sent to travel in France and Italy, where they lived in as great state as some of those sovereign princes. Florence and Rome were the places of their residence, and they brought their religion home again, wherein they had been educated, under the eye of the most devout and best of Kings. The duke did not, as his predecessor, in the title of Lord Ross, had done before him, who changed his religion at Rome, and left his tutor, Mr. Mole, in the

inquisition, for having translated King James's book, his Admonition to princes in Latin; and Du Pleffis Mournay's book of the mass into English.

Their return into England, was in so critical time, as if they had now chosen the last opportunity, as they had done the first, of venturing all in the King's service.

In the year 1648 the King was a prisoner in the isle of Wight, and his friends, in several parts of England, designing to renew the war; Duke Hamilton in Scotland, the Earl of Holland and others in Surry, Goring in Kent, many in London and Essex, and these were the last efforts of the dying cause.

The duke and brother, my Lord Francis, in the heat of their courage, engaged with the Earl of Holland; and were the first that took the field about Rygate in Surry.

The parliament, with their old army, knew all these designs, and despised them; till they grew so numerous in Kent, that the general himself was sent to suppress them, who found sharp service in storming of Maidstone, and taking of Colchester.

Some troops of horse were sent under the command of Colonel Gibbons, to suppress them in Surry; and then drove my Lord of Holland before them to Kingston, but engaged his party before they got thither, near Non-such, and defeated them.

My Lord Francis at the head of his troop, having his horse slain under him, got to an oak-tree in the high-way, about two miles from Kingston, where he stood with his back against it, defending himself, scornful to ask quarter, and they

bar-

\* Lady Catharine Manners, sole daughter and heir of Francis Earl of Rutland,

barbarously refusing to give it; till, with nine wounds in his beautiful face and body, he was slain. The oak-tree is his monument, and has the two first letters of his name, F. V. cut in it to this day.

Thus died this noble, valiant, and beautiful youth, in the twentieth year of his age. A few days before his death, when he left London, he ordered his steward, Mr. John May, to bring him in a list of his debts, and he so charged his estate with them, that the parliament, who seized on the estate, paid his debts.

His body was brought from Kingston by water to York-house in the Strand, and was there embalmed, and deposited in his father's vault in Henry the VIIIth's chapel.

The duke, after the loss of his brother, fled to St. Neod's, where, the next morning, finding the house where he lay surrounded, and a troop of horse drawn up before the gate, had time with his servants to get to horse, and then causing the gate to be opened, he charged the enemy, and killed the officer at the head of them, and made his escape to the sea-side, and to Prince Charles, who was in the Downs with those ships that had deserted the Earl of Warwick.

And now again the parliament gave him forty days time to return to England, but he refused, and chose rather to stay with the prince, who was soon after King Charles the second, and to follow him in his exile.

The parliament seized on his estate, the greatest of any subject in England, having now his brother's estate fallen to him; the yearly value was above 25,000 l.

It happened that the manor of Helmesly, which was his brother's, was given to my Lord Fairfax, with York-house in the Strand, for part of his arrears, and this fortunately came to him by his marrying my Lord Fairfax's daughter.

All that he had to live on beyond sea, was the money he got at Antwerp for his pictures, which were part of that costly and curious collection his father got together from Italy, by the help of Sir Henry Wootton, and others, which adorned York-house, to the admiration of all men of judgment in pictures. A note of their names and dimensions is all that is now left of them. The *Ecce Homo* of Titian was valued at 5000 l. being the figure of all the great persons in his time. The archduke bought it, and it is now in the castle of Prague. These pictures were secured and sent to him by his old trusty servant, Mr. John Traylman, who lived in York-house.

The King (Charles II.) resolving to go into Scotland, the duke attended him, and now again the parliament offered him to compound for his estate for 20000 l. which was less than a year's value; but he chose to run the king's fortune in Scotland, worse than exile, came with him out of Scotland into England; and at Worcester his escape was almost as miraculous as the King's in the Royal Oak. He escaped again into France, and went a volunteer into the French army, and was much regarded by all the great officers, signaling his courage at the siege of Arras and Valenciennes.

When he came to the English court, which was but seldom, the King was always glad to see him.

He



He loved his person and his company; but the great men about him desired rather his room than his company.

There then happened a great turn in the course of his life. My Lord Fairfax had part of his estate, about 5000 l. per annum, allotted him by the parliament, towards the payment of his arrears, due to him as general, and he remitted more than would have purchased a greater estate. They gave him the manor of Helmesly, the seat of the noble family of Rutland in Yorkshire, as a salve for the wound he received there, being shot through the body. They gave him also York-house in London, which was also the duke's.

The duke heard how kind and generous my Lord Fairfax was to the countess of Derby, in paying all the rents of the Isle of Man, which the parliament had also assigned to him, for his arrears, into her own hands, and she confessed it was more than all her servants before had done.

The duke had reason to hope my lord had the same inclinations as to this estate of his, which he never accounted his own, and the duke wanted it as much as the countess.

He was not deceived in his hopes, for my Lord Fairfax wished only for an opportunity of doing it. He lived in York-house, where every chamber was adorned with the arms of Villiers and Manners, lions and peacocks. He was descended from the same ancestors, Earls of Rutland, Sir Guy Fairfax his two sons having married two of the daughters of the Earl of Rutland; which my lord took frequent occasion to remember.

The duke resolved to try his fortune, which had hitherto been ad-

verse enough, and he had some revenge on her, by his translation of the ode in Horace, "*Fortuna sævis læta negotiis.*" Over he came into England, to make love to his only daughter, a most virtuous and amiable lady. He found a friend to propose it, and I think it was Mr. Robert Harlow.

The parents consented, and the young lady could not resist his charms, being the most graceful and beautiful person that any court in Europe ever saw, &c. All his trouble in wooing was, he came, saw, and conquered.

When he came into England, he was not sure of either life or liberty. He was an out-law, and had not made his peace with Cromwell, who would have forbid the banns if he had known of his coming over. He had a greater share of his estate, had daughters to marry, and would not have liked such a conjunction of Mars and Mercury, as was in this alliance; knowing my lord's affection to the royal family, which did afterwards produce good effects towards its restoration.

They were married at Nun-Apleton, six miles from York, Sept. 7, 1657, a new and noble house built by my Lord Fairfax, and where he kept as noble hospitality.

Cromwell, it seems, was so offended at this match, that he sent the duke to the Tower; which so provoked Lord Fairfax, that high words arose between him and the protector: but the latter dying soon after, I (continues this writer) carried the duke the news, and he had then leave to be prisoner at Windsor castle, where his friend Abraham Cowley was his constant companion. Richard Cromwell soon after abdicated,

cated, and then his liberty came of course.

This was the happiest time of all the duke's life, when he went to his father-in-law's house at Appleton, and there lived orderly and decently with his own wife: where he neither wanted, nor so abounded as to be tempted to any sort of extravagance, as he was after, when he came to possess his whole estate. He now understood the meaning of that paradox, *Dimidium plus toto*, with which he used to pose young scholars; and found by experience, that the half or third part of his own estate which he now enjoyed, was more than the whole which he had at the king's restoration.

Now he lived a most regular life, no courtships but to his own wife, not so much as to his after-beloved and costly mistress, the philosopher's stone.

My Lord Fairfax was much pleased with his company, and to see him so conformable to the orders and good government of the family. If they had any plots together, they were to the best purposes, the restoration of the royal family.

My Lord Fairfax's maxims in politics was, that the old veteran army which he had commanded, was not to be beaten by any new raised force in England, and that the King's friends shewed more affection than discretion in their plots, to restore him while they were united; and that this old army would never be beaten but by itself; as the event shewed, when Lambert and Monk divided them. But the most fatal influence of this opinion in my Lord Fairfax, was the night before the 30th of January, when some of his friends proposed to him to attempt

the next day to rescue the King, telling him that 20,000 men were ready to join with him; he said he was ready to venture his own life, but not the lives of others against the army now united against them.

The same appeared in the insurrection of Sir George Booth, which Lambert, with a brigade of this old army, did so easily suppress; the success whereof inspired him with the ambition of imitating Cromwell, in dissolving the parliament, and making himself protector.

The duke had given sufficient testimony of his loyalty, and my Lord Fairfax of his affection and desire to see the royal family restored; and now was the time of doing it.

General Monk in Scotland declared against Lambert, who marched against him with a strong body of horse.

My Lord Fairfax, and the duke with him, declared for Monk in Yorkshire; but the duke was obliged to withdraw, because his presence gave a jealousy, that the design was to bring in the King, which was too soon to be owned.

What the event was is well known. I shall only repeat the duke's words in an expostulatory letter to King Charles some years after: "As to your majesty's return into England, I may justly pretend to some share; since without my Lord Fairfax his engaging in Yorkshire, Lambert's army had never quitted him, nor the Duke of Albemarle marched out of Scotland."

The King's restoration, *voluenda dies en attulit ultro*, restored the duke to his estate, but such a train of expence with it, as brought him acquainted with bankers and scri-

veners,

veners, that infested it with the gangrene of usury, which it never recovered.

*Farther anecdotes from Lord Clarendon, which helps to put in a very strong light, the character of this extraordinary person.*

THE Duke of Buckingham has been mentioned before as a man of extraordinary conduct; the liveliness of his wit, and the sallies of his imagination bore him away; and indeed he paid as much submission to his passions, as other men would or should pay to their reason; but to nothing more conspicuous does this prodigy of a man appear than in his behaviour with respect to the King; whom he often grossly insulted. If the King had faults, this nobleman multiplied and magnified them with great assiduity to the eyes of the people, who loved the duke to that excess, that he was willing to believe that they had a design of making him King. For proof of this Lord Clarendon gives us the following short history.

There was one Braythwaite, a citizen, who had been a great confidant of Cromwell, and of the council of state. Upon the King's return this man fled beyond sea; but, *incognito*, made several voyages backwards and forwards, from Holland to London. Sir Richard Browne, then lord mayor of the city, a very diligent magistrate, discovered the presumption of Mr. Braythwaite, and informed the King of it, and having long endeavoured to apprehend him, he at length had an opportunity, but understood he was a servant of the Duke of Buckingham, and in great trust with him, as indeed he was his

steward. The major general told the King of this man; and confessed his surprize that the duke should retain so known, and so virulent an offender, representing him to his majesty as a person of dangerous parts, one worthy to be suspected for all disloyal purposes, and as like to bring them to pass as any man in England, of his condition. At this time the factious duke, by those faculties towards mirth, in which he excelled all other men of the age, had rendered himself very acceptable to the King, who delighted in nothing more than in those extravagancies of ridicule, with which the duke entertained himself and all other people, so as to become their darling.

His majesty told the duke what he had heard, concerning his steward; the duke received the animadversion submissively, and seemed to thank the King for his freedom; but begged him to hear what the man could say for himself; for that he was a very faithful servant to his estates, and was convinced, that he repented heartily for being concerned with Cromwell. The King admitted Braythwaite, heard him, and took him into favour. Some time after this, he came privately to the King, and told him, that in duty he thought himself bound to acquaint his majesty with what he had observed lately of the duke his master's conduct, for that he was very much altered, and kept company with people of very mean conditions, and of as desperate intentions, whom he used to meet at very unreasonable hours, and that he believed the duke was falling off from his allegiance, and humbly hoped that whatever unreasonable projects and extravagancies the duke should

should fall into, his majesty would not impute them to him, for that he designed to withdraw himself from his service. The Lord Arlington further confirmed this testimony; and it appeared that there was a poor fellow, who had a poorer lodging somewhere about Tower-hill, and who professed knowledge in horoscopes, or judicial astrology, and had, from a calculation of the duke's nativity, foretold him, that he would be King. Lord Arlington produced letters, which he had intercepted between the duke and the fortune-teller, and the suspicion became so flagrant, that the man and some others were committed to the Tower, where Lord Arlington examined them, and by full evidence, proved the guilt and treason to the King. One letter produced was to this effect, "That the duke, whom he styles prince, was the darling of the people, who had set their hearts and affections, and all their hopes upon his highness, and what great things his stars had destined him to," with many other such foolish and suttian expressions. His majesty was pleased to inform the chancellor, and told him in what places the duke had been since he absconded; that he stayed very little in any one place, and that he intended, on such a day, to be at the house of Sir Charles Wolesly, in Staffordshire, one of great eminence with Cromwell, of his council, and of those who had been sent by the house of commons to persuade that usurper to accept of the crown with the title of King. Upon the whole matter, which was evident enough, his majesty asked the chancellor, what way was the best to proceed with the duke; to which he answered, that he should be apprehended, and

committed to the Tower, and the King issued out his warrant to apprehend him, which came to the duke's ears, who secreted himself in holes and obscure places. The serjeant at arms followed him into Northamptonshire, but was refused admittance into the house, where he saw the duke enter, upon which information of the serjeant, he was immediately proclaimed, and removed from the privy council, and from his place of gentleman of the bed-chamber, being succeeded by the Earl of Rochester. The duke, in so dangerous a situation, sent his own secretary, Mr. Clifford, to the lord chancellor, to intreat him to interpose with his majesty in his behalf; who sent for answer, that he would do well to surrender himself, and, if possible, purge himself of the foul crimes with which he was accused: the duke also wrote to the King, professing his innocence, desiring him to let him be heard in private, and imputing to his enemies the malice of his prosecution. The King soon became weary of the prosecution, and seemed to have much apprehension of the duke's interest in parliament; upon these favourable aspects, and the interposition of Sir Robert Howard, the duke surrendered himself, was committed to the Tower, examined at the council-board, forgiven, and the whole weight of the accusation and prosecution laid upon the shoulders of the chancellor, who about this time was little able to bear such an additional weight, having lost his wife, the severest blow that ever befell him. But as if this was not sufficient to bear him down, the Duke of York was sent by the King, with many gracious expressions of condolment for his loss, to wish

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and desire that he would resign his seal of chancellor, for that his majesty was well informed that the parliament was incensed so much against him that they would, on their next meeting, have him impeached, and that it would be out of his power to save him, for that their rage was so great at the last prorogation, which they imputed to his advice, that to his majesty it appeared as if they were bent to take away his life. The chancellor was indeed as much amazed at this relation of the duke, as he could have been at the sight of a warrant for his execution; and though many eminent persons, particularly the Duke of York, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the general, went in person to sue for him, his majesty only answered, That what he did was for the lord chancellor's good, and the only way to preserve him from an enraged parliament: that this degradation would pacify them, and perhaps, by removing, would save him, whom they had vowed to destroy.

The lord chancellor had requested, that his majesty would visit him at his own house, (Clarendon-house) and though the King promised to grant him that favour, he did not, and thereupon he begged to be permitted to wait on him at Whitehall, where the King did meet him, with the duke, and had a long conference with him on his sudden disgrace. The King granted that he had been ever a faithful servant, but that he must of necessity take this salutary expedient, for that his innocence would no more defend him or secure him from the power of his enemies, than it had in the case of the Earl of Stafford. The lord chancellor urged many pleas, not that he

desired to keep his office, but that it should be taken from him in that ungracious manner by the King himself, which seemed a mark of his heavy displeasure, and would give room to his bitterest enemies to triumph in his disgrace, when they saw the King immediately instrumental in promoting it. These and other pleas were urged in vain; and the chancellor, on going into the coach, saw Sir William Coventry, his old and inveterate enemy, with Lord Arlington and the Lady, triumph, and looking together out of the window with great gaiety at the chancellor on his returning home, to him a sufficient and evident token from whence this unexpected shaft was shot. Some days passed without any farther resolutions as to the seal, but on the 30th day of August, 1667, the King sent Secretary Morrice with a warrant under the sign manual to require and receive the great seal; and as soon as the lord chancellor had delivered it to the secretary and he the King, Mr. May came into the King's closet, and falling on his knees to kiss his majesty's hand, said, *You are now King, which you never was before.*

The Lord Clarendon believed that now the storm was over, as he had no reason to have the least apprehension, (innocent as he declares himself) from the displeasure of the parliament, but the Duke of Buckingham unmasked himself, and being now restored to all his places and honours, openly joined the confederacy against Lord Clarendon; and the King himself, together with Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, the Lady, Mr. May, and Brouncker, boasted that they had effected so great a step towards his ruin. The Duke of Buckingham

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was made to believe, that it was by the Lord Clarendon's means he was disgraced, proclaimed, and imprisoned, whereas Lord Clarendon assures us, that he concerned himself no more in that prosecution, than as a privy counsellor for the King's service and safety.

The parliament met, and the King began his speech with notable reflections on the chancellor, he said, "That there had been some miscarriages lately, which had justly provoked them, and which led to create some differences between him and his parliament; but that he had now altered his councils, he made no question, but that they should agree for the future, and hoped they would supply his necessities, and provide for the payment of his debts, with an insinuation, that what had been formerly done amiss was by the advice of the person whom he had removed from his councils, and with whom he should not hereafter advise." Not satisfied with this, he let the parliament know, that he expected their thanks expressly in terms, for his having removed the lord chancellor, but this was debated long, and warmly, by both houses. The King grew angry, and acquainted both houses he expected it, as his honour was concerned in it, and sent the Duke of York to demand it in his name; he sent the Archbishop of Canterbury to require it of the bishops, and that if they opposed him, they should sorely repent it. In consequence of which repeated solicitation, both houses agreed not to displease the King, and they accordingly voted their thanks to his majesty, for having removed the lord chancellor from his councils. And now measures were entered into by the Duke of Buckingham, and the rest of the

confederates, to furnish materials of impeachment against him.

Mr. Seymour, a young man of great confidence and boldness, stood up in the house of commons, and in a long invective accused him of high treason and corruption.

The Lord Clarendon gives us the fifteen articles of the charge against him. His friends repaired to him with intreaties, that he would fly or make his escape, which scandalous advice he rejected, as he knew his innocence, and was well satisfied of his probity and integrity, in relation to every article of the charge, which, indeed, is heavy, and pregnant with plausible testimony against him; but which, however, Lord Clarendon as positively combats and redargues, particularly that one, of having kept a correspondence with Oliver Cromwell while the King was in exile; a calumny so improbable and foolish, that the King had publickly at Paris refuted it. However Mr. Seymour conducted the prosecution with great virulence, both within and without doors, and accused him of high treason at the bar of the house of lords, who debated about committing him to the Tower; and the King was induced to send the Bishop of Hereford to him, to advise him to withdraw and leave the kingdom.

In this crisis, he was deprived of the Duke of York's interest, by his highness having taken the small-pox. He declined the advice from his majesty without an absolute and positive command; the French ambassador wished him to retire to France, and the King signified to him, by the Duke of York, who was now recovered, that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should be gone, and the Bishop of Winchester came from the duke, who told him it was the duke's own advice, and

that it was absolutely necessary for him speedily to be gone, which at length he unwillingly obeyed; and having, by the friendship of Sir John Wolfenholm, got a boat at Erith, he took coach at his house on Saturday night the 29th of November, 1667, when it was dark, with two servants, and being accompanied by his two sons, and two or three other friends on horseback, he found the boat ready, and so he embarked about eleven o'clock that night, and in three nights more arrived at Calais, all places out of England being to him indifferent.

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*An account of a dispute between the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Ossory.*

**T**HE Duke of Buckingham, who assumed a liberty of speaking when and what he would, in a dialect unusual and ungrave, his similes and other expressions giving occasion of much mirth and laughter, one day said in the debate, "that whoever was against that bill, had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding:" which so much offended the Lord Ossory, who was eldest son to the Duke of Ormond, (who had very narrowly escaped the censure of the house lately, for reproaching the Lord Ashley with having been a counsellor to Cromwell, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present answer) that meeting him afterwards in the court, he desired the duke "that he would walk into the next room with him;" and there told him, "that he had taken the liberty to use many loose and unworthy expressions which reflected upon the whole Irish nation, and which he himself resented so much,

that he expected satisfaction and to find him with his sword in his hand;" which the duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair words and shifts he could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose courage was never doubted, that he could not avoid appointing a place where they would presently meet, which he found the other would exact to prevent discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself, than to send a message to him. And so he named a known place in Chelsea-fields, and to be there within less than an hour.

The Lord Ossory made haste thither, and expected him much beyond the time: and then seeing some persons come out of the way towards the place where he was, and concluding they were sent out to prevent any action between them; he avoided speaking with them, but got to the place where his horse was, and so retired to London. The duke was found by himself in another place, on the other side of the water, which was never known by the name of Chelsea-fields, which he said was the place he had appointed to meet.

Finding that night that Lord Ossory was not in custody, and so he was sure he should quickly hear from him, and upon conference with his friends, that the mistake of the place would be imputed to him; he took a strange resolution, that every body wondered at, and his friends dissuaded him from. And the next morning, as soon as the house was sat, the Lord Ossory being likewise present that he might find some opportunity to speak with him, the duke told the house, "that he must inform them of somewhat that concerned himself; and being sure that it would come to their notice

tice some other way, he had therefore chose to acquaint them with it himself;" and thereupon related, "how the Lord Ossory had the day before found him in the court, and desired him to walk into the next room, where he charged him with many particulars which he had spoken in that place, and in a few words he told him that he should fight with him; which though he did not hold himself obliged to do, in maintenance of any thing he had said or done in the parliament, yet that it being suitable and agreeable to his nature, to fight with any man who had a mind to fight with him," (upon which he enlarged with a little vanity, as if duelling were his daily exercise and inclination) "he appointed the place in Chelsea-fields, which he understood to be the fields over-against Chelsea; whither, having only gone to his lodging to change his sword, he hastened, by presently crossing the water in a pair of oars, and stayed there in expectation of Lord Ossory, until such gentlemen," whom he named, "found him there, and said, *They were sent to prevent his and the Lord Ossory's meeting, whom others were likewise sent to find for the same prevention.* Whereupon, concluding that for the present there would be no meeting together, he returned with those gentlemen to his lodging, being always ready to give any gentleman satisfaction that should require it of him."

Every body was exceedingly surprised with the oddness and unseasonableness of the discourse, which consisted, with some confusion, between aggravating the presumption of the Lord Ossory, and making the offence as heinous as the violating all the privileges of parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his

own courage and readiness to fight upon any opportunity, when it was clear enough that he had declined it by a gross shift: and it was wondered at, than he had not chose rather that some other person might inform the house of a quarrel between two members, that it might be examined and the mischief prevented. But he believed that way would not so well represent and manifest the lustre of his courage, and might leave him under an examination that would not be so advantageous to him, as his own information; and therefore no persuasion or importunity of his friends, could prevail with him to decline that method.

The Lord Ossory seemed out of countenance, and troubled that the contest was like to be only in that place, and cared not to deny any thing that the duke had accused him of; only "wondered, that he should say he had challenged him for words spoke in the house, when he had expressly declared to him, when his grace insisted much upon the privilege of parliament to decline giving him any satisfaction, *that he did not question him for any words spoken in parliament, but for words spoken in other places, and for affronts, which he had at other times chosen to bear, rather than to disturb the company.* He confessed, he had attended in the very place where the duke had done him the honour to promise to meet him;" and mentioned some expressions which he had used in designing it, which left the certainty of it not to be doubted.

When they had both said as much as they had a mind to, they were both required, as is the custom, to withdraw to several rooms near the house: and then the lords entered upon



upon debate of the transgression ; many insisting " upon the magnitude of the offence, which concerned the honour and safety of the highest tribunal in the kingdom, and the liberty and security of every member of the house. That if in any debate any lord exceeded the modest limits prescribed, in any offensive expressions, the house had the power and the practice to restrain and reprehend and imprison the person, according to the quality and degree of the offence ; and that no other remedy or examination could be applied to it, even by the King himself. But if it should be in any private man to take exceptions against any words which the house finds no fault with, and to require men to justify with their swords all that they say in discharge of their conscience, and for the good and benefit of their country ; there is an end of the privilege of parliament and the freedom of speech : and therefore that there could not be too great a punishment inflicted upon this notorious and monstrous offence of the Lord Ossory, which concerned every lord in particular, as much as it did the Duke of Buckingham ; who had carried himself as well as the ill custom and iniquity of the age would admit, and had given no offence to the house, towards which he had always paid all possible respect and reverence."

They who considered the honour and dignity only of the house, and the ill consequence of such violations as these, which way soever their affections were inclined with reference to their persons, were all of opinion, " That their offences were so near equal, that their punishment ought to be equal : for that besides the Lord Ossory's denial that he had

made any reflection upon any words spoken in parliament, which was the aggravation of his offence, there was some testimony given to the house by some lords present, that the Lord Ossory had complained of the duke's comportment towards him, before those words used in the house by him, *of the Irish interest, or Irish understanding*, and resolved to expostulate with him upon it ; so that those words could not be the ground of the quarrel. And it was evident by the duke's own confession and declaration, that he was as ready to fight, and went to the place appointed by himself for encounter ; which made the offence equal." And therefore they moved, " that they might be brought to the bar, and upon their knees receive the sentence of the house for their commitment to the Tower."

Some who would shew their kindness to the duke, were not willing that he should undergo the same punishment with the other, until some lords, who were " known not to be his friends, were very earnest that the duke might receive no punishment, because he had committed no fault ; for that it was very evident that he never intended to fight, and had, when no other tergiversation would serve his turn, prudently mistaken the place that was appointed by himself ;" which was pressed by two or three lords in such a pleasant manner, which reflections upon some expressions used by himself, that his better friends thought it would be more for his honour to undergo the censure of the house than the penalty of such a vindication : and so they were both sent to the Tower.

And during the time they remained there, the bill against Ireland remained

mained in suspense, and uncalled for by these, who would not hazard their cause in the absence of their strongest champion. But the same spirit was kept up in all other arguments, the displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in contradictions and sharp replies on all other occasions; a mischief that is always contracted from the agitation of private affairs, where different interests are pursued; from whence personal animosities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the affair itself that produced those passions, is composed and ended. And this kind of distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the debate and contestation upon this bill.

Those two lords were no sooner at liberty, and their displeasure towards each other, suppressed or silenced by the King's command, but another more untoward outrage happened, that continued the same disturbance. It happened that upon the debate of the same affair, the Irish bill, there was a conference appointed with the house of commons, in which the Duke of Buckingham was a manager; and as they were sitting down in the painted chamber, which is seldom done in good order, it chanced that the Marquis of Dorchester sat next the Duke of Buckingham, between whom there was no good correspondence. The one changing his posture for his own ease, which made the station of the other the more uneasy, they first endeavoured by jostling, to recover what they had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct blows; in which the marquis, who was the lower of the two in stature, and was less ac-

tive in his limbs, lost his periwig, and received some rudeness, which nobody imputed to his want of courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

The misdemeanor, greater than had ever happened, in that place and upon such an occasion, in any age, when the least reverence to government was preserved, could not be concealed; but as soon as the conference was ended, was reported to the house, and both parties heard, who both confessed enough to make them undergo the censure of the house. The duke's friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other, always disposed them to affect any opportunity to manifest it. But the house sent them both to the Tower; from whence after a few days they were again released together, and such a reconciliation made, as after such rencounters is usual, where either party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the marquis had much of the duke's hair in his hands to recompense for his pulling off his periwig, which he could not reach high enough to do the other.

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*The character of Ben Johnson.*

**B**EN JOHNSON's name can never be forgotten, having by his very good learning, and the severity of his nature and manners, very much reformed the stage; and indeed the English poetry itself. His natural advantages were, judgment to order and govern fancy, rather than excess of fancy, his productions being slow and upon deliberation, yet then abound-

ing with great wit and fancy, and will live accordingly; and surely as he did exceedingly exalt the English language in eloquence, propriety, and masculine expressions; so he was the best judge of, and fittest to prescribe rules to poetry and poets, of any man who had lived with, or before him, or since: if Mr. Cowley had not made a slight beyond all men, with that modesty yet, to ascribe much of this, to the example and learning of Ben Johnson. His conversation was very good, and with the men of most note; and he had for many years an extraordinary kindness for Mr. Hyde, till he found he betook himself to business, which he believed ought never to be preferred before his company. He lived to be very old, and till the palsy made a deep impression upon his body, and his mind.

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*The character of Mr. Selden.*

**M**R. Selden was a person, whom no character can flatter or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding.

His style in all his writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men; but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young; and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London, and the parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were, which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them; but would have hindered them if he could, with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale.

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*The character of Mr. Cotton.*

**C**HARLES COTTON was a gentleman born to a competent fortune, and so qualified in his person and education, that for many

many years he continued the greatest ornament in the town, in the esteem of those who had been best bred. His natural parts were very great, his wit flowing in all the parts of conversation; the superstructure of learning not raised to a considerable height; but having passed some years in Cambridge, and then in France, and conversing always with learned men, his expressions were very proper, and significant, and gave great lustre to his discourse upon any argument; that he was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with books than he was. He had all those qualities which in youth raise men to the reputation of being fine gentlemen; such a pleasantness and gaiety of humour, such a sweetness and gentleness of nature, and such a civility and delightfulness in conversation, that no man in the court, or out of it, appeared a more accomplished person; all these extraordinary qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a clearness of courage, and fearlessness of spirit, of which he gave too often manifestation. Some unhappy suits in law, and waste of his fortune in those suits, made some impression upon his mind; which being improved by domestic afflictions, and those indulgencies to himself, which naturally attend those afflictions, rendered his age less revered, than his youth had been; and gave his best friends cause to have wished, that he had not lived so long.

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*Character of Mr. Vaughan.*

**J**OHAN VAUGHAN was then a student of the law in the Inner

Temple, but at that time indulged more to the politer learning; and was in truth a man of great parts of nature, and very well adorned by arts and books; and so much cherished by Mr. Selden, that he grew to be of entire trust and friendship with him, and to that owed the best part of his reputation; for he was of so magisterial and supercilious a humour, so proud and insolent a behaviour, that all Mr. Selden's instructions, and authority, and example, could not file off that roughness of his nature, so as to make him very grateful. He looked most into those parts of the law, which disposed him to least reverence to the crown, and most to popular authority; yet without any inclination to any change in government; and therefore, before the beginning of the civil war, and when he clearly discerned the approaches to it in parliament (of which he was a member) he withdrew himself into the fastnesses of his own country, North Wales, where he enjoyed a secure, and as near an innocent life, as the iniquity of that time would permit; and upon the return of King Charles the second, he appeared under the character of a man, who had preserved his loyalty entire, and was esteemed accordingly by all that party.

His friend Mr. Hyde, who was then become lord high chancellor of England, renewed his old kindness and friendship towards him, and was desirous to gratify him all the ways he could, and earnestly pressed him to put on his gown again, and take upon him the office of a judge; but he excused himself upon his long discontinuance (having not worn his gown, and wholly discontinued the profession

cession from the year 1640, full twenty years) and upon his age, and expressly refused to receive any promotion: but continued all the professions of respect and gratitude imaginable to the chancellor, till it was in his power to manifest the contrary, to his prejudice, which he did with circumstances very uncommendable.

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*Character of Sir Kenelm Digby.*

**S**IR Kenelm Digby was a person very eminent and notorious throughout the whole course of his life, from his cradle to his grave; of an ancient family and noble extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful fortune, notwithstanding the attainder of his father. He was a man of a very extraordinary person and presence, which drew the eyes of all men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful behaviour, a flowing courtesy and civility, and such a volubility of language, as surprised, and delighted: and though in another man it might have appeared to have somewhat of affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and seemed natural to his size, and mould of his person, to the gravity of his motion, and the tone of his voice and delivery. He had a fair reputation in arms, of which he gave an early testimony in his youth, in some encounters in Spain, and Italy, and afterwards an action in the Mediterranean sea, where he had the command of a Squadron of ships of war, set out at his own charge under the King's commission: with which, upon an injury received, or apprehended from the Venetians, he

encountered their whole fleet, killed many of their men, and sunk one of their galleasses; which in that drowsy and unactive time, was looked upon with a general estimation, though the crown disavowed it. In a word, he had all the advantages that nature and art, and an excellent education could give him; which, with a great confidence and presentness of mind, buoyed him up against all those prejudices and disadvantages, (as the attainder, and execution of his father, for a crime of the highest nature; his own marriage with a lady, though of an extraordinary beauty, of as extraordinary a fame; his changing, and re-changing his religion; and some personal vices, and licences in his life) which would have suppressed and sunk any other man, but never clouded nor eclipsed him, from appearing in the best places, and the best company, and with the best estimation and satisfaction.

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*Character of Mr. May.*

**T**HOMAS MAY was the eldest son of his father, a knight, and born to a fortune, if his father had not spent it; so that he had only an annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal education; yet since his fortune could not raise his mind, he brought his mind down to his fortune, by a great modesty and humility in his nature, which was not affected, but very well became an imperfection in his speech, which was a great mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any discourse but in the company of his very friends. His parts of nature

ture and art were very good, as appears by his translation of Lucan (none of the easiest work of that kind) and more by his supplement to Lucan, which being entirely his own, for the learning, the wit, and the language, may be well looked upon as one of the best epic poems in the English language. He writ some other commendable pieces, of the reign of some of our Kings. He was cherished by many persons of honour, and very acceptable in all places; yet (to shew that pride and envy have their influences upon the narrowest minds, and which have the greatest semblance of humility) though he had received much countenance, and a very considerable donative from the King; upon his majesty's refusing to give him a small pension, which he had designed and promised to another very ingenious person, whose qualities he thought inferior to his own; he fell from his duty, and all his former friends; and prostituted himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the King; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits, when he left his honesty; and so shortly after died miserable and neglected; and deserves to be forgotten.

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*Character of Mr. Carew.*

**T**HOMAS CAREW was a younger brother of good family, and of excellent parts, and had spent many years of his youth in France and Italy; and returning from travel, followed the court; which the modesty of that time disposed men to do some time, be-

fore they pretended to be of it; and he was very much esteemed by the most eminent persons in the court, and well looked upon by the King himself some years before he could obtain to be sewer to the King: and when the King conferred that place upon him, it was not without the regret even of the whole Scotch nation, which united themselves in recommending another gentleman to it; of so great value were those relations held in that age, when majesty was beheld with the reverence it ought to be. He was a person of a pleasant and facetious wit, and made many poems (especially in the amorous way) which for the sharpness of the fancy, and the elegance of the language, in which that fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that time: but his glory was, that after fifty years of his life, spent with less severity or exactness than it ought to have been, he died with the greatest remorse for that licence, and with the greatest manifestation for christianity, that his best friends could desire.

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*Character of Sir Lucius Carey.*

**H**E had the advantage of a noble extraction, and of being born his father's eldest son, when there was a greater fortune in prospect to be inherited (besides what he might reasonably expect by his mother) than came afterwards to his possession. His education was equal to his birth, at least in the care, if not in the climate; for his father being deputy of Ireland, before he was of age fit to be sent abroad, his breeding was

was in the court, and in the university of Dublin, but under the care, vigilance, and direction of such governors and tutors, that he learned all those exercises and languages, better than most men do in the most celebrated places; inasmuch as when he came into England, which was when he was about the age of eighteen years, he was not only master of the Latin tongue, and had read all the poets, and other of the best authors with notable judgment for that age, but he understood, and spake, and writ French, as if he had spent many years in France.

He had another advantage which was a great ornament to the rest, that was a good and plentiful estate, of which he had the early possession. His mother was the sole daughter and heir of the Lord Chief Baron Tanfield, who having given a fair portion to with daughter in marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his land, and his other estate, in such manner as he should think fit; and he settled it in such a manner upon his grandson Sir Lucius Carey, without taking notice of his father or mother, that upon his grandmother's death, which fell out about the time that he was nineteen years of age, all the land, with two very good houses very well furnished (worth above two thousand pounds *per annum*) in a most pleasant country, and the most pleasant places in that country, with a very plentiful personal estate, fell into his hands and possession, and so his entire disposal.

With these advantages, he had one great disadvantage (which in the first entrance into the world is attended with too much prejudice)

in his person and presence, which was in no degree attracting and promising. His stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting, that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that no body would have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world: but then no man sooner, or more disappointed the general and customary prejudice; that little person and small stature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen, and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the strongest limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned, presence and strength, ever more disposed any man to the greatest enterprize; it being his greatest weakness to be too solicitous for such adventures: and that untuned tongue and voice, easily discovered itself to be supplied and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said, carried another kind of lustre, and admiration in it, and even another kind of acceptance from the persons present, than any ornament of delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness, and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire, and love him.

In a short time after he had possession of the estate his grandfather left him, and before he was of age, he committed a fault against  
his

his father, in marrying a young lady, whom he passionately loved, without any considerable portion, which exceedingly offended him; and disappointed all his reasonable hopes and expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken fortune, and desperate hopes in court, by some advantageous marriage to his son; about which he had then some probable treaty. Sir Lucius Carey was very conscious to himself of his offence and transgression, and the consequence of it, which though he could not repent, having married a lady of a most extraordinary wit, and judgment, and of the most signal virtue, and exemplary life, that the age produced, and who brought him many hopeful children, in which he took great delight; yet he confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful applications to his father for his pardon that could be made; and for the prejudice he had bro't upon his fortune, by bringing no portion to him, he offered to repair it, by resigning his whole estate to his disposal, and to rely wholly upon his kindness for his own maintenance and support; and to that purpose he caused conveyances to be drawn by council, which he brought ready engrossed to his father, and was willing to seal and execute them, that they might be valid; but his father's passion and indignation so far transported him (though he was a gentleman of excellent parts) that he refused any reconciliation, and rejected all the offers that were made him of the estate; so that his son remained still in the possession of his estate against his will; for which he found great reason afterwards to rejoice; but he

was for the present so much afflicted with his father's displeasure, that he transported himself and his wife into Holland, resolving to buy some military command, and to spend the remainder of his life in that profession: but being disappointed in the treaty he expected; and finding no opportunity to accommodate himself with such a command, he returned again to England; resolving to retire to a country life, and to his books; and since he was not like to improve himself in arms, he might advance in letters.

In this resolution he was so severe (as he was always naturally very intent upon what he was inclined to) that he declared, he would not see London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world; and that in his studies, he would first apply himself to the Greek, and pursue it without intermission, till he should attain to the full understanding of that tongue: and it is hardly to be credited, what industry he used, and what success attended that industry: for though his father's death, by an unhappy accident, made his repair to London absolutely necessary, in fewer years, than he had proposed for his absence; yet he had first made himself master of the Greek tongue (in the Latin he was very well versed before) and had read not only the Greek historians, but Homer likewise, and such of the poets as were worthy to be perused.

Though his father's death bro't no other convenience to him, but a title to redeem an estate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which he was compelled to sell a finer seat of his own; yet it



imposed a burthen upon him, of the title of a Viscount, and an increase of expence, in which he was not in his nature too provident, or restrained; having naturally such a generosity and bounty in him, that he seemed to have his estate in trust, for all worthy persons, who stood in want of supplies and encouragement, as Ben Johnson, and many others of that time, whose fortunes required, and whose spirits made them superior to ordinary obligations; which yet they were contented to receive from him, because his bounties were so generously distributed, and so much without vanity and ostentation, that except from those few persons, from whom he sometimes received the characters of fit objects for his benefits, or whom he intrusted, for the more secret deriving them to them, he did all he could, that the persons themselves who received them, should not know from what fountain they flowed; and when that could not be concealed, he sustained any acknowledgment from the persons obliged, with so much trouble and bashfulness, that they might well perceive, that he was even ashamed of the little he had given, and to receive so large a recommendation for it.

As soon as he had finished all those transactions, which the death of his father had made necessary to be done, he retired again to his country life, and to his severe course of study, which was very delightful to him, as soon as he was engaged in it: but he was wont to say, that he never found reluctance in any thing he resolved to do, but in his quitting London, and departing from the conversation of those he enjoyed there;

which was in some degree preserved, and continued by frequent letters, and often visits, which were made by his friends, from thence, whilst he continued wedded to the country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their stay with him, he looked upon no book, except their conversation made an appeal to some book; and truly his whole conversation was one continued *Convivium Philosophicum*, or *Convivium Theologicum*, enlivened, and refreshed with all the facetiousness of wit, and good-humour, and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His house where he usually resided (*Tew, or Burford in Oxfordshire*) being within ten or twelve miles of the university, looked like the university itself, by the company that was always found there. There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges, nor did the lord of the house know of their coming, or going, or who were in his house, till he came to dinner, or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony, or constraint to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire, in his library, and all the persons together, whose company they could wish, and not find, in any other society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote,

wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent book against the learned jesuit Mr. Nott, after frequent debates upon the most important particulars; in many of which, he suffered himself to be over-ruled by the judgment of his friends, though in others he still adhered to his own fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest points.

In this happy and delightful conversation, and restraint, he remained in the country many years; and until he had made so prodigious a progress in learning, that there were very few classic authors in the Greek, or Latin tongues, that he had not read with great exactness. He had read all the Greek and Latin fathers; all the most allowed and authentic ecclesiastical writers; and all the councils with wonderful care and observation; for in religion he thought too careful, and too curious an enquiry could not be made, amongst those whose purity was not questioned, and whose authority was constantly, and confidently urged, by men who were farthest from being of one mind amongst themselves; and for the mutual support of their several opinions, in which they most contradicted each other; and in all those controversies, he had so dispassioned a consideration, such a candour in his nature, and so profound a charity in his conscience, that in those points, in which he was in his own judgment the most clear, he never thought the worse, or in any degree declined the familiarity of those who were of another mind; which, without question, is an excellent temper for the propagation, and advancement of christianity. With these great ad-

vantages of industry, he had a memory retentive of all that he had ever read, and an understanding and judgment to apply it seasonably and appositely, with the most dexterity and address, and the least pedantry and affectation, that ever man, who knew so much, was possessed with, of what quality soever. It is not a trivial evidence of his learning, his wit, and his candour, that may be found in that discourse of his, against the infallibility of the church of Rome, published since his death, and from a copy under his own hand, tho' not prepared and digested by him for the press, and to which he would have given some castigations.

But all his parts, abilities, and faculties, by art and industry, were not to be valued or mentioned, in comparison of his most accomplished mind and manners: his gentleness and affability was so transcendent and obliging, that it drew reverence, and some kind of compliance from the roughest, and most unpolished, and stubborn constitutions; and made them of another temper in debate, in his presence, than they were in other places. He was in his nature so severe a lover of justice, and so precise a lover of truth, that he was superior to all possible temptations for the violation of either; indeed so rigid an exacter of perfection, in all those things which seemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common practice of men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved, and admired his virtue (as all who did know him, must love and admire it) did believe, that he was of a  
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temper and composition, fitter to live in *Republicâ Platonis*, than in *Fœce Romuli*: but this rigidity was only exercised towards himself; towards his friend's infirmities no man was more indulgent. In his conversation, which was the most chearful and pleasant that can be imagined, though he was young (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his age of twenty-five or twenty-six years) and of great gaiety in his humour, with a flowing delightfulness of language, he had so chaste a tongue and ear, that there was never known a profane or a loose word to fall from him, nor in truth in his company; the integrity and cleanliness of the wit of that time, not exercising itself in that licence, before persons for whom they had any esteem.

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*Character of Mr. Edmund Waller.*

**E**DMUND WALLER was born to a very fair estate, by the parsimony, or frugality, of a wise father and mother; and he thought it so commendable an advantage, that he resolved to improve it with the utmost care, upon which in his nature he was too much intent; and in order to that, he was so much reserved and retired, that he was scarce ever heard of, till by his address and dexterity, he had got a very rich wife in the city, against all the recommendation, and countenance, and authority of the court, which was thoroughly engaged on the behalf of Mr. Crofts; and which used to be successful in that age, against any opposition. He had the good fortune to have an alliance and friendship with Dr. Morley, who had assisted and in-

structed him in the reading many good books, to which his natural parts and promptitude inclined him; especially the poets; and at the age which other men used to give over writing verses (for he was near thirty years of age, when he first engaged himself in that exercise, at least, that he was known to do so) he surprized the town with two or three pieces of that kind; as if a tenth muse had been newly born, to cherish drooping poetry. The doctor at that time brought him into that company, which was most celebrated for good conversation; where he was received, and esteemed, with great applause and respect. He was a very pleasant discourser in earnest and in jest, and therefore very grateful to all kind of company, where he was not the less esteemed for being very rich.

He had been even nursed in parliaments, where he sat when he was very young; and so when they were again resumed (after a long intermission) he appeared in those assemblies with great advantage; having a graceful way of speaking, and by thinking much upon several arguments (which his temper and complexion, that had much of melancholick, inclined him to) he seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the occasion had only administered the opportunity of saying, what he had thoroughly considered, which gave a great lustre to all he said; which was rather of delight than weight. There needs no more be said to extol the excellence and power of his wit, and pleasantness of his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough, to cover a world of very great faults; that is, so to cover them,

them, that they were not taken notice of to his reproach; viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness, and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking; an insinuation, and servile flattery to the height, the vilest, and most impious nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his life from those, who were most resolved to take it; and in an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it; and then preserved him again, from the reproach and contempt that was due to him, for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a price; that it had power to reconcile him to those, whom he had most offended and provoked; and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable, where his spirit was odious; and he was at least pitied, where he was most detested.

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*Character of Mr. Hales of Eton.*

**M**R. John Hales had been Greek professor in the university of Oxford; and had borne the greatest part of the labour of that excellent edition and impression of St. Chrysostom's works, set out by Sir Harry Savile, who was then warden of Merton college, when the other was fellow of that house. He was chaplain in the house with Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague in Holland, at the time when the synod of Dort was held, and so had liberty to be present at the consultations in that assembly; and hath left the best memorial behind him, of the ignorance, and passion, and

animosity, and injustice of that convention; of which he often made very pleasant relations: though at that time it received too much countenance from England. Being a person of the greatest eminency for learning, and other abilities, from which he might have promised himself any preferment in the church, he withdrew himself from all pursuits of that kind, into a private fellowship in the college of Eton, where his friend Sir Harry Savile was provost; where he lived amongst his books, and the most separated from the world of any man then living; though he was not in the least degree inclined to melancholy, but on the contrary, of a very open and pleasant conversation; and therefore was very well pleased with the resort of his friends to him, who were such as he had chosen, and in whose company he delighted, and for whose sake he would sometimes, once in a year, resort to London, only to enjoy their cheerful conversation.

He would never take any care of souls; and was so great a contemner of money, that he was wont to say, that his fellowship, and the bursar's place (which for the good of the college, he held many years) was worth to him fifty pounds a year more than he could spend; and yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor people, even to liberality; he had made a greater and better collection of books, than were to be found in any other private library that I have seen; as he had sure read more, and carried more about him, in his excellent memory, than any man I ever knew, my Lord Falkland only excepted, who I think sided him. He had, whether

ther from his natural temper and constitution, or from his long retirement from all crowds, or from his profound judgment, and discerning spirit, contracted some opinions, which were not received, nor by him published, except in private discourses; and then rather upon occasion of dispute, than of positive opinion; and he would often say, his opinions he was sure did him no harm, but he was far from being confident, that they might not do others harm, who entertained them, and might entertain other results from them, than he did; and therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself in those points, in which he differed from what was received.

Nothing troubled him more, than the brawls which were grown from religion; and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the church of Rome; more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men, than for the errors in their own opinions; and would often say, that he would renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other christians should be damned; and that no body would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wish him so. No man more strict and severe to himself; to other men so charitable as to their opinions, that he thought that other men were more in fault for their carriage towards them, than the men themselves were, who erred; and he thought that pride and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each others communion; and he frequently said, that that only kept

the world from agreeing upon such a liturgy, as might bring them into one communion; all doctrinal parts upon which men differed in their opinions, being to have no place in any liturgy. Upon an occasional discourse with a friend, of the frequent, and uncharitable reproaches of heretic, and schismatic, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst men who differ in their judgment, he writ a little discourse of schism, contained in less than two sheets of paper, which being transmitted from friend to friend in writing, was at last, without any malice, brought to the view of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who was a very rigid surveyor of all things which never so little bordered upon schism: and thought the church could not be too vigilant against, and jealous of such incurfions.

He sent for Mr. Hales, whom, when they had both lived in the university of Oxford, he had known well; and told him that he had in truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old acquaintance: then asked him, whether he had writ a short discourse of schism, and whether he was of that opinion, which that discourse implied. He told him, that he had, for the satisfaction of a private friend, (who was not of his mind) a year or two before, writ such a small tract, without any imagination that it would be communicated; and that he believed it did not contain any thing, that was not agreeable to the judgment of the primitive fathers; upon which, the archbishop debated with him upon some expressions of Irenæus, and the most ancient

ancient fathers ; and concluded with saying, that the time was very apt to set new doctrines on foot, of which the wits of the age were too susceptible ; and that there could not be too much care taken, to preserve the peace and unity of the church ; and from thence asked him of his condition, and whether he wanted any thing ; and the other answering, that he had enough, and wanted, or desired no addition, so dismissed him with great courtesy ; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a prebendary of Windfor fallen, and told him, the King had given him the preferment, because it lay so convenient to his fellowship of Eton ; which (though indeed the most convenient preferment that could be thought of for him) the archbishop could not without great difficulty, persuade him to accept, and he did accept it, rather to please him, than himself ; because he really believed he had enough before. He was one of the least men in the kingdom ; and one of the greatest scholars in Europe.

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*Character of Mr. Chillingworth.*

MR. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales (and it was an age, in which there were many great and wonderful men of that size) and a man of so great a subtilty of understanding, and so rare a temper in debate, that as it was impossible to provoke him into any passion, so it was very difficult to keep a man's self from being a little discomposed by his sharpness, and quickness of argument, and instances, in which he had a rare facility, and a great advantage over all the men I ever knew. He had

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sent all his younger time in disputation ; and had arrived to so great a mastery, as he was inferior to no man in those skirmishes : but he had, with his notable perfection in this exercise, contracted such an irresolution, and habit of doubting, that by degrees he grew confident of nothing, and a sceptic at least, in the great mysteries of faith.

This made him from first wavering in religion, and indulging no scruples, to reconcile himself too soon, and too easily to the church of Rome ; and carrying still his own inquisitiveness about him, without any resignation to their authority (which is the only tempter can make that church sure of its proselytes) having made a journey to St. Omers, purely to perfect his conversion, by the conversation of those, who had the greatest name, he found as little satisfaction there ; and returned with as much haste from them : with a belief that an entire exemption from error, was neither inherent in, nor necessary to any church : which occasioned that war, which was carried on by the jesuits with so great asperity, and reproaches against him, and in which he defended himself, by such an admirable eloquence of language, and clear, and incomparable power of reason, that he not only made them appear unequal adversaries, but carried the war into their own quarters ; and made the pope's infallibility to be as much straken, and declined by their own doctors, (and as great an acrimony amongst themselves upon that subject) and to be at least as much doubted, as in the schools of the reformed or protestant ; and forced them since, to defend and maintain those unhappy controversies in religion, with arms and weapons

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pons of another nature, than were used, or known in the church of Rome, when Bellarmine died ; and which probably will in time undermine the very foundation that supports it.

Such a levity, and propensity to change, is commonly attended with great infirmities in, and no less reproach, and prejudice to the person ; but the sincerity of his heart was so conspicuous, and without the least temptation of any corrupt end ; and the innocence, and candour of his nature so evident, and without any perverseness, that all who knew him, clearly discerned, that all those restless motions and fluctuations, proceeded only from the warmth and jealousy of his own thoughts, in a too nice inquisition for truth. Neither the books of the adversary, nor any of their persons, tho' he was acquainted with the best of both, had ever made great impression upon him ; all his doubts grew out of himself, when he assisted his scruples with all the strength of his own reason, and was then too hard for himself ; but finding as little quiet and repose in those victories, he quickly recovered, by a new appeal to his own judgment ; so that he was in truth, upon the matter, in all sallies and retreats, his own convert ; though he was not so totally divested of all thoughts of this world, but that when he was ready for it, he admitted some great and considerable churchmen, to be sharers with him in his public conversation.

Whilst he was in perplexity, or rather some passionate disinclination to the religion he had been educated in, he had the misfortune to have much acquaintance with one Mr. Lugar, a minister of that church ;

a man of a competency of learning, in those points most controverted with the Romanists, but of no acute parts of wit, or judgment ; and wrought so far upon him, by weakening, and enervating those arguments, by which he found he was governed, (as he had all the logic, and all the rhetoric, that was necessary to persuade very powerful men of the greatest talents) that the poor man, not able to live long in doubt, too hastily deserted his own church, and betook himself to the Roman : nor could all the arguments, and reasons of Mr. Chillingworth make him pause in the expedition he was using ; or reduce him from that church after he had given himself to it ; but he had always a great animosity against him, for having (as he said) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another religion, and there left him. So unfit are some constitutions to be troubled with doubts, after they are once fixed.

He did really believe all war to be unlawful ; and did not think that the parliament (whose proceedings he perfectly abhorred) did in truth intend to involve the nation in a civil war, till after the battle of Edgehill ; and then he thought any expedient, or stratagem that was like to put a speedy end to it, to be the most commendable : and so having too mathematically conceived an engine, that should move so lightly, as to be a breast-work in all encounters, and assaults in the field ; he carried it, to make the experiment, into that part of his majesty's army, which was only in that winter season in the field, under the command of the Lord Hopton, in Hampshire, upon the borders of Sussex ; where he was shut up in the

the castle of Arundel ; which was forced, after a short, sharp siege, to yield for want of victuals ; and poor Mr. Chillingworth with it, falling into the rebels hands ; and being most barbarously treated by them, especially by that clergy, broken with sickness, contracted by the ill accommodation, and want of meat, and fire during the siege, which was in a terrible season of frost and snow, he died shortly after in prison. He was a man of excellent parts, and of a chearful disposition ; void of all kind of vice, and endowed with many notable virtues ; of a very public heart, and an indefatigable desire to do good ; his only unhappiness proceeded from his sleeping too little, and thinking too much ; which sometimes threw him into violent fevers.

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*Translation of a letter from Mary  
Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*

**A** Greeably to my promise and to your desire, I now acquaint you (with regret, that such things should be spoke of, and with the utmost sincerity and freedom from passion, which I call God to witness) that the countess of Shrewsbury told me of you what follows, almost in these words. To the greatest part of which I protest to you I made answer, by reproving that lady for believing, or speaking with such liberty of you, as they were things I did not believe, nor do I believe them now, knowing the countess's temper, and how much she was offended at you.

First she said, That a person, to whom you had promised marriage in presence of a lady of your bed-chamber, had lain with you an infinite number of times, with all the freedom and intimacy of a husband with his wife ; but that certainly you were not like other women ; and that therefore it was great folly to press your marriage with the Duke d'Anjou, as it never could take place ; and that you would never part with the liberty of having love made to you, and of wantonly dallying, at any time, with new lovers : she, at the same time regretted that you would not content yourself with Maister Hatton, or some other of this kingdom : but that which vexed her most, for the honour of the country, was that you had not only parted with your honour to a foreigner, one Simier (going in the night to meet him in the apartment of a lady, whom the countess greatly blamed on that account, where you kissed him, and used many indecent familiarities with him) but that you also revealed to him the secrets of state, thus betraying your own counsels ; that you behaved in the same loose manner to the duke his master, who went one night to the door of your chamber, where you met him with nothing on but your shift and your bed-gown, and soon suffered him to come in, and he staid with you near three hours.

That, as to Hatton, you followed him so, that the whole court took notice of your passion for him ; and he himself was forced to leave the court ; and that you gave Killigrew a blow on the ear, because he could not, as you ordered him, bring back Hatton, who had parted



from you in anger for some abusive language you had given him, on account of some gold buttons he had on his cloaths.

That she had endeavoured to make a match between Hatton and the late countess of Lenox, her daughter; but that, for fear of you, he durst not listen to the proposal; that even the Earl of Oxford durst not make up his differences with his lady, for fear of losing the favours he expected by making love to you: that you were lavish to all these persons, and to such as intrigued with you as they did, particularly one George, a gentleman of your bed-chamber, to whom you gave three hundred pounds a year for bringing you the news of Hatton's return: that to every body else you were most ungrateful and niggardly; and that you had never done any thing for above three or four persons in your whole kingdom.

She advised me (laughing at the same time most immoderately) to put my son on making love to you; which she said would be of infinite service to me, and would make you shake off the Duke of Anjou, who would otherwise do me a great prejudice. And upon my answering, that this would be taken for a piece of downright mockery, she replied, that you were so vain, that you had as high an opinion of your beauty, as if you were some celestial goddess: that she would, on pain of losing her head, undertake to make you believe that he was passionately in love with you; and would also keep him in a proper temper. That you were so delighted with the most extravagant flatteries, that you could bear

to be told, that people could not look at you full in the face, because the brightness of your countenance was like that of the sun. That she and all other ladies of the court were obliged to talk to you in this strain; and that the last time she went to wait on you, with the late countess of Lenox, they durst not look at one another, for fear of bursting into laughter at the ridiculous and fulsome bombast with which she loaded you; and at her return she desired me to chide her daughter, whom she never could prevail with to do the same: and that as to her daughter Talbot, she told me, she could scarce ever forbear laughing in your face. This lady Talbot, on returning from paying her compliments to you, and taking the oaths as one of your servants, told me of it as a thing done by way of mockery, and begged of me to receive from her the same homage, but paid with more sincerity; which I long refused; but at length moved by her tears, I suffered it. She said she would not for any thing be in your service to be near your person; so much was she afraid, that when you were in a passion, you would do to her, as you had done to her cousin Skedmur, whose finger you broke, and gave out at court, that it was done by the falling of a candlestick; and that another of your servants you cut cross the hand with a great knife; that in short, for these things, and several others that were commonly reported, you were mimicked and made game of, as in a comedy, by my women; on hearing of which I swear to you, that I forbade them ever to do so any more.

Moreover,

Moreover, the countess formerly told me, that you wanted to appoint Rolton to make love to me, and endeavour to dishonour me, either in fact, or by reports, about which he had instructions from your own mouth. That Ruxby came here about eight years ago to make an attempt on my life, having spoken about it with yourself, who told him to do as Walsingham should recommend to him and direct him.

When the countess was making up the match between her son Charles and one of Lord Paget's nieces, and that, on the other hand, you, of your own pure and absolute authority, would have her for one of the Knolles's, because he was your relation; she exclaimed loudly against you, and said that it was downright tyranny for you to dispose of all the heiresses of the country at your fancy; and that you had used Baget in a shameful manner by opprobrious words; but that some others of the nobility of the kingdom, whom she knew, if you should address yourself to them, would not put up with so tamely.

About four or five years ago, when you was ill, and I was ill at the same time, she told me that your illness proceeded from the closing of a running sore in your leg: and that as a great change in your habit of body had just preceded it, you would certainly die, at which she greatly rejoiced, from a vain imagination she had long conceived from the predictions of one John Lenton, and of an old book which foretold your death by violence, and the succession of another queen, whom she interpreted to be me; regretting only that according to the aforesaid book the queen that should succeed you,

would reign only three years, and die, like you, by violence, which was even represented in a picture in the said book, in which there was one leaf, the contents of which she would never tell me. She knows herself that I always looked on this as a foolish thing; but she made her account that she should be the first in my good graces; and even that my son should marry my niece Arabella.

As to the rest, I again solemnly declare to you, upon my word and honour, that what is said above is strictly true: and that what your honour is concerned in, it never once entered into my thoughts to injure you by revealing it; and that I shall never speak of it, as I look upon it to be very false. If I could have an hour to speak with you, I would tell you more particularly the names, time, place, and other circumstances, that you might know the truth both of this, and of other things, which I reserve till I be assured of your friendship, which, as I wish for it more than ever, so if I could once obtain it, you never had relation, friend, or even subject, more faithful and affectionate to you, than I should prove. For God's sake secure to yourself her who is both willing and able to do you service. From my bed, putting a force upon my arm and my pains to satisfy and obey you.

MARIE, R.

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*From Lloyd's Evening Post.*

S I R,

As the generality of judicious readers are curious and fond of meeting with the anecdotes of great men, I have collected some,

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relating

relating to that admired genius, Dean Swift, which I am surprized have never yet transpired to the public knowledge: I am the more so, when I reflect that they have even escaped the penetration of Mrs. Pilkington, who certainly never was acquainted with them, or she would have enriched her memoirs with them; the few she did collect, being in my opinion, the most valuable part, if not the entire worth, of her memoirs. Mr. Thomas Sheridan, who published the posthumous volume of Swift's writings, has passed them by, tho' his father Dr. Sheridan was particularly acquainted with the dean. As for the Earl of Orrery, I have perused him, and he says nothing of the matter. In order, therefore, to rescue them from oblivion, and to preserve these anecdotes to posterity, I have collected them from papers of my own, which have long since lain by me; and which, being an indigested miscellany of every thing which I could pick up, worthy my attention, for these thirty years past, among other things contained those anecdotes scattered in the collection, as they happened, by chance, to arrive at my knowledge. This is the truth, and as such you have them genuine from me; I say, Sir, genuine, as the wit of them will sufficiently prove they could come from nobody else.

I. In the reign of King William, to whom Swift was no friend, on account of a neglect he met with from that Prince, and therefore had connected himself with the opposite party, it happened, that the King had either chosen, or actually had taken, this motto for his state-coach in Ireland,

Non Rapui, sed Recepi,  
I did not steal, but I received;

alluding to his being called to the throne by the people, and to clear himself from the imputation of violence. This was industriously reported to Swift by one of his emissaries: and what, said he to the dean, do you think the Prince of Orange has chosen for his motto on his state coach? — *Dutch cheese*, said the dean, with a reluctant smile (for he scorned to laugh, and even a smile was extorted.) No, said the gentleman, but, Non rapui, sed recepi — Ay, says Swift — but there is an old saying and a true, *The receiver is as bad as the thief*. An embittered reflection, not unworthy of his known misanthropy, and rather superior contempt of the degeneracy of the human species. I had the pleasure of knowing the dean, and of hearing him both in his pleasantries, and his peevish pets, and can picture to myself his manner of expressing himself at that moment.

II. He could never reply to a repartee, notwithstanding his ready wit, because it trod upon the corns of his pride. He was crossing over the ferry in Dublin, and he was remarkably fond of chatting with the most indifferent men, overlooking the better sort as below the notice of his dignity. Turning himself from the passengers in the stern of the boat, he addressed a poor man near him, 'Well, friend, what profession are you of?' I am a taylor, Sir, says the other (not knowing the dean.) 'What, are you married, says Swift?' 'Yes, Sir, replied the taylor.' 'And who wears the breeches, said the dean?' My answer answered the other. Which retort so mortified the dean (as most in the boat knew him) that to save his pride, he gave the taylor a

crown,

crown, bidding him wear a better pair, since it was what the most noble bums in Europe could not boast.

III. Some person, I think it was Dr. Delany, having this motto on his coach ;

*Nam Avos et Proavos et quæ  
non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostro voco.*

*For to boast of birth, and matters  
in which we have no merit, I  
scarce can call such things mine.*

Swift seeing it, wrote under it,

*By this grave motto be it known,  
Delany's coach is not his own.*

IV. Lord S—— in Ireland having this motto on his coach ;

*Eques haud male notus,  
A Nobleman not ill known.*

And this gentleman not having the greatest alacrity in prompt payments of his tradesmens bills, Dr. Swift very gravely observed, I think the Latin motto on Lord S——'s coach may be literally rendered,

*Better known than trusted.*

V. The scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, had, in a *gaieté du cœur*, invited themselves to supper with the dean one Friday night, on which night they never have any supper throughout the year, and therefore sung, as they call it, among their friends. The dean very pleasantly received them ; and, to their surprize, supper was brought in before they could imagine it was ready. The table was laid out in the most neat manner, and the dean being seated, several servants brought in the dishes covered. Come, gentlemen, says he, uncover ; which they did, and found the dishes contain nothing but ragous of old books and musty rums ; at

which, though perhaps not well pleased with their fare, they forced their features into a grin of complaisance, as admiring the dean's wit, not doubting but that the second course would make amends for the insipidity of the first, and that Epicurus would follow Burgerföcius and Keckerman. The second course came in, covered also. They did as before, and found nothing but salt. — There, says the dean, there is a feast for Plato. There is *Sales Atticæ* for you ; indulge, indulge. — This produced another laugh. The second course being removed, in came the third, which consisted of plates covered, in number tallying with the guests ; each uncovered his plate, found half a crown. Some took them up, and others left them, and thus ended the entertainment ; the dean ushering them to the door, in the waiter's phrase of, Kindly welcome, gentlemen.

VI. The dean was very fond of his servants, whom on any neglects he punished in a humourous manner, rather than with severity. His cook-maid Catharine had obtained leave to go to Rafarnam on a summer's evening, and being got half the way, a mile or so on the road, the dean dispatched a man and horse after her, with charge to bring her back directly to dress supper for some guests which he had not expected, but not to give her a lift on the horse. She was very fat, and the weather melting warm ; and when she returned to the deanery-house she was all in a bath ; and very gravely making a court'sy, asked his reverence, what were his commands ? 'Not much, Catharine, said the dean, only you forgot to

shut the door. You may go to Rafarnam.' Poor Catharine, thus mortified, went down and undressing herself in tears, deferred her journey to another opportunity.

VII. The dean was invited to a gentleman's house, where at dinner he observed some beautiful children of his friend's, and on his eagerly looking round, as if he wanted something, was asked what he would have; to which he, with too much ill-nature, if not ill-manners, replied, I am looking to see which is the handsomest footman here. For the gentleman was remarkably deformed, and ordinary both in person and features. I heard a gentleman observe on this story being told, that he deserved to be kicked down stairs, had he been the archbishop of Canterbury.

VIII. The dean, in his lunacy, had some intervals of sense, at which time his guardians, or physicians, took him out for the air; when they came to the Park, Swift remarked a new building, which he had never seen, and asked what it was designed for; to which Dr. Kingsbury answered, That, Mr. Dean, is the magazine for arms and powder, for the security of the city. Oh! oh! says the dean, pulling out his pocket book, let me take an item of that. This is worth remarking; my tablets, as Hamlet says, my tablets—memory put down that—which produced the following lines, being the last he ever wrote;

*Behold! a proof of Irish sense!*

*Here Irish wit is seen,*

*When nothing's left, that's worth  
defence,*

*We build a magazine.*

And then put up his pocket-book, laughing heartily at the conceit,

and clinching it with, *After the  
steed's stolen, shut the stable  
door; after which he never said a  
sensible word; so that these lines  
may be said to have been the last  
speech, and dying words of his  
WIT.*

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*An account of the hunting, oeconomy,  
and trade of the Laplanders; as  
also of the state of agriculture in  
the Swedish colonies settled among  
that people. By M. de Juterbog.*

*[Extracted from the Journal Oeco-  
nomique.]*

IF necessity is the mother of these arts that are most necessary, as opulence produces those that are more frivolous, I imagine, that, in order to learn the secrets of a prudent oeconomy, we cannot choose better masters than those people to whom nature seems to have refused all the conveniencies of life. As the industry and frugality of these nations supply all their wants, and they are obliged to avail themselves of those things that are despised or neglected in wealthy countries, they may in some sense be said to owe more to themselves than to nature, which, with regard to them, seems to have been a little too unjust in the distribution of her benefits. Yet the oeconomy of such people is a very instructive school even to those nations who are most favoured by nature. In the most flourishing countries of the world, there are some districts less happy than others, where the inhabitants may successfully imitate those nations which are in the same situation. Besides,

some

some years occur, in which, thro' the intemperance of the air, or other accidents fatal to fruit, the most fertile lands will bear nothing but barren heath; and then we may find resources in the practice of people who have been instructed by continual necessity: such are the Laplanders, a people otherwise little known among us. Lapland, which the nations call Sameaedna or Same-ladde, is divided into Swedish, Danish, and Russian; its whole extent amounting to 480 leagues in length, and pretty near as much in breadth; but the number of its inhabitants is so small, that the worst inhabited province of France contains more people than that vast northern country. It is not surprising that other nations should have little temptation to send colonies to a country which is partly situated beyond the arctic circle; and produces no sort of food for the inhabitants but fish and some wild beasts; and whose desarts never echo with the song of the lark or nightingale: where, instead of an agreeable variety of fruitful hills and laughing meadows, almost nothing is seen but mountains covered with eternal snow, and marshes here and there producing a few willows and small birches, that wither before they attain the growth which is natural to them in milder climates. Add to these reasons, that in the northern parts of Lapland, night prevails during a certain season, almost

without intermission; that although, after the month of March, their days begin to be longer than countries situated on this side of the arctic circle, the sun has not force enough to produce an universal spring in these icy climes; for, there are some mountainous districts where, even while the sun appears ten hours above the horizon, the people cross with carriages, lakes and rivers frozen to the bottom, which often are not thawed during a succession of years; and finally, that in other districts, the extreme heat of summer brings along with it different kinds of \* gnats or insects, every species of which is more insupportable than another, and so prodigiously numerous, that sometimes they veil the sun, so as to cause the darkness of night at mid-day. But as it is well known that the finest countries which we see in the world, owed great part of their fertility and goodness to the industry of the nations that inhabited them; and it is plain that the ancient Germans, and Scythians, the first inhabitants of Thrace, and the Aborigenes of Italy, would not have left a barren and ungrateful country to other descendants, if they had preferred application and agriculture to idleness and rapine: the Swedish nation, to the dominion of which the most considerable part of Lapland is subject, hath not yet lost hopes of turning this great extent of coun-

\* These are distinguished into three species: the first, is in Swedish called, Maygor, in the Lapland language Tjucika, and appears in the month of June; the second, which is smaller than the first, begins likewise to appear in the month of June, being called Knart, by the Swedes, and Muockir by the Laplanders; the third called Hya by the Swedes, and Muciva by the natives, is the smallest of the three, the most venomous and troublesome to travellers and the people who work in the fields,

try to some account. There are means for draining the marshes and augmenting the good black mould ; in some places grubbed by the Swedes, as well as in the lands adjoining to some personages, they have already sown and reaped rye ; yet this success was deemed impossible when Scheffer published his description of Lapland.

This, it is to be hoped, will gradually excite the endeavours of the Laplanders, who are attached to their own country by a prejudice which in some sort constitutes their happiness ; for they are fully convinced, that in the whole universe, they could not find a place of abode more secure and agreeable than their own. Besides, tho' the greatest part of Lapland is so stony that it seems incapable of any sort of agriculture, there are some spots so covered with a soft fat mould, that the natives, when they transport their habitations to those places, are obliged to carry along with them stones for the construction of their hearths. Scheffer is mistaken when he says, that rain is less frequent here than in other climates ; and that from this scarcity, the barrenness of the country proceeds. Nor is this occasioned by the short duration of the summer ; for when the heats begin, they are so powerful, that often in lakes which have been crossed with sledges in the evening, there is not the least vestige of ice to be seen by next day. By this sudden change, the earth is dried and purified much sooner than in other countries, and herbs, plants and leaves appear all at once, where but a few days before, the rudest winter reigned.

very thing ripens with the same

dispatch ; and whereas in southern provinces, the people are sometimes obliged to wait for the harvest four months after the corn is sown, here the crop is gathered at the end of six, seven, eight, or at most nine weeks after seed time. Now, if the natives would apply themselves to the melioration of the ground, search after the spots proper for agriculture, and find out (as some people would make us hope) a kind of corn that would agree with the climate ; we might, according to all appearances, reap as plentiful crops in this as in any other country. Nay, perhaps, there is no occasion to travel for that kind of corn which is wanted : who knows but some plant, a native of the country, and accustomed to the climate, may be ennobled by a careful cultivation ? for it is certain that our greens and corn did not arrive at their present degree of perfection, without the care of mankind ; and that they would soon degenerate, if by long neglect they were suffered to return to their original nature. But it will be more to the purpose, at first, to entertain our readers with what nature produces here of herself, without the assistance of human industry. The first thing that presents itself is a vast extent of heath all covered with moss. Now, this moss being the ordinary food of the rein-deer, which is almost the whole kind of cattle in Lapland, these heaths must be of great service. There are some places, especially in the valleys, on the banks of rivers and lakes, which bear pines, fir, birch, juniper-trees, willows, alders, poplars, &c. so that, in several districts, the natives would be under no necessity

necessity of living exposed to the air, as they are, and dying of cold, if they would make use of the wood which nature offers. There is likewise a great number of meadows which produce grass sufficient for maintaining the cattle of the Swedish colonies: sometimes it has been seen to grow at the very roots of mountains covered with ice; and it is very probable, that the marshy places, by draining, might be changed into meadow or labourable ground. Lapland, moreover, produces several kinds of berries or apples (a round, soft fruit, usually covered with a smooth, thin skin) which the inhabitants know to use to advantage, tho' they are, for the most part, unknown every where but in the northern countries; and has likewise its own particular flowers and plants, the enumeration of which may be seen in the work of M. Linnæus, entitled *Flora Lapponica*. Though here are no gardens planted by the hand of man, nature seems to have taken that charge upon herself; for at the feet of some mountains, we see trees so well distributed, that art could not invent a more agreeable disposition. Besides, the pine-forests are more useful to the Laplanders, and inhabitants of the western Bothnia, than the fairest orchards are to more fertile provinces; for, from the bark of those trees they are used to make bread, and this nourishment, bad as at first it may seem to be, maintains their bodies in full vigour. Here we see mountains of prodigious height and terrible aspect; but as they seem to have been raised as buttresses to resist the fury of the winds, which prevail in that country with such violence as would re-

plunge nature in her original chaos, they are to be regarded as benefits. As for the tradition, importing that the clouds sometimes whirl aloft men and rein-deer from these heights, it is no other than fable: but Linnæus describes circumstantially, the profound darkness which sometimes suddenly envelops the tops of these mountains. Those who are acquainted with Lapland, contradict the common opinion, that pretends there are no practicable roads even in summer, and that it is impossible to cross the country in that season: they affirm, on the contrary, that the mountains always leave between them, spaces large and convenient enough for the passage of travellers. But certain it is, that in long journies, they are obliged to carry with them small boats for crossing the lakes and rivers. The Swedes boast much of the admirable prospects that are here produced from the contrast of mountains wholly whitened with snow and ice, hills covered with moss, lakes full of islands, serpentine rivers, cascades, flat country and woods; but we have reason to observe with M. Maupertuis, that some of those countries would be too beautiful, if they were not situated in Lapland. The authors of that nation speak of certain things with extravagant exaggerations. Olaus Rudbeck, for example, goes so far as to say, that he has seen districts in Lapland, which he could very easily believe might have been the terrestrial Paradise.

With regard to metals contained in the earth, there is found at Skanliware, in the march of Torno, a mineral which is a mixture of gold and silver; and at Keckfiaware, in the same march, another that contains



tains lead mixed with silver. They work iron mines at Gelliware, in the march of Lullo, and at Jonufvando, in the march of Torno, where there is likewise a foundry, as well as in some other parts. Copper is found in the mines of Swappaware, in the march of Torno, and in those of Wordnacka, in the march of Lullo. Silver is extracted from the mines of Nasafael, in the march of Pito, which is purified in the foundry of Silbojock, and from those of Kindeware, in the march of Lullo, which is melted in the foundry of Quickjock. We shall say nothing of the marks of mines that are found at Anuasjerta, Ortafoiwe, &c. situated in the march of Lullo. The treasures of these places are not yet discovered, because of the bad direction of the Laplanders, who had procured the first pieces of ore. We likewise see, in the mineralogy of Bromell, that there is no scarcity in Lapland, of very large and beautiful fossil crystals; and Scheffer gives us to understand, that heretofore the natives used them as flints to their fusils. Here likewise are found amethysts of a purple colour, topazes, loadstones, quicksilver, and cinnabar; but in all likelihood these things are not in great plenty. But we will add, that in certain places, are found some marks of mineral waters.

Let us now proceed to the different kinds of animals which live in Lapland, barren as it appears: for this consideration is that in which we are chiefly interested. In furs consist the principal trade of the country, and this is almost the only commodity from which it draws money. The principal game in this and the neighbouring countries, is the elk. Some of these the natives take by a trap, called in the

Swedish language *lee*, consisting of a spring made of a brass wire, which when the elk passes over it, flies up, and drives an iron stake into his body. They are likewise caught in a kind of pit, like those that are made for taking wolves. The flesh of this animal is eaten either fresh or smoaked. In Jaemteland, a Swedish province in the neighbourhood of Lapland, it is the custom to carry a shoulder of every elk that is killed, to the minister of the parish. In certain districts, the bear as well as the elk, is taken in the *lee*: but it is likewise killed by means of certain hand guns, to which they fix a bait with a brass wire, in such a manner, that the gun fires as soon as the animal touches it; though the usual method is to shoot them with a fusil, when they approach those baits. Nevertheless, this expedient is attended with some danger, and for a long time the inhabitants of countries invested by these powerful savages, have been advised to furnish their fusils with bayonets, that they may be in a condition to defend themselves when the bears, after having been missed, come to attack them. The Laplanders have a particular song, which they sing after having killed a bear. They begin by thanking the vanquished enemy, for his having been pleased to do them no mischief, and express their satisfaction at his arrival. Then they address their thanks to the Divinity which hath created beasts for the use of man, and given him strength and address to overcome them. Moreover, it is said, that in consequence of a superstition universally received among the Laplanders, he, who has had the good fortune to kill a bear, is forbid to lie with his wife for three days after the exploit. Wolves are  
here

here in great numbers, and make terrible havock, especially among the elks and rein-deer. The manner in which they take the first, is too singular to be suppressed. When the wolf, having pursued the elk until he is quite tired, lies down to take some rest, the elk reposes himself also : but the first has no sooner recovered his strength, than he rouses the other anew, which soon becomes his prey ; for the nerves of that poor animal grow stiff during his halt ; so that, flying with great difficulty, his death becomes inevitable. The wolf-pits which we use, are the ordinary and surest means of catching these dangerous animals. It has been observed, that when a wolf-hole is destroyed, the old ones betake themselves to flight at first, but return when they hear the distress and cries of their little ones, and that is the most convenient time for shooting them. This method of making the whelps cry, deserves our imitation. The glutton is pretty common in this country ; but Scheffer is mistaken when he says it can live in the water like an otter : for it always remains upon the land. This animal is so astonishingly voracious, that one is almost tempted to believe it discharges its food just as it is swallowed, and the stench of the creature is insupportable. In Lapland are found several kinds of foxes, white, red, black, &c.

Here the beaver builds his habitation, as in Canada. Their houses consist of four stories, and though they are made with stones that men would be at a loss to put to any sort of use, they are so well vaulted above, and built so firm, that they will last an hundred years. As the water rises, the beaver ascends from one story to another, so as that he is

always level with the surface : but although the address of these animals is altogether surprising, it cannot secure them from that of mankind. Ermines and squirrels are taken in some districts of the north, by a very simple kind of mouse-trap. It is reported, that the Laplanders, for fear of piercing the skins of these animals, shoot them with blunt arrows, and are so dextrous as to hit them always on the head. If we add to the number of animals, which we have mentioned, the wild rein-deer, hares, otters, and fables, which are likewise common enough, it must be owned, that the trade they carry on with their furs, some of which are very dear, becomes an object of great importance. The best resource of the Laplanders, next to their tame rein-deer and hunting, is that which they find in their lakes and rivers, which are very numerous. The chief lakes are, the Great Uma, the Great Windel, the Horeavan, the Storawan, the Great Lula, the lakes of Kartom, Kali, Torno, Enara, and Kimi. Some of these extend sixty leagues in length, and contain a great number of islands. Scheffer reports, that in Storawan, there are as many islands as days in the year : and that the lake of Enara forms a kind of Archipelago, which contains islands so large, that no Laplander has lived long enough to visit all the different parts of them. The principal rivers, great and small, which cross the different marches on every side, are called Angermann ; Uma, or Imaus, Skellesta ; Pito, or Pajeto, or Guerra ; Lula, or Leulius ; Kalis, or Gallus ; Torno, or Taranus, or Tarantus ; and Kimi. In these lakes and rivers are found salmon, pike, tench, perch, smelts, red-eyed blays,

blays, breams, loaches, and some other sorts of fish, in such plenty, that a great number of Laplanders and Swedes who are settled among them, not only supply themselves with enough for their own consumption during the whole year, but likewise with a great quantity besides, which they sell to strangers. Over and above the fish we have mentioned, some rivers in Lapland yield pearls: and the Swedes, ever jealous of the productions of countries subject to their dominions, pretend they are the fairest in the universe. The birds that live in some provinces of Lapland, are either natives of the country, and remain always there, or fowls of passage, that stay only part of the year. Of the first kind are heath-cocks, wood-cocks, hawks, &c. and, among the last, the most remarkable are swans, wild-geese and wild-ducks. Those great flights of swans, and wild-geese, which we see crossing the southern countries, in spring and autumn, are either going to Lapland, or returning from it. In the spring, they choose their abodes in the countries which the Laplanders have quitted, for reasons that shall be explained in the sequel, in order to repair to the coast of the western sea; and before this wandering people return in the autumn, these birds are gone, as if nature had ordained that those districts should be inhabited alternately by rational and irrational creatures, so as that they should never be altogether deserted. Besides, it is here observed, that some kinds of fowl, as well as other animals, love to make their abode in the neighbourhood of new colonies, where they are much more numerous than in any other parts of the country; whether it is, that nature

has given them instinct to approach those for whose maintenance they seemed to have been destined, or (which is more probable) that they go thither to feed upon the labours of man. Upon the coast of the icy sea, or *Mare-Glaciale*, the fowl is more scarce than in the southern provinces; but then those countries breed more beavers, wild rein-deer, and other land animals. The description we have given of Lapland, plainly shews it has in effect real advantages, which may in some shape alleviate the ill conveniencies to which the inhabitants are exposed; nay, we may affirm, that these inconveniencies are not so rigorous as they appear to be from the simple recital. The gnats, which we have mentioned, do not constitute an inevitable evil: it is observed, that they usually make their abode in woods, and that they are much less troublesome upon the mountains, and in the best cultivated spots; so that they seem to be nothing more than the punishment of idleness. The continual light of the summer atones for the darkness that prevails during part of winter; and yet this darkness is not total; for the snow, together with the moon and stars, afford light enough for transacting the most necessary affairs. Besides, the *Aurora-Borealis*, which is more frequent and bright in this than in southern countries, often supplies the want of day; and, in certain seasons, the natives avail themselves of the twilight, which begins four or five hours before the rising, and continues as long after the setting of the sun. Moreover, it will be sufficient to observe in general, that the Laplanders, as well as other nations that live on both sides of the torrid zone, have the greatest share of light in those

those times, when it is most required. The winters, indeed, are here extremely rude ; but, in order to secure themselves from their violence, are not the inhabitants on the spot, where they can provide themselves with furs ? Nobody dies of cold, except some person, perhaps, who is bewildered in the woods, or who, being fatigued with hunger, or long journeys, has not strength enough left to return to his own home. The prodigious quantity of snow that yearly falls, instead of being a burthen to the natives, forms the finest roads in the world, for sledges ; and the Laplanders have contrived a king of apparatus for their legs and feet, by means of which they traverse the snow with such amazing swiftness, that they are able to overtake and knock down a wolf at full speed. From hence, perhaps, the ancients have taken occasion to forge those fables of men, who surpassed the wild beasts in running.

We shall, doubtless, exceed the bounds we have prescribed to ourselves, by repeating what authors have said touching the origin and history of this people. The Laplanders are not to learn that the world had a beginning, but their tradition adds, that God, before he produced the earth, consulted with Perkel, which in their language, signifies the evil spirit, in order to determine how every thing was to be ordained ; that God proposed the trees should be of marrow, the lakes filled with milk, instead of water, and that all herbs, flowers, and plants should bear fruit ; but that Perkel opposed this scheme, so that God did not make things so good as he intended they should be. They have some knowledge of a general deluge ; and the tradition

says, that all the earth was inhabited before God destroyed it : but in consequence of its being turned topsy-turvy, the waters rushed out of the lakes and rivers, overspread the face of the earth, and swallowed up the whole human race, except a brother and sister, whom God took under his arms, and carried to the top of the great mountain called Passeware ; that the danger of the inundation being past, these two separated, in order to search if there was any other remainder of people upon the earth ; but after a journey of three years they returned, and recognized one another for brother and sister, upon which they parted again ; that having known one another after this second journey, they repeated the same expedient ; but at the end of the other three years, they met again, without knowing each other ; then they lived together, and procreated children, from whom are descended all the nations that now inhabit the earth. Their tradition concerning their origin is ludicrous enough. " The Laplanders and Swedes (say they) are descended from two brothers, who were very different in point of courage. A terrible tempest having arose one day, one of them was so frightened, that he crept for safety under a plank, which God, through compassion, changed into a house, and from him are the Swedes descended : but the other being more courageous, braved the fury of the tempest, without seeking to hide himself, and he was the father of the Laplanders, who to this day live without houses or shelter."

Although the Laplanders are universally reckoned the most cowardly people existing upon earth, their tradition mentions divers battles

with the Russians, whom they call Karul. And they relate, that the most considerable was fought in the march of Kaitom. To a small number of such traditional accounts is their knowledge of their own history and that of the world, reduced.

We have also observed, that the Laplanders are not the only inhabitants of this country. The Swedes and Finlanders have, within these eighty years, made several settlements in it; but, notwithstanding the privileges which have been granted to them, they have not met with such success, because the settlers ruin themselves at first by expensive experiments which they are obliged to make, in order to know the nature of the soil, and the best manner of turning it to advantage: and indeed in all appearance, they cannot expect great success until the government shall defray the expence of the first cultivation. Yet, weak as these colonies are, the Laplanders can never accustom themselves to look upon them with a favourable eye. In effect, these new comers, by cutting down the forests, and often, through negligence or premeditated design, setting fire to the moss, as also by destroying the wild reindeer, partly deprive them of the means of subsisting, and reduce them to the cruel alternative of either quitting the place or becoming their slaves. For it rarely happens that a Laplander thinks of building an house, and engaging in agriculture: he never takes this resolution until he has sustained such a loss of his reindeer, that he cannot possibly retrieve it; and frequently even in that case, he chooses rather to gain his livelihood by fishing, or tending

flocks, than subject himself to the labour of the ground.

As the greatest wealth of the Laplanders consists in their herds of reindeer, nature, which disposeth every thing with admirable sagacity, hath given them a country abounding with moss. It covers whole plains, and is, especially in winter, the only food of the reindeer; for in summer, these animals likewise eat leaves and grass. Although this production of the earth seems reserved for them, the people at Abo in Finland, and in some other places, have, during a scarcity of hay, endeavoured to make their cattle and sheep eat of it. I shall, by the bye, describe how it is managed, and I hope I shall be pardoned for this small digression, in favour of those to whom it may be of service.

This moss is collected towards Michaelmas, and laid in great heaps in the open field; for as it attracts a great deal of moisture, and preserves it a long time, it would rot in barns. They never take in more at a time than will serve them for eight days; and after having cleaned it from the sand which it may contain, it is washed in boiling water on the evening before it is given to the cattle. As the cows and sheep do not easily accustom themselves to such food, a little salt or meal is thrown into the hot water, with which it is moistened when presented to them; by which means the taste of the moss is improved, and the appetite of those animals excited. This is their food in the morning, and when they are watered, it is given to them by way of straw or hay. This kind of nourishment has been observed to render their flesh more juicy, and improve

the quality of their dung; but it can be used only in the winter, for in the spring, the too great moisture which it contains, would injure the health of the cattle.

But this is not the case with the rein-deer, for whose sole benefit, as we have already observed, the moss seems to grow in the country. These animals are endowed with such a sure instinct for knowing where it is, even under the snow, that when the Lapland herdsman perceives them browsing upon that which sticks to the trees, without digging beneath the snow, he takes it for granted that the ground in that district produces none, and drives his herd elsewhere to feed. The rein-deer are almost the only cattle of the Laplanders, require very little care, and answer almost all their occasions. They eat very little, and are never housed; in summer, when the natives travel, they carry their cloaths, provisions and utensils; in winter they draw their sledges with great speed, inso-much, as to go eighteen or twenty of our leagues at one stage, without eating, drinking, or halting. Were they pushed, they would make still more way, but then they would be fatigued. After their most severe journies, they require no more food than as much moss as a man can hold in both hands.

The flesh of the rein-deer is the ordinary food of the Laplanders. They are cloathed with their skins, from head to foot, and exchange the superfluity for summer habits and tents, which serve them instead of houses. They yield milk thro' all the year, and this in summer is dried in the stomachs, and hides of these animals, and in autumn it is frozen in small casks; the cheese

which they make of it being a delicacy not only for them, but also for their neighbours; but the blood and marrow of the rein-deer are the most delicious dishes of the natives; they make twine of their nerves, and offer up their horns to their idols; for, notwithstanding all the efforts which the Swedes have hitherto made, they have not been able to detach them from idolatry.

The Mountaineer Laplanders possess the greatest herds of rein-deer; some of them being owners of three thousand. These herds are apt to wander from the places where they are brought to feed; sometimes they run away of themselves, and sometimes they are debauched and carried off by the wild rein-deer, which are continually traversing the country. In winter their keepers easily find them, by tracing their footsteps in the snow; but they find more difficulty in summer, because in that season their track is necessarily distinguished. Another care of the Laplanders is to defend their rein-deer from the attacks of the wolves, which, when they fall upon one of their herds, will strangle forty or fifty in one night.

It is sometimes pretty difficult to rear the rein-deer, the success depending upon the temperature of the air. When the snow that falls in autumn turns into ice, the year becomes very severe to them, because they can no longer find the moss under it; and unless that of the trees be in greater plenty, a great number of them perish. Besides, all of them, great and small, are subject to a distemper that sometimes carries off a third part of the herd. As in France, the cattle and goats are attacked by the same dis-

order, we imagine it will not be un-  
useful to describe it, together with  
the remedy, which M. Friewald has  
published in the Memoirs of the  
academy of Stockholm.

This distemper is, in the language  
of the country, called Curbma, con-  
sisting of large bumps formed upon  
the backs of the rein-deer, having  
in the middle an opening large  
enough to admit a goose-quill, if  
the bottom was not occupied by a  
black, tense skin, which is the ex-  
tremity of a grub, contained in the  
bump. This grub, or chrysalis,  
white in every other part but just  
under the opening we have mention-  
ed, is about the size of an acorn,  
and has the figure of an egg, sur-  
rounded with small wreathed circles:  
it is produced by a fly resembling  
the gadbee and drone, which is very  
common in Lapland, and of which  
Linnæus has given an anatomical  
description in a memoir which is  
adopted by the academy of Stock-  
holm. As this fly has no sting,  
though some naturalists have given  
it one upon hearsay, it cannot dig  
a hole for its eggs in the hide of the  
rein-deer, but drops them on the  
backs of these animals, whose backs  
are always rough at the time where  
this insect lays its eggs. An egg  
falling in this manner among the  
hair of a rein-deer, sticks fast like a  
nit, and being hatched, in the sequel  
produces a small worm which pierces  
the hide, and lodges itself between  
that and the flesh of the animal.  
There it is metamorphosed into a  
chrysalis, from which at length pro-  
ceeds a fly, through the aperture of  
the bump. One would imagine,  
that on the first attacks of the gnaw-  
ing-worm, with which the rein-deer  
finds itself incommoded, it might  
free itself from such a dangerous

guest, either by crushing or putting  
it off with its horn; but at that ve-  
ry season he has shed his horns, and  
young ones bud out so tender and  
sensible, that nothing can touch  
them, without causing the severest  
pain. Nevertheless, nature, which  
hath thus left the rein-deer without  
defence against this injury, hath  
given them instinct to foresee and  
avoid it. As soon as he perceives  
this fatal fly approaching, he is seiz-  
ed with consternation, betakes him-  
self to flight, quits the plains, and  
gains the summits of the moun-  
tains covered with snow, from  
whence he dares not descend, even  
to appease the hunger that devours  
him. There he stands continually  
upon his guard, with his ears prick-  
ed up, and his eyes wide open,  
stamping with his feet, snorting,  
and incessantly shaking his tail and  
his whole body. Indeed all these  
precautions are no more than ne-  
cessary, to avoid those formidable  
insects, which having but two or  
three weeks to live, spend that  
whole time in quest of the back of  
some rein-deer, where they may de-  
posit the fruit of their fecundity and  
the hope of perpetuating the species.  
During this short period of life, they  
take no nourishment, but are abso-  
lutely in incessant motion, and in  
such violent agitation, that some-  
times, through mere fatigue, they  
fall as dead upon the ground.

In order to hinder these flies from  
letting their eggs fall among the  
hair of rein-deer, and the worms  
from piercing the skin of these ani-  
mals, M. Friewald thinks the Lap-  
landers ought to use for their cattle  
the same precaution they take to  
themselves, against the assaults of  
those gnats we have mentioned in  
the former part of this memoir;  
namely,

namely, to rub their skins in every part that is not covered by their cloaths; with an ointment, composed of tar, and the milk of the rein-deer. If, therefore, they would likewise anoint the bodies of the rein-deer, in all those parts where the fly can deposit its eggs, it is probable she would cautiously avoid trusting them to such a preposterous matrix; for every thing that is fat and oily, becomes mortal to insects, by obstructing their pores. On this principle he concludes, that even if the egg should fall among the hair and be hatched, the worm would never be able to lodge itself under the hide of the rein-deer, because it could not proceed so far, till after having eaten the tar which covered it, and this it could not do, without being poisoned. For the same reason, he imagines, that if the Laplanders would pour some tar into the openings of the bumps, the consequence would infallibly be this: either the chrysalis would die for want of air, or if they fly should be formed, it would come before the natural time: the tar on one side defending it from the external air, and the heat of the rein-deer acting with greater force on the other, whence the fly escaping from the prison so soon, would be surprized by the cold, under which it could not subsist; so that perhaps the whole species would be destroyed.

The rein-deer are not the only food of the Laplanders; the richest sort, in the journies they make in summer, to the frontiers of Norway, purchase kine and sheep, which they do not kill until the snow begins to fall. They likewise go a hunting, and the game which is most to their taste, is the bear and the beaver. They usually bake the

whole bear, and divide it amongst those who killed it. The bones are religiously gathered, and interred with two wooden spoons, a joiner's place, a knife, and some other utensils; these people firmly believing that the bear will one day rise and return, and have occasion for all these things: for this reason they will not suffer a dog to carry away one of his bones, or if he should steal one, he is immediately killed, and the loss supplied by one of his own. The Laplanders also eat horse-flesh, either that which they kill, or that which they find dead; they in like manner accustom themselves to the flesh of dogs, foxes, and wolves. Nevertheless, we must except those among them, who employ themselves in fishing, and do nothing in life, but pass from one lake and one island to another, living entirely upon fish, which they dress in many different shapes, in some districts, bruising, beating, and mixing it with the powder of pine-bark, in order to make a kind of *bouille*.

But, whether the Laplanders live upon flesh, or upon fish, cookery is among them such a noble office, that it is reserved as a right belonging to the master of a family, who sometimes however resigns it to his servant. But the women never intermeddle in this domestic function: it is enough that they are allowed to take care of the children; they are not deemed pure enough to prepare food for the men, or to touch those delicate messes which we have described.

The industry of the Laplanders not only supplies their necessary wants, but even their magnificence. They make very commodious canoes, so light that a man can carry one upon his back; and their sledges



are entirely of their own manufacture, even those that are adorned with all sorts of figures in horn. Their neighbours buy of them little boxes, baskets; and their snuff-boxes, ornamented with different figures, are known and in request thro' the whole north; but their master-pieces are magic drums, which heretofore they commonly used, and still use in private, for the purposes of divination. They make horn-spoons, and every man composes his own almanack, made of little bits of wood or horn, upon which are marked the days, weeks, and months. Nor do they need any assistance in making their moulds, and melting their pewter-plates. The women are very dextrous in making pewter-wire, with which they adorn the girdles and garments of the men, as well as the harness of the rein-deer; they can dress all sorts of skins, and shape them into all the different parts of dress. Their cards and patterns are of their own fabric; and they make ropes of the roots of trees, and a very good even thread of the sinews of animals. Finally, they make very serviceable bows of stiff fir and pliant birch, which they join together and unite with a glue, prepared in this manner: they flea a river fish called perche, and after having dried the skin, put it to soak in cold water, until the scales can be taken off: then they put four or five of these skins in the bladder of the rein-deer, or in the bark of a birch-tree, that the water may not wet them in the following operation, but that they may be penetrated by the vapour alone. These skins being thus wrapped up, are boiled in water for the space of half an hour, or more, care being taken to sink them with

a stone to the bottom of the vessel. When they have been boiled the due time, the bundle is taken out, and the skins are found reduced into real glue, so tenacious, that pieces of wood joined together by it, never separate, provided the precaution has been taken to keep them together by rolling them round with packthread, that the glue may have sufficient time to dry.

From what we have said of Lapland, and its inhabitants, a judgement may be formed of the trade of that people, which in winter they carry on with the Swedes, and in summer with the Norwegians. The Swedish merchants repair to the places where the Laplanders assemble for divine service, for trying their suits, or paying their tribute. There they buy rein-deer, skins of rein-deer, fowls, fish, flesh of rein-deer dried in the air, all sorts of furs, cheese made of the milk of rein-deer, butter, baskets, buskins, shoes, gloves; and many other things of the Lapland manufacture. They sell to the Laplanders; tobacco, meal, broad cloth, hemp, kitchen-tackle of iron and copper, silver spoons, bracelets, girdles, rings, cups, hatchets, cutlery-ware, ox-hides, gunpowder, fustis, lead, pins, brimstone, pewter, wine, beer, figs, feathers, down, and other such commodities, a small part of which they sell again in their summer excursions to the frontiers of Norway; but they do not in this season carry on such an advantageous trade as in winter; for at that time the skins are not so good as during the frost; so that they neither vend many furs nor much dried flesh, the merchandize of their country being almost reduced to bark-ropes and cheese made of the milk of rein-deer. On the

the contrary, they furnish themselves with felt, cows, sheep, sheep-skins, which the richer sort cover with blue or red cloth to serve them for mattraffes, salt, tobacco, and especially, with aqua-vitæ, which is prohibited in Sweden. While they were accounted forcerers, they got a great deal by selling to sailors magic knots, of such virtues as to accommodate them with favourable winds, whithersoever they were bound; but at present, the world being better informed on that subject, they find no buyers, and this fine branch of trade is absolutely lost.

The Laplanders for a long time, traded by way of barter, though now money is current among them; but they receive nothing from the Swedes, who give them that money, but Danish and Dutch crowns, because they cannot carry any other in Norway. It is not very singular that their neighbours should pretty well understand their language, as there is upon the frontiers of Sweden, a neutral language called the *language of the burghers*; but we ought to assure the reader, that the Lapland language is not so barbarous as many imagine, and that some people have written in it. Softer than that of Finland, and more regular than the Swedish, it expresses things with great precision. For example, it has six or seven terms to signify the different kinds of roads, as many for the mountains, and about four and twenty to distinguish the rein-deer, according to their sex, age, and properties. The moods of the verbs are more numerous than in any other language, and they have no fewer than thirteen different cases for their nouns substantive.

*An account of a society called Dunkards, in Pennsylvania, by a gentleman of America.*

THE Dunkard town, called Ephrata, is situated in the frontier part of Lancaster county, fourteen miles from Lancaster, and lies between two small hills. From the top of each of these there is a regular declivity to the bottom, where a small river runs, and by one of its windings encircles about one half of the ground possessed by the Dunkards. This river serves as a kind of natural fence on the one side; the other is secured by a ditch, and a large bank planted with trees: the whole tract containing about 250 acres. The road from Lancaster to Ephrata is very good, and the variety of landscapes that strike the eye, make it agreeable. That part of it next Ephrata, is very solitary, where the inhabitants are thinly scattered, and the country becoming more hilly, makes the road take several windings through the interjacent vallies, which are all well supplied with rivulets of water, and covered over with trees. Nothing is seen but the works of nature uncorrected by the hand of man. This little society had its rise upwards of twenty years ago, from a German who settled in the place where Ephrata now stands, and was then altogether uncultivated, as well as the adjacent country, for several miles round. He lived in this solitude some years, having little or no intercourse with the rest of mankind, but supplied by his own industry whatever necessities he wanted. After some time the country near him began to be settled by some of his own countrymen: and his

uncommon exemplary piety induced some of them, whose principles nearly corresponded with his own, to join him. Their society soon increased, numbers of both sexes resorting to them. The females were disposed of in a nunnery by themselves, and put under the tuition of a sage matron. Ambition or pecuniary views had no share in their union; and as they gave themselves up entirely to devotion and industry, their gains were thrown into a common stock, out of which private as well as public exigencies were supplied.

The situation of their town is judiciously chosen, being on the declivity of a little hill which faces the south-east, and screens them from the piercing north-winds in the winter. The town is built in the form of a triangle, with a large orchard in the middle. Along the outside are planted thick rows of apple, peach, and cherry-trees, which bear great quantities of fruit. Their houses are all wood, and for the most part three stories high. Each person has his own distinct apartment, that he may have no interruption in his private devotions. Their rooms are plain, white, and clean. A separate part of the town is assigned for the women, who have no communication with the men, unless in joining at public worship, and what is necessary in the oeconomy of their affairs. The number of men and women together exceed 250. If any of them chuse to marry, they must leave the society, but are supplied out of the public fund with necessaries to settle in some place, as they generally do, as near the Ephrata as they conveniently can, and afterwards send their children to be educated among their brethren.

They endeavour to retrench every superfluity in dress, diet, and pleasure. Their garb in winter is a long white gown, tied round the waist with a belt. Behind hangs a large cap like a capuchin, which they put on in the time of rain, or cold, for they wear no hats: a waistcoat of the same cloth, a coarse shirt, trowsers and shoes. In summer their cloaths are of the same form and colour, but made of linen. The women's is the same with that of the men; only instead of trowsers, they wear petticoats, and always keep their faces muffled up in their large capuchins when out of the nunnery. The men let their beards grow to the full length, and wear their hair short. Their diet is for the most part vegetables: they abstain from flesh-meat, not through principle, but judge it most agreeable to the mortified abstemious life a Christian ought to lead. It is certain that luxury is unknown among them, which is easily discovered on first seeing them, being quite lean in body, and not the least appearance of blood in their faces. Their recreations are no other than the alternate performance of religious and domestic duties, which they endeavour to intermix in such a manner, that neither may be burthensome. They regularly celebrate public worship twice every day, and as often every night. Instead of beds, they sleep on benches, and use a little wooden block for a pillow. Each room is furnished with a couple of these.

Their president is a person who had a regular education at Halle in Germany. He took orders, and was a minister in the Calvinists communion several years; but not being

being able to satisfy himself in some points, he left that sect, and went over to the Dunkards. He is a man of an open, affable temper, and free in conversation beyond what you would expect from a person so rigid in his manner of life. The following account of their principles I had from him. They retain both sacraments, but admit adults only to baptism, which they administer by dipping or plunging. They entirely deny original sin, as to its effects on Adam's posterity; and consequently hold free-will. All violence they esteem unlawful, even self-defence in times of danger. Going to law they think contrary to the gospel, even when defrauded, or when their property is unjustly seized. They are strict in observing the Jewish sabbath, to a degree of superstition. They have no set form of service, but pray and preach extempore. Their discourses, by all that I could learn, treat in general of Christian virtues, humility, chastity, temperance, &c. They believe the dead had the gospel preached to them by our Saviour; and that, since his resurrection, the souls of the just are employed in preaching the gospel to those who have had no revelation of it in their life, nor sufficient means to be convinced of its truth. They deny the eternity of torments, which they think are mystically alluded to the Jewish sabbath, sabbatical year, and year of jubilee. They look upon each of these as typical of certain periods after the general judgment, in which the souls of those who are not then admitted into happiness, are purified and purged from their corruption and obduracy. If any within the smaller periods are so far humbled as to acknowledge God to

be holy, just, and good, and Christ to be their only Saviour, they are received into happiness. Those who continue obstinate are still kept in torment, till the grand period typified by the jubilee arrives, when universal redemption will take place, and all made happy in the endless fruition of the Deity.

Harmony and mutual affection reigns surprisingly among them; every person is industrious, and quite contented with the task assigned him. They are remarkably hospitable to all strangers. If a traveller ask them any thing, they will cheerfully give it him; and if it happens to be late in the evening, will ask him to stay all night, but refuse to accept of any recompence.

The nuns are very ingenious in drawing flowers and pieces of writing; especially the latter, with which they adorn their churches; and among these are some curious and finished pieces, done in German text.

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*A character from Sully.*

WHEN the Duke de Sully, in 1603, set out on an embassy for the court of England, he was attended by a numerous retinue of the principal gentlemen in France: amongst the rest Mr. Servin presented his young son to him; at the same time, earnestly begging the duke, that he would use his best endeavours to make him an honest man. This request gave Sully a great curiosity to search into his character: and he gives the following striking account of him.

His genius, says he, was so lively, that nothing could escape his

penetration; his apprehension was so quick, that he understood every thing in an instant; and his memory so prodigious, that he never forgot any thing. He was master of all the branches of philosophy, the mathematics, particularly fortification and designing. Nay, he was so thoroughly acquainted with divinity, that he was an excellent preacher, when he pleased, and could manage the controversy for, or against, the protestant religion, with the greatest ability. He not only understood the Greek, Hebrew, and other learned languages, but all the jargons of the moderns. He entered so exactly into their pronunciation and accent, to which he joined such a perfect imitation of their air and manners, that not only the people of the different nations in Europe, but the several provinces of France, would have taken him for a native of the country. He applied his talent to imitate all sorts of persons, which he performed with wonderful dexterity; and was accordingly the best comedian in the world. He was a good poet, an excellent musician, and sung with equal art and sweetness. He said mass; for he would do every thing, as well as know every thing. His body was perfectly proportioned to his mind. He was well made, vigorous and agile, formed for all sorts of exercises. He rode a horse well, and was admired for dancing, leaping, and wrestling. He was acquainted with all kinds of sports and diversions, and could practise in most of the mathematical arts.—— Reverse the medal, says Sully: he was a liar, false, treacherous, cruel, and cowardly, a sharper, drunkard, and glutton. He was a gamester, an

abandoned debauchee, a blasphemer, and atheist. In a word, was possessed of every vice, contrary to nature, to honour, to religion, and society; he persisted in his vices to the last, and fell a sacrifice to his debaucheries, in the flower of his age; he died at the public stew, holding the glass in his hand, swearing, and denying God.

Any reflections upon this character would be needless, it must appear so thoroughly vicious; and the more dangerous from all those extraordinary qualities both of body and mind which accompanied it, even the unhappy father pronounced it so in a son; and the Duke de Sully observes, that he was at once a miracle and monster. To conclude, it is then evident, that virtue does not consist in the possession of the greatest personal or external advantages, but in the right use and application of these, from a constant and pure intention. It is this only this which properly excites the moral sentiment of esteem and approbation; nor can the most shining abilities, which the human nature is susceptible of, avert that infamy and contempt, which is the natural portion of vice.

“If parts allure thee, think how  
Bacon shin’d,

“The wisest, brightest, meanest,  
of mankind.”

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant,

M. D.

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*Anecdotes of the present author of the  
Brussels Gazette.*

**H**IS name is Maubert, and he is by birth a Frenchman. He was educated in a seminary of jesuits

jesuits in Picardy, and, at length, entered the society; but being enamoured of a beautiful nun, he made an elopement with her, and professed himself a protestant. He came to Brussels, where he obtained the protection of M. Kinschot, resident of the States, by whose means he got safe to Holland. He now found himself immersed in great difficulties, and reduced to extreme want; the generosity of the protestants fell short of his expectations, and his conversion was far from answering his views. Some booksellers employed him to write for them; but his converted nun was the principal source of support. A Saxon count, in his travels through Holland, met with her at the Hague, and taking a fancy to her, carried her with him to Dresden. Maubert was taken notice of on her account, and found a friend and protector in his rival, who recommended him to a Saxon nobleman, to be preceptor to his sons. He soon acquired the esteem of the family by his wit and agreeable conversation. This nobleman was an inveterate enemy to Count Bruhl, and had engaged with some of his friends to ruin him. Maubert was pitched on as a proper person to draw up a deduction of grievances, and his performance gained him the applause and confidence of the anti-ministerial party. He was admitted to their conferences, and consulted by them on the means of attaining their aim; and had his advice been taken, it is more than probable Count Bruhl had been deposed, and the present war prevented; but such was the perplexity and irresolution of the cabal, they could not agree on the measures, tho' they were determined to strike the

blow. The confidence of people in their sphere of life, greatly elated Maubert: he construed the notice they took of him into friendship, and their visits flattered his ambition. But one morning he received a visit of an officer of the Saxon guards, who thus addressed him in a surly tone: "I arrest you in the King's name as a prisoner of state." His papers were seized; he was hurried into a coach, and carried to the castle of Konigstein, a few miles from Dresden, towards the confines of Bohemia. He continued there twenty-three months, and employed his time in close application to study, and made considerable progress in politics. In the mean time, he remarked, that one of his fellow prisoners had the liberty of walking where he pleased, and that he was a prisoner only because he preferred being a prisoner, with a pension that enabled him to live comfortably, and smoke tobacco from morning till night, to any situation in which he would be exposed to the vicissitudes of fortune. This honest philosopher always wore a greasy night-gown, a wig of a monstrous size, a remarkable large slouched hat, and slippers. Maubert cultivated a strict intimacy with the philosopher, whom one day in sultry hot weather, he found fast asleep. Maubert improved this circumstance to his advantage; he put on his friend's night-gown, hat, wig, and slippers, and after lighting his pipe, he walked gravely out, without being discovered, and arrived, in a couple of hours after, at Peterswalde in Bohemia, where he was in safety; but his situation was still dismal; he had little money, and neither shoes nor a coat. Next day he

he exchanged his night gown and wig with the priest of Peterswalde, for an old black coat, and the slippers for a pair of shoes, and then set out for Prague. By the assistance of some friends, which the oddity of his late adventure had acquired him, he was enabled to go to Francfort on the Maine, and from thence to Berlin, Holland, and England, where he had many adventures, and made many a shift to live. From England he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, being taken for a spy; and a Dutch fishing boat, that had sold her cargo in the Thames, procured him the means of preserving his liberty. He once more landed in Holland, where the present troubles offered him the means of gaining a livelihood by his pen. He was advantageously known by his testament of C. Alberoni, and by his political history of this age. He published several political pamphlets, for which he was paid by the very same Count Bruhl, who had prosecuted him some years before. *Ephraim justified* is a false representation of the situation of Saxony, under the Prussians: the affair of the coinage, the levies of recruits, and the raising of contributions, are painted in odious and false colours; erroneous calculations, and facts that never existed but in his brain, serve to illustrate this performance. Count Bruhl and Count Kaunitz's pensions to him were but scanty, which obliged him to make an offer of his pen to defend the British cause in polemic writings. His proposals were rejected: piqued at such a mark of indifference, he swore revenge. A letter which he wrote in the name of the late prince royal to

the King of Prussia, was intended to blacken the greatest hero of the age. M. Van Hellen demanded satisfaction of the States in his master's name, and he was ordered by a state messenger twice to leave Holland. He paid no regard to the compliment; but a surly scout, with his satellites, carried him, *bon gre mal gre*, in a coach to the limits of the States territories, where he was left to meditate on human vicissitudes. He went again to Brussels, where he was received with open arms; he returned to the bosom of the church, was made a conseiller de Cour by her Apostolic Majesty, gratified with a pension of 600 ducats, and probably has received from Rome absolution for all the lies he is to tell in the Brussels Gazette.

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*Singular account of a Miser.*

A Varice, of all other passions is the least to be accounted for, as it precludes the miser from all pleasure except that of hoarding: the Prodigal, the Gamester, the Ambitious, have something to plead by way of palliatives for their inordinate affections to their respective objects and pursuits; but the miser gratifies his passion at the expence of every conveniency, indulgence, or even necessary of life. He is aptly compared to the magpye, who hides gold which he can make no use of.

M. Vandille was the most remarkable man in Paris, both on account of his immense riches, and his extreme avarice. He lodged as high up as the roof would admit him, to avoid noise or visits, maintained one poor old woman to attend him in his garret, allowed her only seven sous per week, or a penny

penny per diem. His usual diet was bread and milk, and for indulgence, some poor four wine on Sunday, on which day he constantly gave one farthing to the poor, being one shilling and a penny per ann. which he cast up, and after his death, his extensive charity amounted to forty-three shillings and four-pence. This prudent œconomist had been a magistrate, or officer, at Boulogne, from which obscurity he was promoted to Paris, for the reputation of his wealth, which he lent upon undeniable security to the public funds, nor caring to trust individuals with his life and soul. While a magistrate at Boulogne, he maintained himself by taking upon him to be milk-taster-general at the market, and from one to another filled his belly and washed down his bread at no expence of his own, nor, doubtless, from any other principle than that of serving the public in regulating the goodness of milk. When he had a call to Paris, knowing that stage vehicles were expensive, he determined to go thither on foot; and to avoid being robbed, he took care to export with himself neither more nor less than the considerable sum of three-pence sterling to carry him one hundred and thirty miles; and with the greater facility to execute his plan of operation, he went in the quality of a poor priest or mendicant, and no doubt gathered some few pence on the road from such pious and well-disposed persons of the country who were strangers to him.

The great value a miser annexes to a farthing, will make us less surprised at the infinite attachment he must have to a guinea, of which it is the seed, growing by gentle gradations, into pence, shillings,

pounds, thousands, and ten thousands, which made this worthy connoisseur say, take care of the farthings, and the pence, and shillings, will take care of themselves; these femina of wealth may be compared to seconds of time, which generate years, centuries, and even eternity itself.

When he became extensive rich, being in the year 1735 worth seven or eight hundred thousand pounds, which he begot or multiplied on the body of a single shilling, from the age of sixteen to the age of seventy-two: one day he heard a woodman going by in summer, at which season they stock themselves with fuel for the winter; he agreed with him at the lowest rate possible, but stole from the poor man several logs, with which he loaded himself to his secret hiding-hole, and thus contracted, in that hot season, a fever; he then sent, for the first time, for a surgeon to bleed him, who asking half a livre for the operation, was dismissed; he then sent for an apothecary, but he was as high in his demand; he then sent for a poor barber, who undertook to open a vein for three-pence a time; but, says this worthy œconomist, friend, how often will it be requisite to bleed? three times, said he: and what quantity of blood do you intend to take? about eight ounces each time, answered the barber. That will be, nine-pence—too much, too much, says the old miser, I have determined to go a cheaper way to work; take the whole quantity you design to take at three times, at one time, and that will save me six-pence; which being insisted on, he lost twenty-four ounces of blood, and died in a few days, leaving all his vast treasures to the King, whom  
he



he made his sole heir. Thus he contracted his disorder by pilfering, and his death by an unprecedented piece of parsimony.

*Copy of the will of the late Lieutenant General Henry Hawley.*

**I** Being perfectly well, both in body and mind, know that I am writing this my last will, by which I do hereby give, order, and dispose of what is mine, both real and personal, that there may be no disputes after I am gone. Therefore as I began the world with nothing, and as all I have is of my own acquiring, I can dispose of it as I please. But first, I direct and order (that as there is now a peace, and I may die the common way) my carcase may be put any where; 'tis equal to me; but I will have no more expence or ridiculous shew, than if a poor soldier (who is as good a man) was to be buried in the hospital. The priest, I conclude, will have his fee: let the puppy have it. Pay the carpenter for the carcase box. Debts I have none at this time; some very small trifles of course there may be: let them be paid; there is wherewith to do it. First, then, to my only sister Anne Hawley, if she survives me, I give and bequeath 5000 l. sterling out of the 7500 l. which I have at this time in bank annuities of 1748. Be that altered or not, I still give her 5000 l. out of what I die worth, to dispose of as she pleases; and this to be made over to her, or paid, as soon as possible, after I am dead; a month at most. As to any other relations, I have none who want, and as I never was married, have no heirs: I therefore

have long since taken it into my head to adopt one heir, and son, after the manner of the Romans, who I hereafter name.

But first, there's one Mrs. Eliz. Todvey, widow, mother of this aforesaid adopted son, who has been for many years my friend and companion, and often my careful nurse, and in my absence a faithful steward: she is the person I think myself bound in honour and gratitude to provide for, as well as I can, during her life. I do therefore give and bequeath to the said Eliz. Toovey, widow, all that my freehold estate, houses, out-houses, &c. and all the land thereto belonging, situate at the upper end of West-green, in the parish of Hartley Wintny, and county of Southampton, which I bought of William Shipway: I likewise give to the said Elizabeth Toovey the lands or farm commonly called Exall's farm, which join to the aforesaid lands bought of William Shipway, and which I bought of Lord Castlemaia. I also give her the field adjoining thereto, which I bought of farmer Hellhouse, called the Paddock. I likewise give to the said Elizabeth Toovey, my farm-house, other house, and all out-houses, &c. and all the lands thereto belonging, situate at the bottom of West-green, parish and county aforesaid, which farm, lands, &c. I bought of farmer Hellhouse. I likewise give and bequeath to the said Elizabeth Toovey, the great meadow, which I bought of Thomas Ellis, carpenter, or wright, which is commonly called Tilgany; and I give her also the little meadow overagainst the great one, part of the purchase made of farmer Hellhouse to her. And I also give

give to the said Elizabeth Toovey a little barn and farm I lately purchased, called Birchen Reeds, upon Hasty-heath, in the parish of Mattingly, or Hetzfield. I likewise give and bequeath to the said Elizabeth Toovey, my house, stables, out-houses, and all the ground thereto belonging, which I purchased lately of the widow Rooke, situate in the parish of St. George's near Hyde Park-gate, in the county of Middlesex, she to hold and possess these several houses and estates during her natural life; and then after her decease, I give and bequeath them to her second son Captain William Toovey, my adopted son and heir (at present a captain in the regiment of Royal Dragoons under my command) then when his mother dies, and not before, the whole which I have and do give to her, to come to him, and to be his and his heirs for ever. And I do direct and require the said Captain William Toovey, that as soon as I am dead, he shall forthwith take upon him both my names, and sign them, by act of parliament, or otherwise, as shall be needful. I do order and appoint that the aforesaid Elizabeth Toovey, shall have the use of all my goods, plate, &c. during her life, as also the use and interest of all the sums of money I die possessed of in present, as also what shall be due to me from the government, during her natural life, excepting always the 5000l. which I give my sister, and what legacies hereafter follow, and debts paid, and my horses and arms exclusive.

I do appoint Captain William Toovey my sole executor and trustee, to see this my will executed punctually, and to act in behalf of

my sister, his mother, brother, and himself, and to state my accounts with my agent for the time being, and all others concerned.

As to his brother Lieutenant Colonel John Toovey, I give and bequeath to him 1000l. out of the money the government owes me, when paid. I also give him all my horses and arms. I also give him up the writings and money, which his brother Captain William Toovey owes me, lent him for his several preferments in the regiment.

I give and bequeath to Elizabeth Burkett, spinster, one hundred pounds, as a legacy, she having been a useful agreeable handmaid to me; but upon this condition, that she never marries Lieutenant Colonel John Toovey, if she does I give her nothing. Likewise if Lieutenant Colonel John Toovey should be fool enough to marry her, Elizabeth Burkett, I disannul whatever relates to him and her, and I give nothing either to Lieutenant Colonel John Toovey or her. And if after all this they should be both fools and marry, I do hereby give (what I had given to them) I say, I give it to my sister Anne Hawley, and her heirs; and order her or them to sue for the same.

I once more appoint Captain William Toovey my executor and trustee; and I order him to administer; there's no debts will trouble him, or his mother; what there is she will pay; and that he immediately wait on my sister with a copy of this will, if she survives me; if not, what I give her is his. In case I have not time to make another will, my house in the Mews, which lease is almost out, my sister has already by my gift.

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My house at Charlton I shall sell ; so don't mention it. I have no other will but this, which is my last. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, having writ it all with my own hand, and signed each page : and this I did, because I hate all priests of all professions, and I have the worst opinion of all members of the law. This the 29th of March, 1749.

(L. S.) HE. HAWLEY.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by Lieutenant General Henry Hawley, in our presence, who likewise in his presence have subscribed our names as witnesses.

J. Wilkinfon,  
Sam. Moss,  
Patt. Maguire.

What follows in this sheet is a codicil to the foregoing will ; but, without making any alteration in the said foregoing will, I by this give and bequeath to Captain William Toovey, and his heirs, that farm and lands called Hurlebatts farm, lying near Hartford Bridge ; which lands I lately purchased of James Hare, yeoman ; the house and barns not being yet purchased, nor twenty pounds a year belonging to it : but as the said James Hare is under an obligation to sell it to me at a stipulated price, within twelve months, I do give the said house, lands, &c. to the said Captain William Toovey, in the same manner as the lands first mentioned ; therefore I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 7th day of November, 1749.

(L. S.) HE. HAWLEY.

Signed, sealed and delivered, &c.

Am. Hodges,  
Tho. Gibbon,  
Hen. Romerman.

This sheet is also a codicil to my will.

Whereas my estate is increased, since the former date, by the purchase of Diple mill, and lands, &c. thereto belonging, at the rent of 50l. a year, and by a mortgage of 1000 l. upon the estate of one John Fly at Odiam, as also of or by a mortgage of 1500 l. upon the toll of the turnpike at Pheanise Green, parish of Hartley Wintny ; I do give to the aforesaid Anne Hawley, my sister, the abovesaid mill, lands, &c. for her life ; after her to Captain William Toovey ; and order him to pay her 50l. a year penny rent, by half yearly payments. I give to Elizabeth Burkett, the 1000l. mortgage upon John Fly's estate ; and I give to Captain William Toovey, the 1500l. loan on the toll as above, in present to him. Witness my hand and seal this 22d of October, 1750.

(L. S.) HE. HAWLEY.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, &c.

John Smith,  
John Baignan,  
Jaque Guillard.

This sheet is also a codicil to my will.

Whereas since the foregoing codicil, I have purchased that estate at Odiam, on which I had a mortgage, being 50l. a year, I give that in present to my sister Anne Hawley, instead of Diple mill, &c. the mill I give to Captain William Toovey, and order him as before to pay my sister 50l. a year penny rent quarterly. And whereas I have already articted for an estate called Blue-house farm (though the writings are not yet finished) when done I give it to Captain William Toovey in present. I give to Eliz. Burkett 1000l. to be paid to her by

by her aunt Mrs. Elizabeth Toovey, out of the ready money I leave to her, either in the funds, or elsewhere: this in lieu of the mortgage mentioned before. I give more to Mrs. Elizabeth Toovey, widow, the 1500 l. lent upon the turnpike, as before mentioned. I give unto Lieutenant Colonel John Toovey, all my arms, horses, books, plans, and every thing that is military. Witness my hand and seal this 28th of February, 1752.

(L. S.) HE. HAWLEY.

Signed, sealed and delivered, &c.

John Smith,  
William Dollery,  
John Baigan.

This sheet is also a codicil to my will. Whereas my estate is again increased, since the last date, having now purchased the aforesaid Blue-house farm, as also a farm and house and lands, at Hallside, near Odiam, of one Mr. Horn, rent 21 l. a year, I give the said lands, &c. of both the above farms, to the foresaid William Toovey. [I als | ive unto him the mo | gage of four | thousand pounds, wh | h I am to ha | upon Mr. Cottingham's | state in Ham | ire, when the title is | ade good, wh | h is now before coun | il.] If it should not be made good, I give the interest of that 4000 l. to his mother Elizabeth Toovey, for her life; and afterwards to him the said William Toovey; as likewise all the monies he shall receive on my account due from the government; the interest of which I have before given her for life. The title of the mortgage having not been made good, I have scratched those lines out, as above. Whatever purchases I may hereafter make, or whatever money I shall hereafter

lend upon mortgages, I give to the aforesaid Captain William Toovey, Witness my hand and seal this 16th day of May 1753.

(L. S.)

HE. HAWLEY.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, &c.  
Robert Leggat,  
Henry Romerman.

Proved London, with four codicils, the 24th of March, 1759, before the worshipful George Harris, doctor of laws, and surrogate, by the oath of William Toovey, Esq; the sole executor named in the said will, to whom administration was granted, having been first sworn duly to administer.

March 27, 1759.

Wm Legard, } Deputy  
Pet. St. Eloy, } Register.  
H. Stephens, }

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*The remarkable trial of Eugene Aram, of Knareborough, in the county of York, schoolmaster, for the murder of Daniel Clark, shoemaker, committed on the 8th day of February, 1744-5.*

**D**ANIEL CLARK, the deceased, had been newly married, under the colour of having received a good fortune with his wife, entered into a confederacy with Aram and Houseman, a flax-dresser, to defraud several persons of great quantities of plate, and other goods, which Clark was to borrow from his friends and acquaintance, to make a first appearance in the marriage state. This Clark effectually did, and borrowed goods of great value, such as linen and woollen drapery goods, besides three silvr tankards, four silver mugs, one silver milk pot, one ring, set with an emerald, and two

two brilliant diamonds, another with three rose diamonds ; a third with an amethyst, and six plain rings, eight watches, two snuff-boxes, &c. all these in a private manner, and from different people. Clark having fraudulently obtained these goods, the place of distribution was fixed at Aram's house. Clark soon after was missing ; and upon his intimacy with Aram and Houseman, a suspicion arising that they might be concerned in the fraud, search was made, some of the goods were found at Houseman's, and others dug up in Aram's garden ; but as no plate was found, it was believed that Clark had gone off with that, and the business was dropt till the month of June 1758, when Aram was found to be at Lynn in Norfolk, where he was usher of a school, and arrested for the murder of Clark.

The wife of Eugene Aram, after his departure from her, had intimated her suspicion of Clark's being murdered, having seen her husband and Houseman in a close conference, and on missing Clark, asked what they had done with him. She overheard their concern at her suspicion, on which Aram, her husband, said to Houseman, that he would shoot her, and put her out of the way : and after their departure, she went down and found several pieces and shreds of linen and woollen, which she suspected to be Clark's wearing apparel.

This, and other testimony, was given before the inquest, at which Houseman being present, shewed all the marks of guilt, as trembling, paleness, stammering, &c. Upon the skeleton's being produced, Houseman also dropt this unguard-

ed expression ; taking up one of the bones, he said, ' This is no more Dan. Clark's bone than it is mine ; ' which shewed, that if he was so sure that those bones before him were not Daniel Clark's, he must know something more, as indeed he did ; for these were not the bones of Clark, but an accident designed to bring the real body to light ; which Houseman, after some evasions in his first disposition, discovered to be in St. Robert's cave, near Knaresborough, where it was found in the posture described ; he then was admitted King's evidence against Aram, and brought in one Terry, as an accomplice in the murder. Houseman gives his deposition as follows :

" That Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene Aram, late of Knaresborough, schoolmaster, and as he believes, on Friday the 8th of February, 1744-5 ; for that Eugene Aram and Daniel Clark were together at Aram's house early that morning, and that he [Houseman] left the house, and went up the street a little before, and they called to him, desiring he would go a little way with them, and he accordingly went along with them to a place called St. Robert's cave, near Grimble-bridge where Aram and Clark stopped, and there he saw Aram strike him several times over the breast and head, and saw him fall as if he was dead, upon which he came away and left them : but whether Aram used any weapon or not to kill Clark he could not tell ; nor does he know what he did with the body afterwards, but believes that Aram left it at the mouth of the cave ; for that seeing Aram do this, lest he might share the same fate,

fate, he made the best of his way from him, and got to the bridge-end; where, looking back, he saw Aram coming from the cave side, (which is in a private rock adjoining the river) and could discern a bundle in his hand; but did not know what it was; upon this he hasted away to the town, without either joining Aram, or seeing him again till the next day, and from that time to this he never had any private discourse with him. Afterwards, however, Houseman said, that Clark's body was buried in St. Robert's cave, and that he was sure it was then there; but desired it might remain till such time as Aram should be taken. He added farther, that Clark's head lay to the right, in the turn at the entrance of the cave."

Aram being thus accused by Houseman, was taken in the school at Lynn in Norfolk, and after some evasions on his first examination, signed the subsequent, as follows: "That he was at his own house the 7th of Feb. 1744-5, at night, when Richard Houseman and Daniel Clark came to him with some plate, and both of them went for more several times, and came back with several pieces of plate, of which Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neighbours: that he could not but observe, that Houseman was all that night very diligent to assist him, to the utmost of his power; and insisted, that this was Houseman's business that night, and not the signing any note or instrument, as is pretended by Houseman. That Henry Terry, then of Knareborough, ale-keeper, was as much concerned in abetting the said frauds, as either Houseman or Clark; but was not now at Aram's

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house, because, as it was market day, his absence from his guests might have occasioned some suspicion: that Terry, notwithstanding, brought two silver tankards that night, upon Clark's account, which had been fraudulently obtained; and that Clark, so far from having borrowed 20*l.* of Houseman, to his knowledge never borrowed more than 9*l.* which he had paid him again before that night.

That all the leather Clark had, which amounted to a considerable value, he well knows, was concealed under flax in Houseman's house, with intent to be disposed of by little and little, in order to prevent suspicion of his being concerned in Clark's fraudulent practices.

That Terry took the plate in a bag, as Clark and Houseman did the watches, rings, and several small things of value, and carried them into the flat, where they and he (Aram) went together to St. Robert's cave, and beat most of the plate flat. It was then thought too late in the morning, being about four o'clock, on the 8th of Feb. 1744-5, for Clark to go off so as to get to any distance; it was therefore agreed he should stay there till the night following, and Clark accordingly staid there all that day, as he believes, they having agreed to send him victuals, which was carried to him by Henry Terry; he being judged the most likely person to do it without suspicion; for as he was a shooter, he might go thither under the pretence of sporting: that the next night, in order to give Clark more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard Houseman, and himself, went down to the cave very early; but he [Aram]

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did

did not go into the cave, or see Clark at all; that Richard Houseman and Henry Terry only went into the cave, he staying to watch at a little distance on the outside, lest any body should surprize them.

That he believes they were beating some plate, for he heard them make a noise; they staid there about an hour, and then came out of the cave, and told him that Clark was gone off. Observing a bag they had along with them, he took it in his hand, and saw that it contained plate. On asking, why Daniel did not take the plate along with him? Terry and Houseman replied, that they had bought it of him, as well as the watches, and had given him money for it; that being more convenient for him to go off with, as less comberfome and dangerous. After which they all three went into Houseman's warehouse and concealed the watches with the small plate there, but that Terry carried away with him the great plate: that afterwards Terry told him he carried it to How-hill, and hid it there, and then went into Scotland, and disposed of it: but as to Clark, he could not tell whether he was murdered or not: he knew nothing of him, only that they told him he was gone off."

After he had signed his confession he was conducted to York Castle, where he and Houseman remained till the assizes.

From the above examination of Aram, there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair; a warrant was therefore granted, and he likewise was apprehended and committed to the Castle. Bills of indictment were found against them: but it appearing to the court upon

affidavit, that the prosecutot could not be fully provided with his witnessses at that time, the trial was postponed till Lammas assizes.

On the third of August 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the bar. Houseman was arraigned on his former indictment, acquitted, and admitted evidence against Aram, who was thereupon arraigned. Houseman was then called upon, who deposed, " That, in the night between the 7th and 8th of February 1744-5, about 11 o'clock, he went to Aram's house: that, after two hours, and upwards, spent in passing to and fro between their several houses, to dispose of various goods, and to settle some notes concerning them, Aram proposed, first to Clark, and then to Houseman, to take a walk out of town: that when they came to the field where St. Robert's cave is, Aram and Clark went into it over the hedge, and when they came within six or eight yards of the cave he saw them quarrelling: that he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he never saw him rise again: that he saw no instrument that Aram had, and knew not that he had any: that upon this, without any interposition or alarm, he left them and returned home: that the next morning he went to Aram's house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night, and what he had done with him? Aram replied not to this question; but threatened him if he spoke of his being in Clark's company that night; vowing revenge, either by himself or some other person, if he mentioned any thing relating to the affair."

Peter Moor (Clark's servant) deposed,

deposed, "That a little time before his disappearing, Clark went to receive his wife's fortune: that upon his return he went to Aram's house, where Moor then was: upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, *How do you do, Mr. Clark? I'm glad to see you at home again, pray what success?* To which Clark replied, *I have received my wife's fortune, and have it in my pocket, tho' it was with difficulty I got it.* Upon which Aram said to Clark (Houseman being present) *Let us go up stairs;* accordingly they went; upon which this witness returned home."

Mr. Backwith deposed, "That when Aram's garden was searched, on suspicion of his being an accomplice in the frauds of Clark, there were found several kinds of goods, bound together in a coarse wrapper; and, among the rest, in particular, a piece of cambrick, which he himself had sold Clark a very little time before."

Thomas Barnet deposed, "That on the 8th of Feb. about one in the morning he saw a person come out of Aram's house, who had a wide coat on, with the cape about his head, and seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the cape of his great coat; and perceiving it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a good night, alias a good morning."

John Barker the constable, who executed the warrant granted by Mr. Thornton, and indorsed by Sir John Turner, deposed, "That, at Lynn, Sir John Turner, and some others, first went into the school where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. Sir John asked him if he knew Knareborough? He replied, *No.* And being further asked, *If he had any acquaintance*

*with one Daniel Clark?* He denied, *that he ever knew such a man.* The witness then entered the school, and said, *How do you do, Mr. Aram?* Aram replied, *How do you do, Sir?* *I don't know you. What!* said the witness, *don't you know me? Don't you remember that Daniel Clark and you always had a spite against me when you lived at Knareborough?* Upon this he recollected the witness, and owned his residence at Knareborough. The witness then asked him, *If he did not know Sir Robert's cave?* He answered, *Yes.* The witness replied, *Aye, to your sorrow.* That, upon their journey to York, Aram enquired after his old neighbours, and what they said of him. To which the witness replied, that they were much enraged against them for the loss of their goods. That upon Aram's asking, if it was not possible to make up the matter? the witness answered, He believed he might save himself, if he would restore to them what they had lost. Aram answered, that was impossible; but he might perhaps find them an equivalent."—Aram was then asked by the judge, If he had any thing to say to the witness before him? He replied, That, to the best of his knowledge, it was not in the school, but in the room adjoining to the school, where Sir John Turner and the witness were, when he first saw them.

The skull was then produced in court, on the left side of which there was a fracture, that from the nature of it could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. Lockock, the surgeon, who produced it, gave it as his opinion, That no such



breach could proceed from any natural decay ; that it was a recent fracture by the instrument with which it was dug up, but seemed to be of many years standing.

It should seem, that Houseman and Aram murdered Clark, and did jointly drag his body into the cave, where it was found in the posture described by Houseman, and that they returned home with the cloaths, which they burnt, according to the testimony of Aram's wife, who found the shreds, and overheard their conference. Aram being asked what motive could induce him to commit the murder, answered, that he suspected Clark to have had a criminal correspondence with his wife. It appeared further on the trial, that Aram possessed himself of Clark's fortune, which he got with his wife, a little before, about 160*l*. And thus, after fourteen years concealment, this notable discovery was made by two skeletons being found much at the same time. Having, thus, in brief, given the substance of the trial and conviction of Aram, we shall give his defence, which he delivered into court in writing.

" First, my Lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never said this; did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my Lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my Lord, I concerted no schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property. My days were honestly laborious, my nights intensely studious. And I humbly

conceive, my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent, or unseasonable ; but, at least, deserving some attention : because, my Lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly, and without one single deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things. Mankind is never corrupted at once ; villainy is always progressive, and declines from right ; step by step, till every regard of probity is lost, and every sense of all moral obligations totally perishes.

Again, my Lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time, with respect to health : for, but a little space before, I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet slowly and in part ; but so macerated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches ; and was so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take any thing into his head so unlikely, so extravagant ? I, past the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact ; without interest, without power, without motive, without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to every one, that an action of this atrocious

atrocious nature is never heard of, but when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, or supply some luxury; to satisfy some avarice, or oblige some malice; to prevent some real, or some imaginary want: yet I lay not under the influence of any one of these. Surely, my Lord, I may, consistent with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much; and none who have any veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

In the second place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead: but the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and the infallibility of all conclusions of such sort, from such a circumstance, are too obvious, and too notorious, to require instances: yet superseding many, permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this castle.

In June 1757, William Thompson, for all the vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and double-ironed, made his escape; and, notwithstanding an immediate enquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisement, was never seen nor heard of since. If then Thompson got off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him? But what would be thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with Thompson?

Permit me, next, my Lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. It is possible indeed they may: but is there any certain known criterion,

which incontestibly distinguishes the sex in human bones? Let it be considered, my Lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to identify them.

The place of their depositum too claims much more attention than is commonly bestowed upon it: for of all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than a hermitage; except he should point out a church-yard; hermitages, in time past, being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too. And it has scarce or ever been heard of, but that every cell now known, contains, or contained, these relics of humanity; some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind your Lordship, that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit, or the anchoress, hoped that repose for their bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All this while, my Lord, I am sensible this is known to your Lordship, and many in this court, better than I. But it seems necessary to my case that others, who have not at all, perhaps, adverted to things of this nature, and may have concern in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my Lord, to produce a few of many evidences, that those cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to enumerate a few, in which human bodies have been found, as it happened in this in question: lest, to some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and, consequently, occasion prejudice.

1. The bones, as was supposed, of the Saxon, St. Dubritius, were discovered

discovered buried in his cell at Guy's cliff, near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale.

2. The bones, thought to be those of the anchoress Rosia, were but lately discovered in a cell at Roylton, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Dr. Stukely.

3. But our own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for in January 1747, was found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman, the bones, in part, of some recluse, in the cell at Lindholm, near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholm, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation.

4. In February, 1744, part of Woburn-abbey being pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had laid above 100 years, and how much longer is doubtful; for this abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 or 9.

What would have been said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question?

Further, my Lord, it is not yet out of living memory, that a little distance from Knaresborough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriot baronet, who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found in digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six deposited side by side, with each an urn placed on its head, as your lordship knows was usual in ancient interments.

About the same time, and in another field, almost close to this borough, was discovered also in searching for gravel, another human skeleton; but the piety of the same worthy gentleman ordered both pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead.

Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary? whereas, in fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My Lord, almost every place conceal such remains. In fields, in hills, in highway sides, in commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotment for rest for the departed, is but of some centuries.

Another particular seems not to claim a little of your Lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury; which is, that perhaps no example occurs of more than *one* skeleton being found in *one* cell; and in the cell in question, was found but *one*; agreeable, in this, to the peculiarity of every other known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one skeleton, then, but of two, would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my Lord, to attempt to identify these, when even to identify living men sometimes has proved so difficult, as in the case of Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Symnel at home, and of Don Sebastian abroad, will be looked upon perhaps as an attempt to determine what is indeterminable. And I hope too it will not pass unconsidered here, where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with humanity, what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated

ed to serve, in assigning proper personality to these bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal Omniscience.

Permit me, my Lord, also very humbly to remonstrate, that, as human bones appear to have been the inseparable adjuncts of every cell, even any person's naming such a place at random as containing them, in this case shews him rather unfortunate than conscious prescient, and that these attendants on every hermitage accidentally concurred with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence of *words* and *things*.

But it seems another skeleton has been discovered by some labourer, which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this. My Lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, or chance exposed? And might not a place where bones lay be mentioned by a person by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? Or, is it more criminal accidentally to *name* where bones lie, than accidentally to *find* where they lie?

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured; but was this the *cause*, or was it the consequence of death? Was it owing to violence, or the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, was that violence before or after death? My Lord, in May 1732, the remains of William Lord Archbishop of this province were taken up, by permission, in this cathedral, and the bones of the skull were found broken: yet certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive, that could occasion that fracture there.

Let it be considered, my Lord, that upon the dissolution of religious houses, and the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times, both affected the living and the dead. In search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up, graves and vaults dug open, monuments ransacked, and shrines demolished; your Lordship knows that these violations proceeded so far, as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and it did, about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I entreat your Lordship suffer not the violences, the depredations, and the iniquities of those times to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that Knareborough had a castle; which though now run to ruin, was once considerable both for its strength and garrison. All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of the parliament: at which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, pursuits, many fell in all the places round it; and where they fell were buried; for every place, my Lord, is burial earth in war; and many, questionless, of these rest yet unknown, whose bones futurity shall discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said will not be thought impertinent to this indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury may have done; what nature may have taken off, and piety interred; or what war alone may have destroyed, alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been raked together, I have nothing to observe; but that all cir-

circumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability; yet are they but probability still. Why need I name to your Lordship the two Harrisons recorded in Dr. Howel, who both suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance of their lodger, who was in credit, had contracted debts, borrowed money, and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution? Why name the intricate affairs of Jacques de Moulin, under King Charles II. related by a gentleman who was counsel for the crown? and why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocent, tho' convicted upon positive evidence, and whose children perished for want, because the world uncharitably believed the father guilty? Why mention the perjury of Smith, incautiously admitted King's evidence; who to screen himself, equally accused Faircloth and Loveday of the murder of Dun; the first of whom in 1749, was executed at Winchester; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the surgeon of the Gosport hospital?

Now, my Lord, having endeavoured to shew, that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life; that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time; that no rational inference can be drawn, that a person is dead who suddenly disappears; that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse; that the proofs of this are well authenticated; that

the revolutions in religion, or the fortune of war, has mangled, or buried, the dead; the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for. I, last, after a year's confinement, equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candour, the justice, and the humanity of your Lordship, and upon yours, my countrymen, gentlemen of the jury."

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*Some particulars of the life and writings of Eugene Aram.*

**E**UGENE Aram seems perfectly acquainted with his family, as he is able to trace it up to the reign of Edward III. It was of the middle gentry of Yorkshire, and several of his relative name were high sheriffs for the county.

He was removed, when young, to Skelton near Newby, and thence to Bondgate near Rippon; it was here he received the first rudiments of literature, and he studied mathematics so as to be equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions. He was, after the age of 16, sent for to London by Mr. Christopher Blacket, to serve him as clerk in his computing-house; here he pursued his studies, and soon became enamoured of the belles lettres and polite literature, whose charms destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers in lines, that he quitted the former study for poetry, history and antiquity. After a stay of a year or two in London, and having the small pox, he returned to his native place; whence being invited to Netherdale, he engaged in a school, where he married, and, as he says, unfortunately for him; 'for the  
 ' mis-

' misconduct of the wife, which that place afforded, did procure him this place (the prison) this prosecution, this infamy, this sentence.'

He next having perceived his deficiency in the learned languages, applied himself to grammar, in both the Greek and Latin languages, and with great avidity and diligence every one of the Latin classics, historians and poets; then went thro' the Greek testament; and, lastly, ventured upon Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, together with all the Greek tragedians.

In the year 1734, a man and horse came for him from his good friend William Norton, Esq; inviting him to Knaresborough, the scene of his misfortune; here he attained some knowledge in the Hebrew; he studied this language intensely, and went thro' the Pentateuch. In 1744 he returned to London, and served the Rev. Mr. Painblanc as usher in Latin and writing in Piccadilly, and from this gentleman he learned the French language, with which, by severe application, he became tolerably well acquainted. He succeeded to several tuitions and usherships in different places in the south of England, and in the sundry intervals got acquainted with heraldry and botany; and there was scarce an individual plant, domestic or exotic, which he did not know: he also ventured upon Chaldee and Arabic, the former of which he found easy from its near connection with the Hebrew. Not satisfied with this unwearied application, he resolved to study his own language, and in order thereto began with the

Celtic, which, as far as it was possible, he investigated through all its dialects; and having discovered, through all these languages, and the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Chaldee, Arabic and Celtic, such a surprising affinity, he resolved to make a comparative lexicon, having already collected for that purpose above 1000 notes.

And now he comes to the fact for which he was committed, and says, "All the plate at Knaresborough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession; as for me, I had nothing at all †. My wife knows that Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches, at my house, from Clark's own hand; and if she will not give in this evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon, Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows Terry's wife had some velvet; and, if she will, can testify it; she deserves not the regard of the town if she will not. That part of Houseman's evidence, wherein he said I threatened him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and far distant; I must needs observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence, in which he said he went home from Clark; whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can also testify, if I be not believed, EUGENE ARAM."

*The Editor's Remarks on the Proceedings against Eugene Aram.*

Aram's sentence was a just one and he submitted to it with that stoic

† It is generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, viz. about 160l. and there were strong circumstances to prove it, but it was thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it,

cism he so much affected; and the morning after he was condemned, he confessed the justice of it to two clergymen, (who had a licence from the judge to attend him) by declaring that he murdered Clark. Being asked by one of them, What his motive was for doing that abominable action? he told them, "He suspected Clark of having an unlawful commerce with his wife; that he was persuaded, at the time he committed the murder he did right; but since he has thought it wrong."

After this, Pray, says Aram, *what became of Clark's body, if Houseman went home (as he said upon my trial) immediately on seeing him fall? One of the clergymen replied, I'll tell you what became of it; you and Houseman dragged it into the cave, and stripped and buried it there, brought away his cloaths, and burnt them at your own house; to which he assented. He was asked, Whether Houseman did not earnestly press him to murder his wife, for fear she should discover the business they had been about: he hastily said, He did, and pressed me several times to do it.*

This was the substance of what passed with Aram the morning after he was condemned; and as he had promised to make a more ample confession on the day he was executed, it was generally believed every thing previous to the murder would have been disclosed; but he prevented any further discovery, by a horrid attempt upon his own life. When he was called from bed to have his irons taken off, he would not rise, alledging he was very weak. On examination his arm appeared bloody; proper assistance being called, it was found he had attempted to take away his own life,

by cutting his arm in two places with a razor, which he had concealed in the condemned hole some time before. By proper applications he was brought to himself and, though weak, was conducted to Tyburn; where, being asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, No. Immediately after he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knareborough-Forest, and hung in chains, pursuant to his sentence. *On his table, in the cell, was found the following paper, containing his reasons for the abovesaid wicked attempt.*

"What am I better than my fathers? To die is natural and necessary. Perfectly sensible of this, I fear no more to die than I did to be born. But the manner of it is something which should, in my opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both these points. Certainly nobody has a better right to dispose of man's life than himself; and he, not others, should determine how. As for any indignities offered to my body, or silly reflections on my faith and morals, they are (as they always were) things indifferent to me. I think, tho' contrary to the common way of thinking, I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offensive to that eternal Being that formed me and the world: and as by this I injure no man, no man can be reasonably offended. I solicitously recommend myself to the eternal and almighty Being, the God of nature, if I have done amiss. But perhaps I have not; and I hope this thing will never be imputed to me. Tho' I am now stained by malevolence, and suffer by prejudice, I hope to rise fair and unblemished. My life was not polluted, my morals irreproachable, and my opinions orthodox.

I slept

I slept sound till three o'clock,  
awaked, and then writ these lines :

Come, pleasing rest, eternal slumber  
fall,

Seal mine, that once must seal the  
eyes of all ;

Calm and compos'd my soul her  
journey takes,

No guilt that troubles, and no heart  
that aches ;

Adieu ! thou sun, all bright like  
her arise ;

Adieu ! fair friends, and all that's  
good and wise.

These lines, found along with  
the foregoing, were supposed to be  
written by Aram just before he cut  
himself with the razor.

Notwithstanding he pleads a fo-  
reign right over himself, in vin-  
dication of this last horrid crime,  
and appears, at first view, actuated  
by honour and courage ; yet a little  
reflection will convince any one, his  
motive for such an inhuman deed  
was nothing more than the fear of  
shame. His pride would not permit  
him to confess a crime he had once  
so strenuously denied ; and, guilty  
as he knew himself to have been,  
his obstinacy held out to his last  
moments. That he murdered Clark  
is beyond all doubt, as he himself  
voluntarily confessed it ; but the  
excuse he afterwards made for it is  
greatly to be suspected, it being at  
the expence of an innocent indutri-  
ous poor woman, whom he has ever  
treated in an infamous inhuman  
manner.

To his life are subjoined seve-  
ral pieces and fragments, which  
he possibly might have finished,  
had he lived. The first is a lexi-  
con, or rather an essay towards  
it, upon an entire new plan ; in  
this essay are many very curious,  
and pertinent remarks, particularly

his animadversions on lexicogra-  
phers : All our lexicographers, says  
he, a very few excepted, for aught  
I have adverted to, have been long  
employed, and have generally con-  
tented themselves too, within the  
limits of a narrow field. They  
seem to have looked no farther than  
the facilitating for youth the attain-  
ment of the Latin and Greek lan-  
guages, and almost universally con-  
sider the former, as only derived  
from the latter. These two single  
points seem to have confined their  
whole view, possessed their whole  
attention, and engrossed all their  
industry.

Here and there indeed, and in  
a few pieces of this kind, one sees  
interpersed, derivations of the Eng-  
lish from the Latin, Greek, &c. in-  
ferred from a conformity of ortho-  
graphy, sound, and signification,  
and these are very true. But whence  
this relation, this consonancy arose,  
why it has continued from age to  
age to us, has floated on the stream  
of time so long, and passed to such  
a distance of place, how ancient  
words have survived conquests, the  
migrations of people, and the se-  
veral coalitions of nations, and co-  
lonies, notwithstanding the fluctu-  
ating condition of languages in its  
own nature, they have neither ob-  
served with diligence, nor explain-  
ed with accuracy.

Almost every etymologist that  
has fallen into my hands, and de-  
tained my eye, have not been mis-  
taken then in the comparison they  
have made, or the uniformity they  
have observed, between the Latin  
and the Greek, and between both  
those languages and our own ; but  
then their instances have been but  
short and few, and they have failed  
in accounting for this uniformity ;  
they have indeed sufficiently evinced  
a simi-



a similarity, but produced no reasons for it. It is not to be thought of, much less concluded, that the multitude of words among us, which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, are all the relics of the Roman settlements in Britain, or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here: no, this resemblance was co-æval with the primary inhabitants of this island, and the accession of other colonies did not obliterate, but confirm this resemblance, and also brought in an increase, and accession of other words, from the same original, and consequently bearing the same conformity. How nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the Irish, in numberless instances, to the Latin, the Greek, and even Hebrew, and both possessed this consimilarity long ago, before Julius Cæsar, and the Roman invasion? I know not, but the Latin differed more from itself in the succession of six continued centuries, than the Welsh and Irish at this time from the Latin. Concerning this agreement of theirs with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, not to mention others, a gentleman of great penetration, and extraordinary erudition, Dr. Davis may be consulted; and the learned Sheringham, who has exhibited a long and curious specimen of Greek and Cambrian words, so exactly correspondent in *sound* and *sense*, or at least so visibly near, that, as far as I know, no gentleman has ever yet questioned, much less disputed their alliance.

This similitude subsisting in common between the Irish, Cambrian, Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, as it has not escaped the notice, and animadversions of the learned, so their surprize has gene-

rally increased with their researches, and considerations about it: new circumstances of agreement perpetually arising. A great many gentlemen, conversant in antiquities, and pleased with literary amusements of this kind, have ascribed these palpable connexions to conquest or to commerce: they have supposed that the intercourse, which on the latter account, anciently subsisted between the Phœnicians, Greeks, and the Britons (see Boch. Huet. &c.) occasioned this very remarkable community between their languages. Indeed this accident of commerce must needs have had its influence; but then this influence must have been but weak and partial; not prevalent and extensive. Commerce has, and always will make continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words: yet would words of this kind, and at that time, hardly extend a great way; they would only affect the maritime parts, and those places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any considerable impression upon the whole body of our language.

But even supposing that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner, yet could they never penetrate into the more interior parts of it, into recesses remote from the sea; strangers to all correspondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natural soil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the Peak itself, whither foreigners, especially at the distance of more than twice ten

centuries, can scarcely be supposed to have come. There could have been but few invitations to it then; and perhaps there are not many now.

As a specimen of his knowledge in most languages, we shall give his ensampler word *Beagles*.

'*Beagles*, a race of hounds, so named for being little; and perfectly agreeable to the primary signification of the Celtic *Pig*. i. e. *little*. The Greeks have anciently used this word too, and in the sense of *little*, of which they seem to have constituted their *πυγμαῖος*, i. e. a dwarf. It still subsists among the Irish, and still, in that language conveys the idea of *little*; as, *fir pig*, a little man; *ban pig*, a little woman; *beg aglach*, little fearing. It was common in Scotland, in the same acceptation also: for one of the *Hebrides* is named from this cubital people, *Dunie Begs* (see Mr. Irvin) and it yet exists in Scotland in the word *philibeg*, i. e. a little petticoat. And we ourselves retain it in the provincial word *peagles*, i. e. cowslips, a name imposed upon them of old, from the littleness of their flowers. And our northern word *Peggy*, is properly applicable to no female as a Christian name; but is merely an epithet of size, and a word of endearment only.'

He left several other curious tracts relative to British antiquities.

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*Some account of John Ayliffe, Esq; lately executed for forgery.*

**J**OHN Ayliffe was the son of one Ayliffe, an upper servant in the family of Gerrard Smith, Esq; a justice of the peace of Tockenham, in Wiltshire, by his wife, who was

also housekeeper in the same family; he was taught the first rudiments of learning at Tockenham, where he was born, and then sent to Harrow on the Hill. Some years afterwards he became teacher of a free school at Lineham in Wiltshire, worth about ten pounds a year, where, about sixteen years ago, he married the daughter of a clergyman of Tockenham, with whom he had 500l. though the marriage was against the consent of her friends; this money he soon spent in idle extravagances, and about two years after his marriage, was taken into the family of Mrs. Horner, mother of Lady Ilchester, being recommended to her as a person in distress. The capacity in which he first acted was that of house steward, and he was afterwards advanced to some share in the management of her estates; how he became known to Mr. Fox we are not told; but he was, by his favour, appointed a commissary of the musters; and thus he became an esquire.

What his income in this situation was, does not appear. The next thing that we are told of him, though the distance of time is not mentioned, is, that he built himself a house at Blandford Forum in Dorsetshire, and furnished it with pictures, and many other costly superfluities; he appears, however, at this time, to have been possessed of a considerable sum of money, which he risked in various projects, with a view to more than common gain, and at length lost it; as his expences in the mean time were rather in proportion to his hopes than to his possessions, when he found his hopes disappointed, he also found himself considerably in debt; and being pressed by his creditors,

ditors, he had recourse to several fraudulent and iniquitous projects to raise money. He forged a grant of the next presentation to the rectory of Brinkworth, in Wiltshire, to which he counterfeited Mr. Fox's hand-writing, and the hand-writing of two persons as subscribing witnesses; with a prospect of this presentation, he prevailed upon a clergyman, said to be of a respectable character, to become his security, and also to engage to marry a certain young woman; it happened that the marriage did not take place before Ayliffe's affairs became desperate, upon which the clergyman being also ruined, it broke his heart. After his death the following paper was found in his pocket.

July 29, 1759.

Wrote the following letter to John Ayliffe Satan, Esq;

Sir, I am surpris'd you can write to me, after you have robbed and most barbarously murdered me. Oh Brinkworth.

Yours, T. E—d.

In April last he also forged the lease from Mr. Fox, upon which he borrowed a sum that relieved him from the exigency which immediately pressed him. But, in the May following, he was arrested, and being charged with actions to the amount of 1100*l.* he became a prisoner in the Fleet; during his confinement, he produced a deed of gift from Mrs. Horner to him of 420*l.* a year, and 3000*l.* in money. Mrs. Horner died the latter end of the year 1757, and Mr. Ayliffe alledged, that she being unwilling to let Lady Ilchester and her relations know how she had disposed of her estates, directed him not to disclose what she had done for him till after her death; and that he had con-

cealed it twenty months after that time, fearing the knowledge of it might hurt his interest with Mr. Fox. Soon after this claim of 420*l.* a year, and 3000*l.* was set up, under the supposed deed of gift, a discovery was made of his forgery of the lease, and a prosecution set on foot, which suspended all attempts to obtain possession of his pretended estate.

In the mean time he affected to represent Mr. Fox's prosecution as a contrivance to deprive him of it, and as having no view but to extort from him a renunciation of his deed of gift, by procuring witnesses to support the charge of forgery against him, of which he was known to be innocent; that his life being thus put into the hands of his prosecutor, he might either destroy or save him, as he should grant or refuse what he thought fit to require.

In comparison of this insinuation, his forgery can scarce be considered as a crime. This was such a complication of villainy, with all the aggravations of ingratitude, as can scarce be paralleled; he notwithstanding persisted in his diabolical accusation of Mr. Fox to others, even while he was confessing his guilt to him, and imploring his mercy, as appears from the following paragraph, in a paper called the state of John Ayliffe's affairs, which he sent to Mr. Secretary West, and the subjoined letter to Mr. Fox, both which he sent away at the same time.

" Mr. Fox is now pleased to disown the signing or setting his hand to the lease, alledging it not to be the original, though he acknowledged his having signed the said lease so mortgaged as aforesaid to several persons, and for

this your petitioner is convicted and sentenced to death."

To Mr. Fox.

"Honoured Sir,

The faults I have been guilty of shock my very soul, and particularly those, Sir, towards you, for which I heartily ask God, and your pardon.—The sentence I have pronounced against me, fills me with horror, such surely as was never felt by mortal. What can I say? Oh my good God! that I could think of any thing I could do to induce you to have mercy on me, and to prevail on you, good Sir, to intercede for my life. I would do any thing in the whole world, and submit to any thing for my life, either at home or abroad; for God's sake, good Sir, have compassion on your unhappy and unfortunate servant,

JOHN AYLIFFE."

*Preſt-yard, Newgate,*

*Oa. 28, 1759.*

Mr. Fox, however, with a kindness and generosity not often found, continued to procure for him every convenience that his situation would admit; sending him money and provisions, and paying his chamber rent from the time of his confinement to his death; having before prevented his being removed to Newgate till he was advised of its necessity, consented to his trial's being put off, suppressed two several confessions of the forgery, made to Mr. Paterſon and Mr. Stroud, desisted from trying him for a second forgery, after he was convicted of the first, ordered a physician to attend him during his illness, and paid a special keeper to take care of him, that he might not be ironed.

Ayliffe, however, when he found his artifices as ineffectual as they

were wicked, declared, in another letter to Mr. Fox, that he was ready to make a full confession of his guilt; to this Mr. Fox wrote him an answer, in which, to prevent his supposing any confession that he should make would spare his life, he told him that he had long forgiven him, and still pitied him, but that all hope of life was vain, and he had nothing to do, but make his peace with God. Ayliffe, in answer to to this letter, whether stung with remorse, or whether merely in the anguish of despair, confessed that the deed of gift from Mrs. Horner was a fraud, and that he having prepared it ready for execution, slipped it in among some leaves which Mrs. Horner executed without reading.

The night before his execution he spent in great agonies, except about two hours, in which nature being exhausted, he slept; he once tasted a cordial, but the tumult and anguish of his mind producing an intolerable thirst, he drank several pints of water, with which he was supplied by the keeper. In the morning he appeared more composed, and about half an hour after nine, was put into a cart, and conveyed to the place of execution. In the way he sat quiet and motionless; sometimes reading, and sometimes meditating; when he came under the gallows, he raised himself upon his knees, and while he was kneeling, a cry of reprieve, by some accident, was raised among the mob, of which, however, he took no notice, still continuing on his knees; from which those at a distance, who had heard the cry, concluded he was giving God thanks for his sudden and unexpected deliverance; he spoke a few words just before he was turned off to Mr. Fannen, a person

son who had been a principal evidence against him, expressing his obligations to Mr. Fox, and requesting to be buried in Hertfordshire. After execution, his body was carried off in a hearse and four horses, which had been procured to wait for him, at Mr. Fox's direction and expence.

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*Some account of William Andrew Horne, Esq; who was convicted at Nottingham Assizes, August 10, 1759, for the murder of a child in the year 1724, and executed there on the 11th of December, 1759.*

**W**illiam Andrew Horne, was the eldest son of a gentleman who possessed a small estate at Butterley, in the parish of Pentridge in Derbyshire. He was born on the 30th of November, 1685, and was taught Latin and Greek, in which he made small progress, by his father, who was reputed the best classical scholar in the country. He was the favourite of his father, who indulged him with a horse and money in early life, to ramble from one place of diversion to another. In this course of dissipation he gave a loose to his passion for women. Not content with debauching his mother's maid-servants, he acknowledged, in a paper written with his own hand, his being the occasion of the murder of a servant girl who was with child by him, and that he used to lie with his own sisters. By one woman he had two natural children, both girls, one of which lived to be fifteen; the other is now alive, a sensible well-behaved young woman, who might have been married to a person of substance, who offered to settle a jointure of 30l. a

year on her, if her father would give her 50l. only; which he refused.

In the month of February 1724, his sister was delivered of a fine boy. Three days after, he came to his brother Charles, who then lived with him at his father's, at ten o'clock at night, and told him he must take a ride with him that night. He then fetched the child, which they put into a long linen bag. They took two horses out of the stable, and rode straight to Annesley in Nottinghamshire, five computed miles from Butterley, carrying the child by turns. When they came near that place, William alighted, and asked whether the child was alive; Charles answering in the affirmative, he took it in the bag and went away, bidding the other stay, till he should return. When Charles asked what he had done with it, he said he had laid it by a hay-stack, and covered it with hay. After his condemnation, he said that he had no intention the child should die: that to preserve its life, he put it into a bag lined with wool, and made a hole in the bag to give it air: that the child was well-dressed, and was designed as a present to the late Mr. Chaworth of Annesley, and intended it to be laid at his door; but on taking it from his brother, and approaching the house, the dogs made such a constant barking that he durst not go up to the door for fear of a discovery, there being a little light in one of the windows: that upon this disappointment, he went back to some distance, and at last determined to lay it under a warm hay-stack, in hopes of its being discovered early next morning by the people who came to fodder the cattle. The child was indeed found next morning,

ing, but starved to death by being left all night in the cold.

Charles, not long after, upon some difference with his brother, mentioned the affair to his father, who insisted he should never speak of it. It was accordingly kept a secret till the old gentleman's death, which happened about the year 1747, when he was in the 102d year. Soon after, being with Mr. Cooke, an attorney of Derby, about parish business, Charles told him the affair. Mr. Cook said, he ought to go to a magistrate, and make a full discovery. He accordingly went to Justice G — rne : but this gentleman told him he had better be quiet, as it was an affair of long standing, and might hang half the family. Charles mentioned it to some other persons.

About five years ago, Charles being very ill of a flux, sent for Mr. John White, of Ripley, and said, " he was a dying man, and could not go out of the world without disclosing his mind to him ;" and told him of the incest and murder. Mr. White said it was a nice affair, and he could not tell how to advise. A few days after, Mr. White seeing him surprisingly recovered, asked to what it was owing. He said, to his disclosing to his mind to him.

Some years ago, William Andrew Horne threatened one Mr. Roe for killing game; and meeting him soon after at a public-house, words arose about the right to kill game : Roe called Horne an *incestuous old dog* : for which words he was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court at Litchfield, and being unable to prove the charge, was obliged to submit and pay all expences. Roe being afterwards informed that Charles Horne had mentioned to some per-

sons, that his brother William had starved his natural child to death, went to him, and found it was true. Upon which he applied, about Christmas 1758, to a justice in Derbyshire, for a warrant to apprehend Charles, that the truth might come out. The warrant was granted ; but as the justice did public business on Mondays only, the constable took Charles's word for his appearance the Monday following.

Mean while William being informed of the warrant, sent for his brother Charles, and bid him forswear himself, and he would be a friend to him. Charles refused to do this ; and said, " that considering his behaviour to him, he had no reason to expect any favour from him ; but as he was his brother, if he would give him five pounds to carry him to Liverpool, he would immediately embark for another land." William refused to part with the money.

The justices of Derbyshire discovering some reluctance to sift the affair to the bottom, application was made, about the middle of March last, to a justice of the peace in Nottinghamshire, who granted a warrant for apprehending William, which was soon indorsed by Sir John Every, a gentleman in the commission of the peace for the county of Derby. About eight at night the constable of Annesley went to Mr. Horne's house at Butterley, and knocked at the door, but was refused admittance. He then left the abovementioned Roe, and two others to guard the house, and came again the next morning ; and was then told by a man-servant, that Mr. Horne was gone out. They insisted he was in the house, and threatened to break the door.

upon which they were let in. They searched all over the house, but could not find him. Roe pressed them to make a second search. In one of the rooms they observed a large old chest. Mrs. Horne, Mr. Horne's wife, said, there was nothing in it but table linen and sheets. Roe insisted on looking in it; and going to break the lid, Mrs. Horne opened it, and her husband started up in a fright bare-headed, saying, "It is a sad thing to hang me; for my brother Charles is as bad as myself, and he can't hang me without hanging himself."

He was carried before two justices of Nottinghamshire, and after an examination of some hours, having little to offer in his defence, he was committed to Nottingham goal, to take his trial at the assize. Soon after his commitment he made application to the court of King's Bench to be removed by *Habeas Corpus*, in order to be bailed; for which purpose he came, in custody of the goaler, to London; but the court denied him bail. So he was obliged to return to Nottingham goal, there to remain till the summer assize, held on Saturday the 10th of August 1759, before the Lord Chief Baron Parker, when, after a trial, which lasted near nine hours, the jury, having withdrawn half an hour, brought him in guilty of the murder. The very persons who found the child appeared, and corroborated the brother's evidence. He immediately received sentence to be hanged the Monday following: but in the evening, at the intercession of some gentlemen, who thought the time too short for such an old sinner to search his heart, the judge was pleased to respite the sentence for a month; at the expiration of

which he obtained another respite till further orders. This time he spent in fruitless applications to persons in power for pardon, discovering little sense of the crime of which he had been convicted, and often said, it was doubly hard to suffer on the evidence of a brother, for a crime committed so many years before. A day or two before he died, he solemnly denied many atrocious things which common report laid to his charge; and said to a person, "My friend, my brother Charles was tried at Derby about twenty years ago, and acquitted, my dear sister Nanny forswearing herself at that time to save his life. His life, you see, was preserved to hang me; but you'll see him——." He told the clergyman who attended him, "That he forgave all his enemies, even his brother Charles; but that, at the day of judgment, if God Almighty should ask him how his brother Charles behaved, he would not give him a good character." He was executed on his birth-day, and was exactly 74 years of age the day he died. This he mentioned several times after the order of his execution was signed; and said, he always used to have plum-pudding on his birth-day, and would again, could he obtain another respite. He was of so penurious a disposition, that it is said he never did one generous action in the whole course of his life. Notwithstanding his licentious conduct his father left him all his real estate, having some time before his death given all his personal estate, by a deed of gift, to Charles. The father died on a couch in the kitchen, and happened to have about twelve guineas in his pocket, which certainly belonged to Charles; the other,

other, however, took the cash out of his dead father's pocket, and would not part with it till Charles promised to pay the whole expence of burying the old man ; which he did ; and insisting afterwards on his right, the elder brother turned him out of doors ; and though he knew he was master of such an important secret, would not give the least assistance to him, nor a morsel of bread to his hungry children begging at their uncle's door. Charles kept a little ale-house at a gate leading down to his brother's house ; which gate he used frequently to open to

him, pulling off his hat at the same time ; yet he would never speak to him. Not only his brother, but the whole country round, had reason to complain of his churlishness and rigour. He would scarce suffer a man, not qualified, to keep a dog, or a gun ; so that he was universally feared and hated. Besides his incest, and the murder of the young woman who was with child by him, he confessed that he broke one Amos Killer's arm, with a violent blow, which occasioned the poor fellow's death.





# NATURAL HISTORY.

*An Essay on a method of classing animals.*

WITH regard to the general order, and the method of distribution of the different subjects of natural history, it is purely arbitrary; and therefore we are sufficiently at liberty to chuse that which appears the most commodious, or the most commonly received. But, before we give the reasons that might determine us to adopt one order rather than another, it is necessary to make some further reflections, whereby we will endeavour to shew what reality there may be in the divisions that have been of natural productions. In order to know this, we must, for a moment, divest ourselves of our prejudices, and even strip ourselves of our notions. Let us suppose a man who had actually forgot every thing, or who awakes quite fresh to view the objects that surround him; let us place such a man in a field, where animals, birds, fishes, plants, stones, &c. present themselves successively to his eyes. In the first rencounters he will distinguish nothing, and confound every thing; but let his ideas be gradually confirmed by reiterated sensations of the same objects, he will soon form to himself a general idea of animated matter; he will easily distinguish it from inanimated matter, and in a little time after he will distinguish very well animated matter from vegetative, and naturally arrive at this first grand division, namely, ani-

mal, vegetable, and mineral; and as he shall have taken, at the same time, a clear idea of these grand objects that are so different, viz. the earth, the air, and the water, he will come in a little time to form a particular idea of animals that dwell upon the earth, of those that reside in the waters, and those that fly aloft in the air; and consequently, he will easily form to himself this second division of animals, namely quadrupeds, birds, and fishes: the same thing will happen in the vegetable kingdom, as trees and plants; he will distinguish them very well, either as to their bulk, their substance, or figure. This is what a bare inspection must necessarily produce in him, and what with a very slender degree of attention he cannot fail to know, and this is likewise what we ought to consider as real, and as a division which nature herself has made; let us put ourselves in the place of such a man, or let us suppose he has acquired the same degree of knowledge, and has the same degree of experience, as we have; he will judge of the objects of natural history according to the relations they bear to him: those objects that are the most necessary and useful, will hold the first rank; for instance, he will give the preference, in the order of animals, to the horse, the dog, the ox, &c. and he will always much better know those that are most familiar to him; in the next place, he will be taken up with such animals, as, though not so fa-

familiar to him, yet live in the same place and climate, as the deer, hares, and all the wild animals; and it will be only after the acquisition of all this knowledge that his curiosity will lead him to find out what may be the animals of foreign climates, as the elephant, dromedary, &c. The case will be the same as to fishes, birds, insects, shells, plants, minerals, and all other productions of nature; he will study these in proportion to the uses he may draw from them, according as they present themselves the more familiarly to him; and he will arrange them in his mind, according to this order of his knowledge, because it is actually the order according to which he has acquired it, and according to which it concerns him to retain them.

This order, the most natural of all others, is that which I would recommend, believing that this simple and natural method of considering things is preferable to any methods that are far more fetched and more compounded, because there is none either of such as have been already adopted, or of all those that may be formed, but in which there is more of the arbitrary than in this; and that, to take every thing, it is much easier, and more agreeable and useful for us, to consider things with regard to ourselves, than under any other point of view.

Two objections, I foresee, may be here started: first, that these grand divisions, which we consider as real, are not, perhaps, accurate; that, for instance, we are not certain, that a line of separation can be drawn betwixt the animal and vegetable kingdoms, or even betwixt the vegetable kingdom and the mineral, and that there may be found in nature some things that equally par-

take of the properties of the one and the other; which, consequently, cannot enter into the one or the other of these divisions. To which I answer, that if there exist any things which are exactly half animal, and half plant, or half plant and half mineral, &c. they are hitherto unknown to us; so that, in fact, the division stands entire and accurate; and it is evident, that, the more general divisions are, there will be the less hazard to meet with bipartite objects, that participate of the nature of two things comprized in these divisions; so that this very objection, which we have made use of to advantage, against particular distributions, cannot hold good in treating of divisions that are full and general, especially if these distributions be not made exclusive; and if we do not pretend to comprize therein, without exception, not only all known beings, but likewise all those that may hereafter be discovered: add to this, if we attend to it, we shall plainly see, that, our general ideas being only composed of particular ideas, they have a relation to a continued scale of objects, of which we clearly perceive only the mean terms, and whose two extremities always more and more disappear, and escape our understandings; so that we never confine ourselves to things but in the gross, and that consequently we ought not to think our ideas, how general soever they may be, comprize the particular ideas of every thing existing or possible.

The second objection may be, that, by pursuing this order we must join together objects very different; for example, in the history of animals, if we begin with those that are the most useful and familiar to us, we shall be obliged to give the his-

tory of a dog, after or before that of a horse; a thing which does not seem natural, because these animals are so different in all other respects, that they do not at all appear to have been made, to be placed so near each other, in a treatise of natural history; and perhaps it may be further urged, that it would be better to follow the ancient method of the division of animals into whole-footed, and cloven-footed, or the modern method of division, by their teeth and teats, &c.

This objection which at first may appear pretty plausible, will vanish, when we come to examine it. Were it not better to arrange, not only in a treatise of natural history, but even in a picture, or any where else, objects in the order and position in which they are commonly found, than to force them to be joined together by virtue of an hypothesis? Would it not be better to make the horse, who is whole-hoofed, to be followed by the dog, who is claw-footed, and actually uses to follow him, than an animal we know little of, and which probably has no other relation with a horse than that of being whole-hoofed? Add to this, does there not arise the same inconvenience from the differences in this arrangement as in ours? Does a lion, because claw-footed, resemble a rat, which is so too, more than a horse resembles a dog? Does a whole-hoofed elephant resemble an ass, that is whole-hoofed too, more than a stag which is cloven-footed? And should we follow the new method, in which the teeth and the teats are the specific characters, and upon which the divisions and distributions are founded, shall we find, that a lion is more like a bat, than a horse is like a

dog? Or rather to make our comparison a little more exact, does a horse resemble a hog more than a dog, or is a dog more like a mole than a horse? And since there are as many inconveniencies, and as great differences, in these methods of arrangement, as in that we have adopted, and seeing, besides this, these methods have not the same advantages, and are a great deal more remote from the common and natural method of considering things, we have sufficient reason for giving it the preference.

We shall not particularly examine all the artificial methods that have been given in the division of animals; they are all more or less subject to inconveniencies; and it appears to us, that the examen of one of them only, is sufficient to discover the faults of the rest; we shall therefore here confine ourselves to examine the method of the celebrated Linnæus, which is the most modern, whereby we may be enabled to judge whether we had reason to reject it, and confine ourselves solely to the natural order, in which all mankind are wont to view and consider things. Linnæus divides all animals into six classes, viz. quadrupeds, birds, amphibious creatures, fishes, insects, and worms.

The first division is very arbitrary and very incomplete; for it gives us no idea of certain kinds of animals, which are nevertheless very considerable and extensive; serpents for example, shell-fish, and crustaceous animals, appear at first glance to have been forgotten; for, at first, one does not imagine, that serpents are amphibious, that crustaceous animals are insects, and shell animals worms; if, instead of making only six classes, he had made twelve,

twelve, or more, and had said quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, amphibious creatures, cetaceous fish, oviparous fish, soft fish, crustaceous fish, shell fish, terrestrial insects, marine insects, and those found in fresh water, &c. he would have expressed himself more distinctly, and his divisions would have been more true and less arbitrary; for, in general, the more the number of the divisions of natural productions is augmented, the nearer we shall approach to the truth, since only individuals do really exist in nature, and since genuses, orders, and classes, only exist in our own imaginations. Upon examining the general characters, which he makes use of, and the manner in which he makes his particular divisions, we shall find defects therein, that are much more essential; for example, a general character, such as that taken from the mammæ or teats, in the division of quadrupeds, ought at least to belong to all quadrupeds, and yet from the time of Aristotle, we know that the horse has no mammæ.

He divides the class of quadrupeds into five orders: the first he calls *anthromorpha*, or those resembling the human form; the second, *feræ*, or wild beasts; the third, *glires*, or wild rats; the fourth, *jumenta*, or beasts of burden; and the fifth, *pecora*, or cattle; and according to him all quadrupeds are included in these five classes. We may discover, by the bare enumeration of these orders, that this division is not only arbitrary, but very injudiciously made: for he places in this first order, man, the monkey, the Guinea lubbard, and the shell lizard. Let us go on to the second order, which he calls wild beasts;

and here indeed he begins with the lion and tiger, but he proceeds with the cat, the weazle, the otter, the sea-calf, the dog, the bear, the badger; and he ends with the hedgehog, the mole and the bat. Who could ever have imagined, that the name of a wild beast could have been given to the bat, the mole, and the hedgehog! that such domestic animals as the dog and the cat were wild beasts! and is there not herein as great an ambiguity with regard to good sense, as well as with regard to the words? But let us proceed to the third class, namely, the wild rats of M. Linnæus, which are the porcupine, the hare, the squirrel, the beaver, and the common rat. I declare, that in all this; I see but one species of rats, which, in fact, is the wild rat. The fourth order is that of beasts of carriage, which are the elephant, the hippopotamus, or river horse, the shrew-mouse, the horse and the pig. What a strange, what a chimerical arrangement this! His fifth and last order, is cattle, which comprizes the camel, the deer, the goat, the ram, and the ox. But what difference is there not evidently between a camel and a ram, or between a deer and a goat? And what reason can there be to pretend that there are animals of the same class, if it be not this, that having absolutely a mind to form classes, and but a small number of them, we must comprize therein beasts of all kinds? In fine, by examining the last divisions of animals into particular species, we find that the *lupus cervinus* is no other than a species of cats; the fox and wolf a species of dogs; the civet a species of badger; the Indian pig a species of hare; the water-rat a species of beaver;

beaver; the rhinoceros a species of elephant: and the afs a species of horses, &c. and all this for no other reason but that there is some little analogy between the number of the teats and the teeth of these animals, or some like resemblance in the figure of their hoofs. And this is, however, without omitting any thing, the whole to which this system of nature for the four-footed animals is reducible. Would it not be more simple, natural, and true, to say that an afs is an afs, and a cat a cat, than to make, without knowing for what reason, an afs a horse, and a cat a lynx, or wild spotted cat?

One may, by this slight specimen, judge of all the rest of Linnæus's system. Serpents, according to this author, are amphibious animals, lobsters insects, and not only so, but insects of the same order with lice and fleas; and all shell-fish, crustaceous, and soft fish are worms; oysters, the thorn-back, sea-stars, scuttle-fish, &c. are, according to him, no other than worms. Is there then any thing further necessary, to evince how arbitrary, how chimerical his divisions are, and how ill grounded his system is?

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*A description of an American quadruped rarely seen in Europe, which Linnæus has placed in the class of bears, and, for distinction, called the long-tailed bear.*

**T**HIS animal was not much higher than a large cat, but its length from the extremity of the trunk to the tail was something more than three feet, and the tail itself was one foot and an inch long; the body was covered all over very thick with hair, that was remark-

ably long and soft, but longest upon the belly; the colour was in some places black, and in some a mixture of yellow and brown; the back was chiefly black, not however without some mixture of brown; on the contrary, the neck, the head, and the tail, were rather tawney than black; the face was whitish, with yellow stripes that came down between the eyes, from the top of the head to the nose; the hair round the eyes was almost entirely black; the ears had more white than yellow, and the legs were thinly covered with short brown hair; the tail was considerably thicker towards the body than towards the end, and was marked with three black rings, and three yellow, very beautiful and exact, growing gradually narrower as the tail grew less: the general figure of the head was triangular; it was largest in the upper and hinder part, and gradually diminished towards the nose, which was very sharp, with two nostrils of a semicircular figure; on each side of the mouth were smellers, or whiskers, of white bristly hair, those of the upper lip being longer than those of the lower; the upper lip itself being much the longest, so as to project beyond the other an inch and an half: the ears were large towards the base, and sharp at the extremity; they were remarkable for their quick motion, and were provided with very strong muscles.

The eyes were not large in proportion to the rest of the body; one of them had a cataract, and both of them were manifestly covered with a nictitating membrane; this membrane, which was turned in the form of an arch, extended from the inner to the outward corner, where

where it strongly adhered, as well as lower down. It was bound to each corner of the eye by a small tendon; it was coloured with red vessels, and, as it was extremely moveable, it was drawn up with great facility when it perfectly covered or closed the whole eye.

The feet, or paws, were not very long, but those of the hinder legs were much larger and stronger than those of the fore; the bottoms of them were quite without hair, but were covered from the talons to the heel, with a thick hard skin of a brown red colour; this skin was marked with many lines like those of the palm of the hand; and rises higher on the hind feet than the fore, as the animal sometimes walks erect upon them.

Each foot terminated in five claws, like those of a bear; the first was very short, the second long, the third and the fourth were of an equal length, but both longer than the second; and the fifth was a little shorter than these, but somewhat longer than the first; each of these claws terminated in a talon, which was black, sharp, and hooked.

The whole animal, which was very fat, weighed sixteen pounds and an half. It was a female, and the uterus opened below the abdomen by a very large external aperture.

By its internal structure, it appeared to be formed both for carnivorous and granivorous food. It is found both in North and South America, from whence the skins, which are excellent furs, are sent in considerable quantities to Europe. It has been described by many writers of great authority, particularly Wormius, Ray, and Linnæus, but with such difference as makes the

accounts in many particulars wholly irreconcilable with each other.

The Brasilians call it the Coeti, and by some writers it has been considered as a fox, by some as a badger, and by others as a cat. The reason why Linnæus has called it a bear, is its having five claws, and the short one or thumb-claws, placed on the outside; but it differs so much from a bear, both externally and internally, that the propriety of placing it in the bear class may be well doubted. It is very nimble, and climbs trees as nimbly as a monkey, running to the extremity of the branches which bend under its weight. Its manner of eating is like that of a dog, holding its food, whether vegetable or animal, between its fore-paws.

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*An account of a Cat, that lived twenty-six months without drinking. From the History of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1753.*

**M.** L'Abbé de Fontenu of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, to whom the academy is indebted for several curious observations, was pleased to communicate to it this year a very singular one. Having remarked how cats often habituate themselves, and oftener than one could wish, to dry warrens, where they certainly cannot find drink but very seldom, he fancied that these animals could do for a very long time without drinking. To see whether his notions were well grounded, he made an experiment on a very large and fat castrated cat he had at his disposal. He began by retrenching by little and little his

his drink, and at last, debarred him of it intirely, yet fed him as usual with boiled meat. The cat had not drank for seven months, when this observation was communicated to the academy, and has since passed nineteen without drinking. The animal was not less well in health, nor less fat; it only seemed that it eat less than before, probably because digestion was somewhat slower. The excrements were more firm and dry, which were not evacuated but every second day, though urine came forth six or seven times during the same time. The cat appeared to have an ardent desire to drink, and used his best endeavours to testify the same to M. Fontenu, especially when he saw a pot of water in his hand. He licked greedily the mug, the glass, iron, in short, every thing that could procure for his tongue the sensation of coolness; but it does not appear in the least that his health suffered any alteration by so severe and so long a want of all sorts of drink. It may be inferred from hence, that cats may support thirst for a considerable time, without risque of madness or other fatal accident. According to M. de Fontenu's remark, these perhaps are not the only animals that enjoy this faculty, and this observation might lead perhaps to more important objects.

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*On the force of imagination, from the Gentleman's Magazine.*

Mr. URBAN,

**I**N the last number of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Academy at Berlin, there is the following wonderful relation of a mon-

strous dog: which is the only instance that has come to my knowledge of the force of imagination upon quadrupeds; and, therefore, I have sent you an abstract of the memoir in which it is contained.

*Yours, &c. P. P.*

“ A citizen of Berlin had a very little female lap dog, which ran about a back-yard belonging to the house, where the citizen kept some poultry. It happened, that, when the creature was pregnant, there was in this yard, among the fowls, a turkey cock; the turkey cock upon the little dog's coming into the yard as usual, run after it, stretching out his neck, making his noise, and striking at it with his beak: this was often repeated, the dog always running away greatly terrified. The poor persecuted animal some time afterwards produced a puppy, which had a head greatly resembling that of its enemy the turkey cock, not only in its external appearance, but in the very bones themselves; the rest of the body was that of a dog, perfect and in its natural state. This monster died soon after its birth, and was dissected by an eminent surgeon of Berlin, by whom the skeleton is still preserved. The figure of the head was a kind of oval, without either mouth or nose, and consequently the long chaps of a dog were entirely wanting; in the stead of these there was a kind of penduloch, or bob of red flesh, perfectly resembling, doth in its figure and size, the red gills of a turkey cock. The diameter of this fleshy excrescence towards its base, was about nine lines, but it was hollow within, to receive a kind of beak, or rather a boney hook, which was perfectly solid,

solid, without any aperture, and measured about four lines in diameter, and twelve in length. This hook was not fastened to the bone of the forehead, but to the temporal bones, by a kind of suture, in the place where these two bones join, near the base of the pericrane, in which there were not the least traces or orbits, so that eyes were totally wanting; two ears, however, appeared at the lower part of the head, near the commencement of the neck; they were surrounded by a kind of unshapely chin, full of little red knobs, like those of a turkey cock; the little ears, which were of the same colour, were bald, and the aperture pierced the bone near the base of the cranium, which was supported by eight little vertebræ, instead of six; the usual number in a dog's neck. The uppermost of these vertebræ was something larger and thicker than the rest.

This fact is related by M. Eller, who takes this opportunity to explode the notion, that the force of imagination in the mother can impress any mark upon the embryo, or mutilate or deform it. Our knowledge of nature is in general so superficial and imperfect, that it is scarce ever difficult to raise objections, which it is impossible to remove. It is easy to object against what is but imperfectly understood, and often the objection rises from the imperfection of our knowledge; but to remove the objection, the subject must be understood perfectly; and therefore it is no wonder that among beings who understand nothing perfectly, or at least, whose knowledge extends very little farther than phænomena and effects, objections should stand unremoved

against all the causes that human wit has been able to assign for facts which are too notorious to be denied. M. Eller is one of the unfortunate philosophers who has shewn the paucity of his knowledge, both by his objections to the opinion he would remove, and his reasons for that he would establish.

Imagination, says he, is nothing more than that operation of a thinking being, which represents in it the image or idea of absent objects which have been before introduced by the organs of sense. Imagination can operate only by the nerves, and the imagination of the mother cannot affect the infant, because the nerves of the mother have no connection with those of the infant; the connection between the mother and infant subsisting only by means of the placenta, which adheres to the womb, not by the continuity but the contiguity only of its vessels, which are not broken, when the placenta is separated from the matrix, and because there is no continuity, or anastomosis, even between the blood-vessels of the mother and the fœtus, and consequently, no circulation common to the mother and infant, tho' it is confessed that the innumerable vessels which are distributed over the placenta do, in their minute ramifications, mingle with those of the matrix, and like the fibres of the roots of vegetables, may imbibe the blood that exudes from the extremities of the arteries of the matrix, as the little veins of the matrix may in their turn re-absorb the blood which the arteries of the umbilical chord of the placenta convey from the infant towards the womb.

But, if imagination can operate  
only



only by the nerves, can this author shew how the images of sensible objects, after he has traced them to the brain, are communicated to the mind? Is there any continuity, or anastomasis, between the mind and the brain? Or, supposing all to be mere matter, can he tell us how mere motion can make mere matter conscious? If he finds this impossible, will he therefore deny that there are conscious beings percipient of ideas from sensible objects. If in one instance, he is compelled to admit a fact, for which he cannot account, why should he, in another, deny a fact merely because he has attempted to account for it without success?

It is as well known as any fact can be, that there is very often a striking correspondence between some mark or defect in the infant, and some strong imagination or passion of the mother; such a correspondence as persuaded every one to believe that they were cause and effect, till the pride of philosophy affected to disbelieve it, because it could not trace one into the other.

It would, however, be an act of unpardonable injustice to M. Eller to suppress the ingenious hypothesis which he has invented, to solve the difficulties with which others have been embarrassed on this subject:

He considers the infant as liable to receive cutaneous strains, or marks, and to become monstrous either by defect or excess.

The cutaneous marks he supposes to be caused either by a compression of the veins of the infant, arising from some fault in the position of the womb, by some violence from without, or by some constriction within, which prevents an equal circulation, and converts the lateral

lymphatic arteries into blood-vessels, the ramifications of which being spread under the epidermis gives a red colour to the skin. The similitude of these spots to any thing which the mother is known to have desired, with a species of longing peculiar to the state of pregnancy, or to any thing which has alarmed or terrified her, such as plums, grapes, apples, currants, mice, and the like, he supposes to be merely fanciful and arbitrary.

To account for monsters by defect, he supposes they are the consequence of a fright, caused by a fire, by thieves, by some frightful animal, or other circumstances of danger, which, producing a violent agitation in the mother, with spasms in the womb; these spasms being attended with constrictions may obstruct the passage of the blood in the extremities of the infant, and the part thus deprived of its nourishment will necessarily perish. He does not, however, vouchsafe to tell us, why a fright conceived at seeing a hand or arm cut off, or wounded, causes such a particular spasmodic constriction in the womb as affects the hand or arm of the infant, rather than the leg or foot, or why, if the object of fear affected a foot or leg, the spasmodic constriction becomes such as mutilates those parts of the infant, and not the hand or arm; yet this is known by universal experience to be the fact.

To account for the formation of monsters by excess, he seems to have made a very extraordinary use of some new notions of M. Buffon concerning generation. M. Buffon supposes that the little moving parts, which others have supposed to be animalcula in the seminal fluid,

fluid, are only the corporal principles of animals, not animals, having observed that their motion is always uniform and arbitrary, that this motion is preserved in boiling water, and that the same moving bodies are found in the infusions of the seeds of vegetables. These moving bodies he calls *moleculæ*, or moving organical parts, serving as well to the formation of animal as vegetable bodies. He supposes that there are parts proper to form the head, heart, and every other particular part, in the proper fluids of both sexes, that when these fluids are mixed, the parts appointed to form the several members respectively, are by mere physical causes, brought together, and so the head, arms, legs, and heart, are perfectly formed by this union; taking all this for granted, M. Eller is of opinion, that monsters by excess are caused by superfluous parts in the mixture. But the case of the monstrous dog, just mentioned, is still unsolved, for this dog was a monster by the accession of parts proper to a different species, and a want of parts proper to its own. To solve this difficulty then, without having recourse to imagination, M. Eller supposes, that the mother of this little dog eat up one of the turkey's eggs, and the *moleculæ* of the egg not being destroyed by the heat or action of the stomach, did in the course of circulation, by some means or other, get to the matrix, and join themselves to the *moleculæ* of the dog, to the great injury of such *moleculæ*, and having turned the dog-head *moleculæ* out of their place, violently substituted themselves in their stead, and thus produced the phenomenon, which fools and wo-

men imputed to the force of imagination, and a fright. As these surreptitious *moleculæ* related only to the head, and were yet able to establish themselves against all opposition, it seems not at all improbable, that by eating eggs, especially under the direction of a philosopher, dogs may be made to produce, not only compleat turkeys, but fowls of all kinds, to the great improvement of experimental knowledge, and illustration of occult principles.

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*An account of the transmutation of one species of corn into another.*

THIS phenomenon was first observed in Sweden, where it was discovered by mere accident. A countryman having sown some oats in his field, and wanting provisions for his horses, mowed the young shoots of the grain, soon after they were come up: the grain shot forth again, as usual, and the farmer mowed it as before. He did this at intervals, three times: the winter coming on, no more blades appeared till the following spring; when, shooting up as before, they were permitted to grow to perfection; and the crop, to the surprize of the poor husbandman, instead of proving *oats*, turned out absolutely good *rye*. This fact coming to the ear of a very ingenious naturalist of that country, Mr. Jop-Bern Vergin, he suspected there might be some deception: and accordingly, in the year 1756, repeated the experiment; observing exactly the same measures, by design, as the countryman had taken by chance. The result of his experiment was the same; and his

oats produced good rye, as that of the peasant had done before. A circumstantial relation of this extraordinary discovery was soon afterwards sent to their High Mightinesses the States General, by Mr. de Marteville, their envoy at the court of Sweden. Curiosity, and the desire of farther knowledge concerning this surprizing phenomenon, induced some of the naturalists of that country, to try the experiment again. Among the rest was Mr. Syperstein, one of the magistrates of Haerlem, and then president of the society, lately established there for the improvement of arts and sciences. This gentleman sowed a handful of oats, on the 21st of June, 1757; and again another on the 26th of July following. The first he cropt at three several times, viz. on the 29th of July, the 8th of September, and the 18th of November. The last he cut only twice, viz. on the 13th of September, and the 18th of November. The succeeding winter happening to prove very severe, almost all the grains perished in the earth, through the inclemency of the weather: five of them, however, remained alive, shot up in the spring, and produced large and full ears of good rye; which was reaped the 7th of last August.

As the utmost care was taken in this experiment, to avoid any mixture in the grain, as well as to prevent any grains of rye from falling accidentally, or otherwise, on the spot of ground sown, this transmutation, however strange it may appear to the ignorant, or inconsistent with the systems of naturalists, is looked upon here as an indubitable fact.

With a view of prosecuting this

discovery still further, Mr. Syperstein has sown a fresh parcel of oats, treating them as before. He has also sown some of the rye produced from the oats; which he has cropped in the same manner as he did the oats that produced it. He proposes also to make several experiments, with a little variation, in order to improve on this discovery.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

A. Q.

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*The late Mr. A. Hill's directions for cultivating vines in America.*

MR. Hill observes, that the board of trade, in a state of the plantations laid before the house of Lords, affirm that they had reason for concluding it practicable, to produce at Bermudas the wine made in Madeira; and that the plantations of Carolina and Virginia could produce excellent wine, is evident, says Mr. Hill, from their being encumbered with wild vines; and likewise from another circumstance, that slips or cuttings of vines brought from Europe, being planted in Virginia in the spring, produce grapes in the autumn of that very same year they are planted. Since grapes are so easy a growth in those countries, why is not wine a staple commodity among them? The truth is, says Mr. Hill, they want skill and philosophy. Their glebe, having never been weakened by culture, retains too rich and too oily a rancour. Hence the flesh of their grapes is too clammy, and instead of a free fluid liquor, emits, in the pressing, a juice of a ropy consistence, like jelly, mixed with a fibrous

fibrous and pulposus coarse substance, that floats up and down in the liquor; and the natural heat of those latitudes excites a rapid and strong fermentation: this excess in the ferment is increased by the foulness of too turbid a *must*, so that before it can clarify, it works itself acid. As they do not know the cause of this fault, they are sure to fall short of its remedy. They ought to dig vaults, and therein let down close covered fermenting backs, deep into the ground, where the air would be cooled and kept temperate. In these backs, their bruised grapes, after treading, or breaking, should lie five or six days more, before pressing, during which time, the skins fermenting and soaking together with the *must*, would by means of their tartarous salt, mixing with and rarifying the oily tenacity of the juice, separate the winy part from the fleshy, and give thinness and fluidity to the liquor, so that being afterwards pressed out in hair bags, and put fine into the same bags to work, the fermentation would stop at its due point of time, and the wine be rich, lively, and durable. The Portuguese, as a check to the aptness in their Madeira wines to grow eager, instead of the method I have described above, put in a considerable proportion of lime; (they call it *gieffo*, from *gypsum*, burnt plaistre, or alabaster.) Hereby indeed they break the coherence of too ropy a *must*, and introduce an alkaline balance, that may resist an acid tendency, in the course of the ferment; but then, on the other side, time, as we see in the refining of sugars, absorbs and destroys vegetable oils, which give wines all their odour and flavour; leaving a hot and

burnt taste in their room, that requires very long keeping, extraordinary agitation in the cask, and sometimes a too warm and improper exposure, before it can throw off a twang that is disagreeable at first to all palates. The wearing out of this taste, in some measure, by incessant commotions at sea, is the true cause of that difference so often observed in favour of Madeira wines carried first to our colonies, and then brought back to England, compared with those which come over directly from Madeira to London. Mr. Hill observes further, that the people in Bermudas and Virginia, have for these many years past been in a great error, in looking on Frenchmen as the only men proper to instruct them with regard to their vineyards; for, if they must have help from a foreigner, a Spaniard would make the best vigneron, for a latitude so nearly approaching his own; whereas the wine countries of France lying at a medium about 48° N. such a difference as 160 in the lat. produces a proportionable disagreement of quality in the wines, and therefore each must require to be managed in a method the reverse of the other: and no doubt, the wise Frenchmen they sent for, took no small pains to miscarry, by pressing (as they were used to do at home) no bunches but the full ripe, and picked ones; and this care it was that confounded their purpose; for in such delicious grapes as grow in Bermudas and Virginia, the oil is the predominant quality, and the green grapes, which nature has kindly mixed on the same bunches with ripe ones, prepares a tartar to temper the luscious excess of the oil. Mr. Hill, having thus pointed out the

the reasons of former attempts miscarried, proceeds to mention the method by which thousands of wine-cuttings may be brought from Madeira at a very small expence; how they are to be planted and managed when they get to the plantations; the method of gathering and pressing the grapes, as also of the making, safe-keeping, and sale of the wine; and, lastly, its calculated charges and profit. But for these particulars must refer your readers, who desire further information, to the book itself, as I have said enough to shew, that former attempts not proving successful, owing to wrong management, ought not to discourage the planters from further trials, since Mr. Hill, who was well acquainted with the methods in all the wine countries in Europe, declares, that the plantations, by following the directions laid down by him, would produce excellent wine. Before I conclude, I must observe, that Mr. Hill, in one of his letters to Mr. Popple, inserted in the same volume the above is extracted from, has some excellent directions to prevent that twang of the fire, so much complained of in the rum of the Leeward islands, and gives us likewise the way they make the best sort of arrack in the East-Indies, which is made from sugar canes, and might with small expence be made at Barbadoes.

Yours, &c.

S. E.

*Acacia food for cattle.*

**M.** Bodasch, counsellor of commerce to the Queen of Hungary, professor of physic and natural philosophy in the univer-

sity of Prague, and member of the Florentine academy, published the last year, a treatise in the German language, wherein he proposes a noble addition to the food of horses and horned cattle; by cultivating the acacia. In consequence of a long course of observations, he asserts, that cattle are exceedingly fond of its leaves, which are to them a more agreeable nourishment than any of the most reputed vegetables, as lucerne, saintfoin, clover, &c. The leaves may be given them either green or dry; alone, or mixed with hay or chopped straw. The culture of the acacia is no way difficult; it delights most in dry elevated soils, but almost any will suit it; and may be raised from seed or slips. Care indeed should be taken not to plant it near gardens or arable lands, because its roots are apt to spread to a great distance.

The species of acacia fit for this purpose, is probably the acacia Americana siliquis glabris of Ray. Hist. Plant. Robinia Pseudo-acacia of Linnæus, not only because it has long gone under the name of acacia simply, and as it is naturally an inhabitant of North America, bears our climate extremely well, but principally as it is a tree of the diadelphous or leguminous class, of which the leaves are well known, almost without exception, to be very acceptable to cattle: my acquaintance with exotic plants, however, is but slender, and therefore, I leave this matter to the determination of better judges.

Yours, &c.

R. P.

*Essay on the smut in corn, and a cure for it.*

**I**T is agreed on all hands, that the greatest misfortune which can possibly happen to a crop of wheat, is that of its turning black or smutty; and as the real cause of such blackness (I fear) hath not yet been found out, the remedy against it hath not been generally and constantly made use of.—The cause assigned by all, or most of the writers on agriculture, is, that at certain seasons a dense glutinous vapour descends, between the setting and rising of the sun, upon the ears of corn, and so binds up the valves, (commonly called the chaff) in which the growing corn is enveloped, that vegetation is thereby obstructed, because on such circumstances, it cannot imbibe those nitrous particles of the air, which tend to its maturation, and of consequence it becomes a mere rotten heap of putrefaction. From this method of reasoning, we observe the English farmers frequently, in a summer's morning hauling a rope extended by two persons along and through the corn fields, to shake off this condensed air or dew; but I humbly apprehend, from the following reasons, that they are much mistaken, as to the real cause of that distemper.

It being a difficult matter, some time ago, to procure good clean seed wheat, in that part of the country where I occupy a farm, I prevailed upon a friend to obtain for me three barrels of the red lammas wheat from England; when I had it home, it carried the appearance of as fine grain, and as clean and clear of dirt and smut,

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as ever sprung from the earth; but upon casting a few bushels of it into my vessel of pickle, I found that at least a sixth part swam at top, and notwithstanding the frequent stirring of it, I could not force it to subside; thereupon, I skimmed it off, but to my great astonishment it had the appearance of as plump and round grain as that which fell to the bottom; I spread it upon a table and examined it more minutely, and could not perceive the least defect in it; but upon opening it with my penknife I found it was concaved, or made hollow on one side of the grain, and not in the center, which I apprehend was occasioned by some animalculæ imperceptible to the naked eye; whereupon, for experiment's sake, I sowed the whole of what I skimmed off, on one part of my fallows by itself, and sowed what subsided on another part, and the consequence of that experiment was, that the greatest share of that swimming corn at the ensuing season, produced a smutty crop, and I had not a single smutty head on the part of the field where the subsiding corn was sowed: but not being satisfied with what then appeared, I examined more strictly that smutty crop, and I found not only there, but in my neighbour's fields, which I also examined, that where two or more stamina or stalks were produced from one grain of corn (which I discovered by tracing them downward to the root) they were all smutty; and the different sound stamina proceeding from one and the same root, were all sound; from whence it may be reasonably inferred, that vegetation is principally produced, and plants are sustained and grow, by the

C c

roots

roots or fibres collecting their nutritive juices from the moist earth, which are carried up through the perpendicular tubes by the power of attraction; but by the loss of one part of the grain so maimed, and consequently by a proportional deficiency in the roots or fibres (which are so many mouths to collect nourishment from the new grain) they exert only so much strength as to throw out the stalks and heads, but cannot collect sufficient nutriment to compleat or mature the different ears of corn: and it may likewise be reasonably supposed, that those animalculæ which took up their lodgment in the single grain, are in vegetation communicated upwards through the tube of the stamen to the head of the corn, where they are collected and multiplied into an heap of black corrupted matter; as a proof of which, every such single smutty head, upon a nice survey, is found to abound with little living creatures.

This I take to be a more rational hypothesis; for if such smuttiness were produced from the air, is it to be presumed that it would partially strike those heads only which grow from one root, when promiscuously interspersed with heads proceeding from other roots? Wherefore I apprehend it may justly be recommended to all good husbandmen to be careful in making a strong pickle for their seed wheat, and to skim off and cast away all the corn which floats, as the sure means of preserving it from smut; but let them be cautious not to let it stand too long in their pickling tubs, before the swimming corn be taken off; for if it is permitted to stand long; those hollow or concave grains will soon imbibe the

water, and subside with the sound corn; and as I have gone so far, I will also give you the pickling receipt underneath, in hopes it may be of utility to the public, which is the principal motive of this trouble given to you, by Sir,

Yours, H. CARMICHAEL.  
Saw Mount, near Dungarvon,  
Ireland, Sept. 28.

**THE RECEIPT.** — “Take as much dunghill or rotten water which distils from a dunghill, as will make your quantity of corn swim; put therein as much salt, with a pound of pulverized nitre, commonly called salt-petre, or in lieu thereof, two pounds of copperas, as will cause it to bear an egg; steep your corn twelve hours, after being skimmed of the light corn as above, strain it out, and dry it with flacked lime or dry turf ashes, and sow it, but be careful to sow it the next day, or the day following: for if wet weather happens, and it be kept four or five days out of the ground, the corn peels and will not grow; as the pickle decreases it may be augmented, by adding more water and salt, &c. until all the seed intended to be sowed be pickled.”

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*An account of some extraordinary phænomena in the Asphaltum mine, called the Sand-pit, in the Lower Saxony.*

**O**N the 27th of last June, a vein was discovered exceeding rich. The joy it occasioned was however but of short duration; for the very next day this vein was found to be interrupted by a rock, which they were obliged to bore. This took them up till the 27th of July,

July, having in that time pierced, with incredible labour, about forty-four feet. The same day between nine and ten at night, the workmen gave notice, that they had discovered a spring which cast forth water and a greasy liquid in such abundance, that, in less than a quarter of an hour, the gallery of four feet broad, six high, and 150 long, was filled with it some feet deep; upon going down this was found to be fact, and the master miner happening to bring a light within about half a foot of the aperture, the waters took fire, and cast up flames of various colours. About midnight the waters kindled of themselves, and flashes of lightning were driven through the gallery. A hurricane succeeded, with a hollow noise, which seemed to forbode something of an extraordinary nature. Two workmen at the end of the gallery were struck down, and their hair burnt; they were so terrified that they made the best of their way out of the pit, and others supplied their place. Thunder and lightening was heard and seen several times, and about five in the morning, all the labourers agreed, that it was no longer safe to continue there, and resolved to retire. They were scarce got to the middle of the gallery before they saw the whole in a blaze, with such a clap of thunder as was heard half a league off; the violence of it shattered the tiling of a shed. Several wheelbarrows were thrown almost the length of the gallery by it, and staved to pieces, as were likewise many of the air pipes. Four of the workmen were miserably hurt, and two of them had the skin stripped from their faces. When the thun-

der and lightening was over, the master miner ventured down to the entrance of the gallery, and could see nothing, but heard a noise, which lasted for some time, and a scent of sulphur and salt-petre continued for several hours, which changed to an insupportable stench. The waters abated by degrees, but continued to the last to take fire if a lamp was brought near the surface, though the flame might be easily extinguished by the fanning of a hat.

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*An account of the discovery of the cinnamon tree in America, in a letter from Madrid.*

S I R,

IN the forests of South America, lying nearly under the equinoctial, and on the east side of the Cordilleras of the Andes, are found among other curious productions of the vegetable kingdom, the cinnamon tree. It has been long known, that a tree resembling the cinnamon of Ceylon was common in these forests; but it was supposed to be only a species of that genus of trees, and greatly inferior to those of the east, from whence the cinnamon is imported into Europe. It was however known that the flower and seed even surpassed those of India in aromatic fragrancy; a sufficient indication, that the trees also were not inferior to them; but no farther trial was made of their properties. They were suffered to grow and die in these extensive woods, without any one thinking it worth their while to make any experiment on the bark they produced, in order to discover whether it possessed the same virtue as that



imported from the east. At last Don Juan de Mayano, an inhabitant of the city of Avila, thought these trees worth his notice, and removed some of them into his garden, that they might enjoy the greater benefit of the sun's rays, from which they were in a great measure excluded in these thick and unfrequented forests. His attempt succeeded; and, from a specimen of the cinnamon he has just sent from America, it appears, that it has all the properties of that imported from Ceylon.

If this experiment should be prosecuted, there is the greatest reason to hope, that large quantities of this precious bark may be sent to Europe, by which the enormous price will be greatly lessened, and the noble oil extracted from it sold very reasonably. It will be needless for me to point out the use of this oil in medicine; it is sufficiently known to every practitioner; but the prodigious price at which it is sold, prevents its being so often used as it deserves. And hence we see the great injustice of the Dutch, who often burn great quantities of this useful bark, to prevent its price from falling, and consequently prevent many of their fellow-creatures from using it in their distress.

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*The great consequence of Niagara.*

**N**IAGARA commands, in a manner, all the interior parts of North America, and is a key to the whole continent; it opens or obstructs a communication with all the natives of North America, the Six Nations, Ohioes, Shawanoes, Miamis, Twightwies, Illinois, Pou-

tewatamis, Nadouessians, Hurons, Utawas, Messesagues, and many others; it awes and commands all those people; it lies in the midst of the extensive territories of the Six Nations, commands their beaver country entirely, and secures their fur-trade, and all the other inland trade of North-America.

It commands all the great lakes, and secures the navigation of them, which extend 12 or 1300 miles; it prevents or secures the junction of the two French colonies in Canada and Louisiana; it cuts off or maintains their passage to the river Ohio, Mississippi, Lake Erie, le Detroit, Sandoski, Miamis, Fort St. Joseph, Illinois, Kaskaskis, &c. and stops the farther progress of the English or of the French (whichever are possessed of it) in North America.

The great claim that Britain has in the inland parts of North-America, is over the territories of the Five Nations, which in this place lies in the midst of, and in a manner entirely commands. The river Ohio, though of great consequence, seems to be of less consequence than Niagara, which in a manner commands it.

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*A letter from Mr. Kalm, a Swedish gentleman, late on his travels in America, to his friend in Philadelphia; containing a particular account of the great fall of Niagara.*

Albany, Sept. 2, 1750.

S I R,

**A**FTER a pretty long journey made in a short time, I am come back to this town. You may remember, that when I took leave of

of you, I told you I would this summer, if time permitted, take a view of Niagara fall, esteemed one of the *greatest curiosities* in the world. When I came last year from Quebec, you enquired of me several particulars concerning this fall; and I told you what I heard of it in Canada, from several French gentlemen, who had been there: but this was still all *relato refero*; I could not assure you of the truth of it, because I had not then seen it myself, and so it could not satisfy my own, much less your curiosity. Now, since I have been on the spot, it is in my power to give you a more perfect and satisfactory description of it.

After a fatiguing travel, first on horseback through the country of the Six Indian Nations, to Oswego, and from thence in a battoe upon Lake Ontario, I came on the 12th of August in the evening to Niagara fort. The French there seemed much perplexed at my first coming, imagining I was an English officer, who, under pretext of seeing Niagara falls, came in some other view; but as soon as I shewed them my passports, they changed their behaviour, and received me with the greatest civility. Niagara fall is six French leagues from Niagara fort: you go first three leagues by land over the carrying-place. As it was late when I arrived at the fort, I could not the same day go to the fall, but I prepared myself to do it the next morning. The commandant of the fort, M. Beaujeau, invited all the officers and gentlemen there to supper with him. I had read heretofore almost all the authors that have wrote any thing about this fall; and the last year, in Canada, I had made so

many enquiries about it, that I thought I had a pretty good idea of it; and now at supper, I begged the gentlemen to tell me all they knew and thought worth notice relating to it, which they accordingly did. I observed that in many things they all agreed, in some things they were of different opinions, of all which I took particular notice. When they had told me all they thought they knew, I made several queries to them concerning what I had read and heard of it, whether such and such a thing was true or not? and had their answers on every circumstance. But as I have found by experience in my other travels, that very few observe nature's works with accuracy, or report the truth precisely, I cannot now be entirely satisfied without seeing with my own eyes whenever it is in my power. Accordingly the next morning, being the 13th of August, at break of day, I set out for the fall: the commandant had given orders to two of the officers of the fort to go with me and shew me every thing, and moreover sent by them an order to M. Joncaire, who had lived ten years by the carrying-place, and knew every thing worth notice of the fall, better than any other person, to go with me, and shew and tell me whatever he knew. A little before we came to the carrying-place, the water of Niagara river grew so rapid, that four men in a light birch canoe, had much ado to get up thither. Canoes can go yet half a league above the beginning of the carrying-place, tho' they must work against a water extremely rapid; but higher up it is quite impossible, the whole course of the water, for two leagues and

a half up to the great fall, being a series of smaller falls, one under another, in which the greatest canoe or battoe would in a moment be turned up-side down. We went ashore, therefore, and walked over the carrying-place, having besides the high and steep side of the river, two great hills to ascend one above the other. Here on the carrying-place, I saw above two hundred Indians, most of them belonging to the Six Nations, busy in carrying packs of furs, chiefly of deer and bears, over the carrying-place. You would be surprized to see what abundance of such things are brought every day over this place. An Indian gets twenty pence for every pack he carries over, the distance being three leagues. Half an hour past ten in the morning we came to the great fall, which I found as follows:

The river (or rather strait) runs here from S. S. E. to N. N. W. and the rock of the great fall crosses it, not in a right line, but forming almost the figure of a semicircle or horse shoe. Above the fall, in the middle of the river, is an island, lying also S. S. E. and N. N. W. or parallel with the sides of the river; its length is about seven or eight French arpents (an arpent being 120 feet.) The lower end of this island is just at the perpendicular edge of the fall. On both sides of this island runs all the water that comes from the lakes of Canada, viz. Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Lake Erie, which you know are rather small seas than lakes, and have besides a great many large rivers that empty their water into them, whereof the greatest part comes

down this Niagara fall. Before the water comes to this island, it runs but slowly, compared with its motion when it approaches the island, where it grows the most rapid water in the world, running with a surprizing swiftness before it comes to the fall; it is quite white, and in many places is thrown high up into the air; the greatest and strongest battoes would here in a moment be turned over and over. The water that goes down on the west side of the island, is more rapid, in greater abundance, whiter, and seems almost to out-fly an arrow in swiftness. When you are at the fall, and look up the river, you may see, that the river above the fall is every where exceeding steep, almost as the side of a hill. When all this water comes to the very fall, there it throws itself down perpendicular; the hair will rise and stand upright on your head, when you see this! I cannot with words express how amazing it is! you cannot see it without being quite terrified, to behold so vast a quantity of water falling abrupt from so surprizing a height! I doubt not but you have a desire to learn the exact height of this great fall. Father Hennepin calls it 600 feet perpendicular; but he has gained little credit in Canada; the name of honour they give him there, is the great Liar; he writes of what he saw in places where he never was. It is true he saw this fall: but as it is the way of some travellers to magnify every thing, so has he done with regard to the fall of Niagara.

This humour of travellers, has occasioned me many disappointments in my travels, having seldom been so happy as to find the wonder-  
ful

full things that had been related by others. Since Father Hennepin's time, this fall, in all the accounts that have been given of it, has grown less and less; and those who have measured it with mathematical instruments, find the perpendicular fall of the water to be exactly 137 feet. When the water is come down to the bottom of the rock of the fall, it jumps back to a very great height in the air; in other places it is as white as milk or snow; and all in motion like a boiling caldron.—You may remember, to what a great distance Hennepin says the noise of this fall may be heard. All the gentlemen who were with me, agreed, that the farthest one can hear it, is 15 leagues, and that very seldom. When the air is quite calm, you can hear it to Niagara fort, 6 leagues; but seldom at other times, because when the wind blows, the waves of Lake Ontario make too much noise there against the shore. They informed me, that when they hear at the fort the noise of the fall, louder than ordinary, they are sure a north-east wind will follow, which never fails. This seems wonderful, as the fall is south-west from the fort; and one would imagine it to be rather a sign of a contrary wind. Sometimes, 'tis said, the fall makes a much greater noise than at other times; and this is looked on as a certain mark of approaching bad weather, or rain: the Indians here hold it always for a sure sign. When I was there, it did not make an extraordinary great noise: just by the fall, we could easily hear what each other said, without speaking much louder than common when conversing in other places. I do not know how others

have found so great a noise here; perhaps it was at certain times as above-mentioned. From the place where the water falls, there rises abundance of vapours, like the greatest and thickest smoak, tho' sometimes more, sometimes less. These vapours rise high in the air when it is calm, but are dispersed by the wind when it blows hard. If you go nigh to this vapour or fog, or if the wind blows it on you, it is so penetrating, that in a few minutes you will be as wet as if you had been under water. I got two young Frenchmen to go down, to bring me from the side of the fall at the bottom, some of each of the several kinds of herbs, stones, and shells, they should find there; they returned in a few minutes, and I really thought they had fallen into the water; they were obliged to strip themselves quite naked, and hang their cloaths in the sun to dry. When you are on the other, or east side of Lake Ontario, a great many leagues from the fall, you may, every clear and calm morning, see the vapours of the fall rising in the air; you would think all the woods thereabouts were set on fire by the Indians, so great is the apparent smoak. In the same manner you may see it on the west side of Lake Erie, a great many leagues off. Several of the French gentlemen told me, that when birds come flying into this fog or smoak of the fall, they fall down and perish in the water; either because their wings are become wet, or that the noise of the fall astonishes them, and they know not where to go in the darkness: but others were of opinion, that seldom or never any bird perishes there in that manner; because, as they all agreed, among

the abundance of birds found dead below the fall, there are no other sorts than such as live and swim frequently in the water; as swans, geese, ducks, water-hens, teal, and the like. And very often are great flocks of them seen going to destruction in this manner; they swim in the river above the fall, and so are carried down lower and lower by the water; and as water-fowl commonly take great delight in being carried with the stream, so here they indulge themselves in enjoying this pleasure so long, till the swiftness of the water becomes so great, that it is no longer possible for them to rise, but they are driven down the precipice and perish. They are observed when they draw nigh the fall, to endeavour with all their might to take wing and leave the water; but they cannot. In the months of September and October, such abundant quantities of dead water-fowl are found every morning below the fall, on the shore, that the garrison of the fort for a long time live chiefly upon them. Besides the fowl, they find also several sorts of dead fish, also deer, bears, and other animals which have tried to cross the water above the fall; the larger animals are generally found broken to pieces. Just below, a little way from the fall, the water is not rapid, but goes all in circles and whirls like a boiling pot; which however does not hinder the Indians going upon it in small canoes a fishing; but a little further and lower begin the other smaller falls. When you are above the fall, and look down, your head begins to turn; the French, who have been here a hundred times, will seldom venture to look down, without at the same time

keeping fast hold of some tree with one hand.

It was formerly thought impossible for any body living to come at the island that is in the middle of the fall: but an accident that happened twelve years ago, or thereabouts, made it appear otherwise. The history is this: Two Indians of the Six Nations went out from Niagara fort to hunt upon an island that is in the middle of the river, or strait, above the great fall, on which there used to be abundance of deer. They took some French brandy with them from the fort, which they tasted several times as they were going over the carrying-place; and when they were in their canoe, they took now and then a dram, and so went along up the strait towards the island where they proposed to hunt; but growing sleepy, they laid themselves down in the canoe, which getting loose drove back with the stream, farther and farther down, till it came nigh that island that is in the middle of the fall. Here one of them, awakened by the noise of the fall, cries out to the other, that they were gone! Yet they tried if possible to save life. This island was nighest, and with much working they got on shore there. At first they were glad; but when they had considered every thing, they thought themselves hardly in a better state than if they had gone down the fall, since they had now no other choice, than either to throw themselves down the same, or perish with hunger. But hard necessity put them on invention. At the lower end of the island the rock is perpendicular, and no water is running there. The island has plenty of wood; they went to work,

work then, and made a ladder, or shrouds, of the bark of the lind-tree (which is very tough and strong) so long till they could with it reach the water below; one end of this bark ladder they tied fast to a great tree that grew at the side of the rock above the fall, and let the other end down to the water. So they went down along their new-invented stairs, and when they came to the bottom in the middle of the fall they rested a little; and as the water next below the fall is not rapid, as before-mentioned, they threw themselves out into it, thinking to swim on shore. I have said before, that one part of the fall is on one side of the island, the other on the other side. Hence it is, that the waters of the two cataracts running against each other, turn back against the rock that is just under the island. Therefore, hardly had the Indians begun to swim, before the waves of the eddy threw them down with violence against the rock from whence they came. They tried it several times, but at last grew weary; and by being often thrown against the rock they were much bruised, and the skin torn off their bodies in many places. So they were obliged to climb up stairs again to the island, not knowing what to do. After some time they perceived Indians on the shore, to whom they cried out. These saw and pitied them, but gave them little hope or help: yet they made haste down to the fort, and told the commandant where two of their brothers were. He persuaded them to try all possible means of relieving the two poor Indians; and it was done in this manner:

The water that runs on the east side of this island is shallow, especially a little above the island towards the eastern shore. The commandant caused poles to be made and pointed with iron: two Indians took upon them to walk to this island by the help of these poles, to save the other poor creatures, or perish themselves. They took leave of all their friends as if they were going to death. Each had two such poles in his hands, to set to the bottom of the stream, to keep them steady. So they went and got to the island, and having given poles to the two poor Indians there, they all returned safely to the main. Those two Indians who in the above-mentioned manner were first brought to this island, are yet alive. They were nine days on the island, and almost ready to starve to death.——Now since the road to this island has been found, the Indians go there often to kill deer, which have tried to cross the river above the fall, and are driven upon the island by the stream; but if the King of France would give me all Canada, I would not venture to go to this island; and were you to see it, Sir, I am sure you would have the same sentiment.—On the west side of this island are some small islands or rocks of no consequence. The east side of the river is almost perpendicular, the west side of the river more sloping. In former times a part of the rock at the fall, which is on the west side of the island, hung over in such a manner, that the water which fell perpendicularly from it, left a vacancy below, so that people could go under between the rock and the water; but the prominent part  
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some years since broke off and fell down.—The breadth of the fall, as it runs in a semicircle, is reckoned to be about six arpents. The island is in the middle of the fall, and from it on each side is almost the same breadth; the breadth of the island at its lower end is two thirds of an arpent, or thereabouts.

—Below the fall, in the holes of the rocks, are great plenty of eels, which the Indians and French catch with their hands without any other means: I sent down two Indian boys, who directly came up with twenty five ones.—Every day, when the sun shines, you see here from ten o'clock in the morning to two in the afternoon, below the fall, and under you, where you stand at the side of the fall, a glorious rainbow, and sometimes two, one within the other. I was so happy as to be at the fall on a fine clear day, and it was with great delight I viewed this rainbow, which had almost all the colours you see in a rainbow in the air. The more vapours, the brighter and clearer is the rainbow. I saw it on the east side of the fall in the bottom under the place where I stood, but above the water. When the wind carries the vapours from that place, the rainbow is gone, but appears again as soon as new vapours come. From the fall to the landing above it where the canoes from Lake Erie put ashore (or from the fall to the upper end of the carrying-place) is half a mile. Lower the canoes dare not come, lest they should be obliged to try the fate of the two Indians, and perhaps with less success.—They have often found below the fall pieces of human bodies, perhaps

drunken Indians, that have unhappily come down to the fall. I was told at Oswego, that in October or thereabout, such plenty of feathers are to be found here below the fall, that a man in a day's time can gather enough of them for several beds, which feathers they said came off the birds killed at the fall. I asked the French, if this was true? They told me they had never seen any such thing; but that if the feathers were picked off the dead birds there might be such a quantity. The French told me, they had often thrown whole great trees into the water above, to see them tumble down the fall: they went down with surprizing swiftness, but could never be seen afterwards; whence 'twas thought there was a bottomless deep or abyss just under the fall. I am too of opinion, that there must be a vast deep here; yet I think if they had watched very well, they might have found the trees at some distance below the fall. The rock of the fall consists of a grey limestone.

Here you have, Sir, a short description of this famous Niagara cataract; you may depend upon the truth of what I write you. You must excuse me if you find in my account, no extravagant wonders. I cannot make nature otherwise than I find it. I had rather it should be said of me in time to come that I related things as they were, and that all is found to agree with my description, than to be esteemed a false wonder-maker.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

PETER KALM.

A N.

# ANTIQUITIES.

*Extracts from several letters concerning the Roman antiquities, and the temples of the ancients.*

**A**FTER all the wonders that have been related of the temples of Jupiter Olympius, Diana of Ephesus, Serapis, &c. it may well be questioned, if, upon the whole, those ancient edifices surpassed the modern churches in grandeur and riches. To determine the point, it will be necessary to take a view of the temples built in the plains, and those erected in great cities.

Traverse the open countries of Greece, Peloponnesus, and the adjacent isles, and you will every where meet with little edifices, said to be temples; some half in ruins, others in tolerable good condition, without any thing material to distinguish them; no external ornaments, most of them brick, and the best of them finished in a dome or roof, ornamented with some slight sculpture. A few indeed there are surrounded with groves, consecrated by superstition, or designed to shade the worshippers of the idol; all of them placed in deserts, uninhabited, except by here and there a hermit, who makes it his whole study to amuse travellers with fables. It is not therefore among these structures that you are to look for the magnificence of the Grecian temples.

The Romans, who were also accustomed to erect temples in the country, derived all their deities, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, from Greek origin. There was not

a single canton of Attica, or Thessaly, where some metamorphosis had not been wrought, or some divine combat happened. These exploits served to extend superstition, and multiply the monuments that were to perpetuate it. But the Romans, who were the petty imitators of the Greeks, fell short of their masters in the dimensions of their insulated temples.

It may perhaps be said, that we give the name of temples to edifices, which in ancient times were never considered as such; but without entering into a discussion, let it suffice, that the buildings we are speaking of, were sacred and public; still retaining their first furniture of statues, altars, and tripods. We meet with nothing more essential to the ceremonious part of worship among the larger temples of Athens and Corinth. If no other structures were to be comprehended in the denomination of temples, but those whose extent is to be measured by acres and stadia, it must be admitted that Rome herself, the city of all the Gods, had no more than three; those of Jupiter Capitolinus, of Peace, and the Pantheon. These are the only ones that were above the ordinary size; the last still subsisting, is but 144 feet in diameter. Time has also spared the temple of Fortuna Virilis, and of Vesta: the one is an oblong square, the other round: the Pantheon will hold them both.

We know to what heights the bold imaginations of the ancient archi-



architects ascended, in their profane edifices, as theatres, baths, and Basilicæ. But we must examine their city temples, to know if they did as much in honour to their Gods.

Most of the antiquarians, who have treated of ancient temples, have been more curious in describing their magnificence, than in fixing their dimensions. In what they have said upon this head, we have discovered two marks of inaccuracy, out of which has arisen the false idea that has prevailed of the sacred edifices of Greece and Rome. 1. They apply to temples in general, what appertained only to some particular ones. 2. They distinguish not between the temple and its appendages. They tell us, that in the front of these temples, there was always a spacious court, called the *Area*, where merchants vended the necessities for sacrifices, offerings, and libations; that there was besides a fountain, for purifying the sacrificators and victims; that from the *Area* you passed into a court called *Atrium*; thence to the *Vestibulum*, and then into the body of the building, named *Cella*, where were the Gods, altars, &c. This *Cella* consisted of three principal divisions: the *Basilica*, answering our nave; the *Adytum*, like our sanctuary; and the *Tribunal*, where stood the statue of the deity whose name the temple bore. They speak of the *Penetræ* and *Sacrarium*, and are not a little perplexed about the distribution of these several parts. If this description holds good of the temple of *Diana Ephesæa*, or of *Jupiter Olympius*, it cannot of most of the rest.

Ancient Rome was of immense extent; but considering the great

number of temples contained within it, we must suppose it at three times as large as it really was, if all those temples were furnished with *Porticoes*, *Prodromi*, &c. It is certain, that during the first six centuries of Rome, the temples were no larger, nor more magnificent, than the houses of the citizens, which were but of one floor; their poverty would admit of no more. Such at least, was the state of things before the Romans made conquests in Greece. *Pliny* assures, that in the 662d year of the city, there was not a marble column in any public edifice; at which time the temple of the *Feretrian Jupiter* was but fifteen feet in length. Fortune was one of the deities most honoured by the Romans; the worship of *Vesta* was held most sacred, and what I have remarked of the temples of these goddesses, which are still standing, may suffice to moderate the ideas of those, who have not seen them, as to their extent.

The revolution in the government under *Julius Cæsar*, brought about a general one in the arts; which, till then, were the concern only of a few opulent citizens, as *Crassus*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, &c. The temples of the Gods were the first public structures where magnificence succeeded meanness, and brick was converted into marble; yet the sacred buildings increased but little in size. The great men built more for themselves than for the Gods; they enlarged their palaces; they erected aqueducts, baths, and the Forum.

We are not to rely upon the report of architects, concerning the sacred monuments of antiquity. Frequently led by prejudice, they

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are too sparing of criticism in their observations; they too readily imagine beauties in the antique; and, in representing ruins, when they meet not with all that their fancy suggests, they are apt to add something of their own. Palladio, for instance, who has designed the temple of Faustina, says, that though he could discover no ornaments within it, yet it must certainly have been enriched with very magnificent ones; and so takes his crayon and sketches niches, statues, and pedestals, and then cries out, *such was the inside of the temple of Faustina!* He goes still further, and the heat of his composition, in the front, and on the right and left, he adds grand porticoes, without recollecting, that he encroached on the temple of Rhemus, which stood but ten paces from the other, and without considering that he barred up the passage of the triumphers, who proceeded to the Capitol along the *via sacra*.

The temple of the Olympian Jove at Athens, we are told, was more than four stadia in circumference; that is, above two thousand four hundred feet: be it so. But let us make the same distribution of this space as the ancients did, and we shall have a just idea of its real size. In this circle must be included, a monument, sacred to Saturn and Rhea, a wood, statues without number, and Colossuses as enormous as those at Rhodes, all which must reduce Jupiter's temple to the size of an ordinary house, as we shall see hereafter it really was. What then shall we say of the Greek temples, in which were libraries, gymnasia, and baths? Why doubtless, that they were sacred villæ, but no temples.

M. le Roi's *Ruins of the Monuments of Greece*, lately published, have given me the satisfaction of finding examples sufficient to justify my notions, as to the magnitude of the ancient temples. According to this gentleman's dimensions, the columns of the Pantheon of Hadrian, one of the vastest monuments of Greece, were scarce above sixteen feet high, though not formed out of one block. Those at Rome in the Campo Vaccino, in the forum of Nerva, and in that of Pallas, are still shorter, though of several pieces; yet as these served for decorations of public places, it is natural to think they were of some of the largest proportions.

Perhaps it will be urged that they placed several orders one above another, which, was, indeed, the case in some temples of Greece. Pausanias mentions only two or three of these; which, in so exact and attentive a traveller, is a convincing proof that the double order was rare. Vitruvius does not assert it of the Hypæthrum, and assigns temples of that form, to no less deities than Jupiter, Cælus, and the sun.

By entering into these particulars, I pretend not to inform the connoisseurs, but to give an account of such works as I think necessary towards forming a just idea of the ancient temples. Their structure differing so widely, from that of our churches, that the one can by no means lead us to an exact knowledge of the other. Whoever has seen St. Sulpice at Paris, but not St. Roch, may pretty nearly imagine the composition, form, and distribution of the latter church, from a bare knowledge, that it is somewhat less than the former: but such degrees of comparison will be insufficient between

between the ancient and the modern. It will give very little satisfaction to observe, that all antiquity never produced any thing of a sacred building, so vast as St. Peter's at Rome; a reason should also be given, why it did not, nor could do it.

I am sufficiently apprised of what strikes the imagination, and raises it to such romantic heights, whilst we attend to the descriptions of ancient temples: it was the prodigious number of columns they were enriched with, that enchants us. How can we avoid believing an edifice to be extremely vast, that is supported by a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pillars? We have seen Gothic churches, with not above forty or fifty, wide enough to lose ourselves in. How vast then, we say, must the temples have been, which had twice or thrice that number? The mistake of the fancy arises from this, that it places within the body of the temple, or in the Cella, that which really stood without it. It should be noted, in general, that this Cella was the least object of the old architects care; they never began to think about it, before they had distributed and adorned the exterior, because that was to be the proof of genius, taste, and magnificence. The grand was not then estimated by the number of square feet contained in the area, which the wall inclosed, but from their outworks, of an hundred and twenty columns, as those of Hadrian's Pantheon, or of thirty-six only, as of those of the temple of Theseus. From the ruins of Athens it even appears, that the richness and extent of the outworks were sometimes the very cause of contracting the Cella,

within a narrower space than might have been otherwise allotted it.

What I have been last observing, respects temples of an oblong square, the most usual form. They did not keep altogether to the same rules in their rotundo's, or circular temples; some were surrounded with pillars, without any portico to the entrance; such are the temples of Vesta, at Rome and Tivoli; others had porticoes before them, without any encircling columns, an instance of which we meet with in the Roman Pantheon, the most superb and vast monument of that form, which perhaps the ancients ever erected; of this latter form of circular temples Vitruvius makes no mention; and, to the former, he assigns a diameter of the length of one column only, with its capital and base, so that nothing of a grand extent could ever take place here.

But to strengthen my proofs of the small extent of the ancient temples; I will, in the first place, bring that of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, as an example. According to M. le Roi, the Cella was no more than six toises wide, and something exceeding sixteen in length. Observe now, to what a small matter is an edifice reduced, which has been affirmed to be no less than four stadia in circumference! Take notice too that this was an Hypæthrum, or open at top. Hadrian's Pantheon was twenty toises long, by less than fourteen wide. Pausanias assigns the height of sixty-eight feet to the temple of Jupiter of Olympia, and makes it two hundred and thirty feet long, and ninety-five wide. From the length and breadth we must deduct those of the ailes, Prodomus, and Opisthodomus, taking the

the height from the ceiling, and not from the angular vertex of the Fastigium; and then this temple will, at most, be upon an equality with many churches in Rome and Paris, built about two centuries ago, in the taste of the Greek architecture; but nothing to compare with our Gothic cathedrals, in point of spacious magnitude.

If we come from Greece to Rome, and examine the temple of Vespasian, we shall find that it was really grand. And, if the taste of the architecture had been answerable to the capacity and richness of it, Athens itself could not have shewn any thing beyond it; but the architect aiming, perhaps, at something new, was, it must be allowed, bold in his design, but left it quite destitute of graces. Its length, of three hundred and forty feet, besides the portico, with a breadth of two hundred and fifty, set it plainly above all the modern churches of France or Italy, except St. Peter's; but it still falls short of many Gothic ones.

What added much to the majesty of the ancient temples, was their high elevation above the subjacent plain, with an easy ascent to their porticoes by a flight of five, seven, or nine broad stairs, which always disjoined them from every profane building, and gave the distant eye a full view of their form and ornaments on every side; the number of bronze and marble statues, which decorated the avenues and inside of the porticoes, the profusion of gilt work, and the allegoric groups in the front, all combining to form a mass, which carried gravity without heaviness; grand, but not gigantic. Those rich and elegant compositions, charm us even in the graver's representations: what effect then

must they not have produced on the minds of those who had the infinitely greater advantage of viewing them on the spot, in their own precious materials!

After what has been said concerning the temples of the ancients, it is natural to consider the buildings called churches, which succeeded them, after Christianity began to take place of Paganism. These buildings, during a long period of time, wanted both the elegance and the riches of the ancient temples, and it is those only which have been erected since the fifteenth century, that can be considered as models, either of proportion or ornament. The several changes, however, which these buildings have suffered in their figure, structure, and decoration, is a subject that seems not altogether unworthy of attention.

To mark the gradual progress of any art, from its first rudiments to its perfection, is extremely pleasing, but we are much more struck when we see this art disappear at once, as if by a stroke of enchantment: when, not even the idea of perfection remains, when the most obvious and easy rules are forgotten, the most natural principles neglected, and the most rude and disgusting heaps thrown together, while models of beauty and propriety were every where to be seen in the buildings of former times.

It is difficult to conceive by what strange fatality it could happen, that the architects of the fifth and sixth centuries, in all parts of Europe, rejected, as if by common consent, the Greek and Roman manner, chose to set up pillars more like the Doric, the heaviest of the three Grecian orders, than any other. They saw in the frizes of regular structures,

structures, figures of eagles and griffins: the eagle they neglected, and they copied the griffin for no other apparent reason than because it was a monster not existing in nature: in the bas relief they found geniusses, trophies and flowers, none of which they thought proper to imitate, but they hewed out owls, and frogs, and monkeys, and, in a thousand other instances, shewed a perversion of taste and judgment, which would have been altogether incredible, if the monuments of it were not still extant among us. Of these the old English Gothic are certainly the chief, both for their antiquity and their grandeur; but before there was any structure erected in the Gothic style, many execrable things, called buildings, were produced upon the degraded principles of Grecian architecture, and the time from the extinction, or rather perversion of ancient taste, may be divided into three periods; from the fourth century to the ninth, from the ninth to the end of the fifteenth, and from that time to the present.

Though the Christians were at first so scattered and oppressed by persecution, that they had no better places of worship than the caves, which they formed or made on the sides of rocks, or below the surface of the ground, yet they had public places of worship before the fourth century. Some ecclesiastical authors have asserted, that the Christians had spacious churches richly adorned before the time of Constantine the Great; for they say, that the first object of his care, after the defeat of Mazentius, was the reparation of the temples of the true God; but to give these authors all their weight, their testimony can only refer to the churches of the East; those in the Lesser Asia, in Syria,

and the Lower Egypt; those of the West, and even of Rome, are entirely out of the question; for though it be true, that, from the time of Trajan, to that of Constantine, the emperors resided as much in Asia as in Europe, yet it is equally true, that Christianity was much more repressed and restrained in Europe than in Asia. During the reign of Dioclesian, and some other emperors, who distinguished themselves by their moderation, the Christians ventured to quit their vaults and catacombs, and erected some buildings, which were set apart for the public worship of God; but as they were in perpetual fear of persecution, even when they did not suffer it, so long as the emperors continued idolaters, they did not dare to give their churches an air of grandeur, lest the jealousy of the infidels should raise a new storm against them. It seems therefore probable, that the spacious and rich churches mentioned by Eusebius and Nicephorus, were only spacious and rich in comparison of the caverns and dens, in which the Christians assembled in times of actual persecution; of these there are not now the least remains, but perhaps it is easy to form a just idea of them, by considering what the churches were, which were erected when Christianity was first the established religion, when its patrons were the lords of the world, and its professors might safely hold the power of idolaters in defiance. Of these there are several now extant; some that were built in the reign of Constantine, and others from the time of his children and successors, till the total ruin of the empire.

We must therefore date our enquiry into the form of the architecture and decorations of the churches of the West from the reign of Constantine.

stantine. This prince, after his conversion, did not content himself with repairing the churches which had been built already, but he signalized his zeal by many monuments, of the triumph of that religion which he had adopted. He might indeed have devoted to the service of Christianity some of the finest temples of Pagan superstition, and posterity would then not only have commended his piety but admired his taste. He thought perhaps, that the Pagan temples had been too much profaned by idolatry to receive the pure worshippers of Christ; he might think them too small, or he might not chuse to give his heathen subjects offence; however, for these, or some other reasons, he chose rather to build new structures, than change the use of the old; and, therefore, he gave his own palace of Latran, at Mount Cœlius, to supply materials for building a Christian church. Soon after which he built that of St. Peter, at Mount Vatican, and another in the Ostian way, dedicated to St. Paul. All these were built upon the same plan, and that of St. Paul still preserves its original form, called the Basilic, because it was the same with that of certain large buildings adjacent to royal palaces, where sovereign princes administered justice to their people; some other buildings, called also from their figure, Basilics, were used as a kind of exchange for merchants to negotiate their business in the time of this emperor. A Basilic was a pile of building twice as long as it was wide, and terminated at one of its extremities by a hemicycle; two orders of columns placed one upon another reached the whole length of the building within, and formed

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one grand walk in the middle, between one row of columns and the other, and two narrower walks, one between each row of columns and the wall. To the extremity terminated by the hemicycle, there was sometimes added a branch, or arm, reaching from one side to the other, and giving the whole building the form of a T. This form of building was preferred by Constantine, probably because it was roomy, solemn, majestic, and expressed the figure of the cross. St. Paul's, however, though in its original state, does by no means give us a just idea of the Basilics of antiquity, from which it was copied; for its want of proportion, and the bad taste of its ornaments, sufficiently shew that architecture was greatly degenerated, even in the time of Constantine. The nave is adorned with four rows of columns, twenty in each row, which divide it into five walks, each column being one block of marble, except a very few; of the forty that form the middle walk, twenty-four are said to have been brought from the tomb of Adrian; they are about three feet in diameter, of the Corinthian order, fluted; the marble is veined with blue, and there is nothing of the kind among all the remains of antiquity that exceeds them, either in workmanship or materials: the other sixteen are of a greyish white, and are the most clumsy and heavy imaginable; scarce any two of them are the same in all their proportions, and there is not one in which the lines of the fluting are straight, or the hollow cut out, and of an equal depth. It appears, at the first glance, that the carver worked merely by his eye, without any principle to direct him, and, at every stroke of his chisel,

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sel, looked with a scrupulous perplexity at his model, supposing that he had not ill imitated it, when he had chipped the shaft into grooves from the capital to the base. The other forty columns are of granite, and are much less: the surface may be said to be smooth, as a distinction from being fluted, but, in every other sense, it is rough and irregular. In the two branches of the transverse part of the building, at the end which forms the top of the T, there are many columns of different kinds of marble, some red, some grey, and some of a dirty white, not answering to each other, in any kind of symmetry.

The good Greek and Roman architects always gave their columns an entablature: but the architects of Constantine not thinking that necessary, the columns of St. Paul's nave are without it. Over the columns there is a wall carried up more than thirty feet, which supplies the place of the second order of columns, used in the Basilics of the Romans; the two branches of the cross only have a cieling; the nave is only covered with a sloping roof, of which the naked timbers are seen from below. Upon this occasion, it may be remarked, that none of the first Roman churches were vaulted, for among all that remain, there is not one with such a roof to be found, and in those which have cielings, the cieling appears manifestly to have been added in later times; for it was not common, even in the sixteenth century, for any part of the church to be cieled, but the chancel. This defect might have been imputed to the timid ignorance of the builders, if it was not certain that those who

vaulted the baths of Constantine, might, if they had thought fit, have vaulted a church: and it might have been imputed to a servile imitation of the Pagan Basilics, if we had not been told by Vitruvius, that some of them were covered with vaulted roofs. As to the front of the Basilic of St. Paul, there is a modern portico about twenty feet high, and the rest is a brick wall, having on the point at top a Greek cross, decorated with some rude mosaic. To this general description, many particulars may be added, which will shew in a stronger light the stupidity and ill taste of the time; some of the columns have no base at all; others are all base, being one square block; in one place a column of the Corinthian order is placed opposite to one of the Composite; in another, the Tuscan is contrasted with the Ionic, yet the whole appears to have been the painful effort of long labour, and unremitted diligence; nor must it be forgotten, that the twenty-four columns, which are already exquisitely finished, are by an ingenious contrivance, made to share in the general impropriety, for, instead of being equally divided in opposite rows, thirteen of them are placed on one side, and eleven on the other.

Thus it appears that all which the magnificence of Constantine, who erected the edifice, and of Theodosius, who added some ornaments, could effect, was to raise a vast structure, and to decorate it with the spoils of those buildings that had been erected when the arts were in their perfection. After the persecutions against Christianity had entirely ceased, more churches

abounded

abounded at Rome, than at any other place; they were erected over the tombs of martyrs, and even formed out of the houses, which they had inhabited; little obscure oratories were enlarged into public temples, and the edicts that were published from the time of Constantine, to that of Theodosius, for the destruction of Pagan temples, furnished the pious founders with spoils of inestimable value, of which, however, they made a very bad use; for the plan of Constantine's Basilica was universally followed, whether the church to be built was little or great, except that sometimes the building at the end, which gave the whole the figure of the cross, was omitted: they are all filled with columns, taken from ancient buildings, and set up without the least regard to their height or their diameter, to the kind of marble, the order, or the decorations by which they are distinguished; from those which were too long the base is taken away, and those that were too short a supplemental base was added, so that some columns in the same row have two bases, and some have none. Entablatures were quite out of fashion, and neither frieze nor moulding of the cornice was to be attempted: such are all the churches that are at this time to be found in Rome, except two or three rotundas, and those which have been erected or modernized since the revival of the arts. Such are the principal productions of twelve successive ages, and when they are beheld and considered, it is easy to make a just estimation of the magnificence which has been attributed to them by the authors of the lives of the popes, such as Anastasius the library keeper, Platina, and some others. There are,

however, seven or eight ancient buildings that have been converted into Christian churches, but they are neither great nor beautiful, the Pantheon excepted; and so diligent were the saints, in the first ardour of their zeal, to fulfil the edicts of the emperor, for the abolition of Pagan ingenuity, that of 2000 temples, which were standing within the walls of Rome, in the meridian of her glory, these are all that remain: the temple of Faustina serves at this hour for a chapel to a religious house, and the temple of Remus is become a kind of vestibule to a conventual church.

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*Extract of some letters from Rome, concerning the Pantheon of Agrippa, now called the Rotunda.*

**T**HIS beautiful edifice has the following inscription on the frieze of the portico,  
M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TER-  
TIVM FECIT.

which has given rise to an opinion generally received, that the whole temple was built by Agrippa. Yet several antiquarians and artists, have supposed that the Pantheon existed as long ago as the commonwealth, and that Agrippa only embellished it, and added the portico. The antiquarians lay great stress upon the authority of Dion Cassius, who, speaking of the magnificence of Agrippa, says, *and he also finished or perfected the Pantheon.* Michael Angelo was persuaded, that the body of the temple, and the portico which leads into it, were the work of three several architects. His reason was, that the roof, and the order which supports it, do not tally with each other, and want much of that elegance and symmetry so



striking in the portico, which is of a far more majestic architecture than any thing within. This portico carries indeed all the evidence of an additional work. It stands unconnected with the temple, which projects behind it, and finishes with a pediment. Now the ancients never had any idea of placing one pediment behind another, or over, or within another. These were innovations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

I shall attempt an account, not a minute and particular description, of the Pantheon, as Agrippa left it, at least such as it was before the irruption of the Barbarians.

The form of the body of the Pantheon is round, or cylindrical, and its roof or dome is spherical; it is 144 feet diameter within, and the height of it, from the pavement to the grand aperture on its top, thro' which it receives the light, is just as much. It is of the Corinthian order, the inner circumference is divided into seven grand niches, wrought in the thickness of the wall: six of which are flat at the top, but the seventh, opposite to the entrance, is arched. Before each nich, are two columns of antique yellow marble fluted, and of one entire block, making in all fourteen, the finest in Rome. The whole wall of the temple, as high as the grand cornice inclusive, is cased with divers sorts of precious marble in compartments. The frieze is entirely of porphyry. Above the grand cornice rises an attic, in which were wrought at equal distances fourteen oblong square niches: between each nich were four marble pilasters, and between the pilasters, marble tables of various kinds. This attic had a compleat entablature; but the cornice projected less than that

of the grand order below. Immediately from this cornice, springs the spherical roof, divided by bands, which cross each other, like the meridians and parallels of an artificial terrestrial globe. The spaces between the bands, decrease in size as they approach the top of the roof, to which, however, they do not reach, there being a considerable plain space between them and the great opening. That so bold a roof might be as light as possible, the architect formed the substance of the spaces between the bands, of nothing but lime and pumice stones. The walls below were decorated with lead and brass, and works of carved silver over them; and the roof was covered on the outside with plates of gilded bronze. There was an ascent from the springing of the roof to the very summit by a flight of seven stairs. And if certain authors may be credited, these stairs were ornamented with pedestrian statues, ranged as an amphitheatre. This notion is founded on a passage of Pliny, who says, *that* *DIAGENES the sculptor decorated the Pantheon of AGRIPPA with elegant statues, yet that it was difficult to judge of their merit, upon account of their elevated situation.* For my own part, I cannot believe these statues were any other than those placed in the niches of the attic, if not those on the top of the portico. This portico is composed of sixteen columns of granite, four feet in diameter, eight of which stand in front, with an equal intercolumnation all along, contrary to the rule of Vitruvius, who is for having the space answering to the door of a temple, wider than the rest. On these columns is a pediment, whose tympanum, or flat, was ornamented with bas-reliefs

liefs in brass; the cross beams which formed the cieling of the portico were covered with the same metal, and so were the doors. The ascent up to the portico was by eight or nine steps.

Such was the Pantheon, the richness of which induced Pliny to rank it among the wonders of the world.

I have taken no notice of eight little altars, which are between the grand niches, and advance into the church; I must own they are very rich, but I do not take them to be antique; no older I dare say, than the period when the Pantheon was converted into a church, and the best things about them are still more modern.

The eruption of Vesuvius, in the reign of Tiberius, damaged the Pantheon very considerably; it was repaired by Domitian, which occasioned some writers to mention that prince as the founder of the building. The emperor Adrian also did something to it. But it appears, that the Pantheon is more indebted to Septimius Severus, than to any one since its erection. The most perhaps that any of his predecessors had done, was the adding some ornament to it: Septimius bestowed essential reparations upon it. The following inscription appears upon the architrave:

IMP. CAES. SEPTIMIUS. SEVERUS.  
PIVS. PERTINAX.  
ARABICVS. PARTHICVS. PONTIF.  
MAX. TRIB. POT.  
XI. COS. III. P. P. ET. IMP. CAES.  
MARCVS.  
AVRELIVS. ANTONINVS. PIVS.  
FELIX. AVG. TRIB.  
POT. V. COS. PROCOS. PANTHEVM.  
VETVSTATE.  
ORRVPTVM. CVMOMNI. CVL.  
TV. RESTITVERVNT.

It is really a matter of astonishment, that a structure, which granting it to have been built by Agrippa, was not more than 200 years old, should have fallen into decay through age. This single consideration seems sufficient to confirm the opinion of those who believe it to have stood in the time of the commonwealth.

The temple subsisted in all its grandeur, till the incursion of Alaric in the time of Honorius. Zozyms relates, that the Romans having engaged to furnish this Barbarian prince with 3000 pounds weight of gold, and 5000 pounds weight of silver, upon condition that he should depart from their walls; and it proving impossible to raise those sums, either out of the public treasury, or private purses, they were obliged to strip the temples of their statues and ornaments of gold and silver. It is probable that the Pantheon supplied a good part, as that of Jupiter Capitolinus was the only one in Rome, that could vie with it for riches.

Alaric carried off nothing from the Romans besides their precious metals. Thirty-nine years after this, Genseric, King of the Vandals, took away part of their marbles; and whether from a greediness of plunder, or from a relish of the productions of art, loaded one of his ships with statues. It cannot be questioned, but that on this occasion, the Pantheon was forced to part with more of its ornaments, and that the inestimable works of Diogenes became the prey of this Barbarian.

Before these unwelcome visits of the Goths and Vandals, the Christian emperors had issued edicts for demolishing the Pagan temples.

But the Romans, whatever was their motives, spared the Pantheon, which is known to have suffered no damage from the zeal of the pontiffs, or the indignation of the saints, before the first siege of Rome by Alaric. It remained so rich till about the year 655, as to excite the avarice of Constantius II. who came from Constantinople to pillage the Pantheon, and executed his purpose so far as to strip it both of its inside and outside brazen coverings, which he transported to Syracuse, where they soon after fell into the hands of the Saracens.

About fifty years before this, Pope Boniface IV. had obtained the Pantheon of the Emperor Phocas, to make a church of it. The artists of those days were totally ignorant of the excellence of the Greek and Roman architecture, and spoiled every thing they laid their hands upon. To this period, certain alterations are to be referred, of which I shall speak by and by.

After the devastations of the Barbarians, Rome was contracted within a narrow compass, the seven hills were abandoned, and the Campus Martius, being an even plain, and near the Tyber, became the ground plat of the whole city. The Pantheon happening to stand at the entrance of the Campus Martius, was presently surrounded with houses, which spoiled the fine prospect of it; and it was yet more deplorably disgraced by some of them which stood close to its walls. Pedlars sheds were built even within its portico, and the intercolumnations were bricked up, to the irreparable damage of the matchless pillars, of which some lost part of their capitals, some of their bases, and others were chiseled out six or se-

ven inches deep, and as many feet high, to let in posts. Which excavations are to this day half filled up with brick and mortar, a sad monument of the licentiousness of the vulgar, of the stupid avarice of those who sold them the privilege to ruin the noblest piece of art in the world!

This disorder continued till the pontificate of Eugene IV. whose zeal for the decency of a consecrated place, prevailed upon him to have all the houses cleared away that incumbered the Pantheon, and so the miserable barracks in the portico were knocked down.

From the time Constantius carried off the brass plating of the external roof, that part was exposed to the injuries of the weather, or, at best, was but slightly tiled in, till Benedict II. covered it with lead, which Nicholas V. renewed in a better style.

I cannot find that from this time to Urban VIII. any pope did any thing remarkable to the Pantheon.

Raphael Urbin, who had no equal as a painter, and who as an architect had no superior, left a considerable sum by his will, for the reparation of the Pantheon, where his tomb is placed. Perino de la Vagua, Giacomo Udino, Annibale Carrachi, Flaminio Vacca, and the celebrated Archangelo Corelli did the same. All the ornaments within, that have any claim to be called good, are of the latter times, the paintings merit esteem, and the statues, tho' not masterpieces, do honour to sculpture, which alone is a proof that they are posterior to the 15th century.

But I must say, with all the respect due to a pontiff, who was otherwise a protector, and, even a practitioner of the arts, it were much to be

be wished that Urban VIII. had not known that the Pantheon existed. The inscriptions cut at the side of the door inform us, that he repaired it; yet, at the same time that he built up with one hand, he pulled down with the other. He caused two bellfries of a wretched taste to be erected on the ancient front work, and he divested the portico of all the remains of its ancient grandeur, I mean the brazen coverture \* of the cross beams, which amounted to such a prodigious quantity, that not only the vast baldachin, or canopy, of the confessional in St. Peter's was cast out of it, but likewise a great number of cannon for the castle of St. Angelo.

Is it not marvellous, that whilst all these operations were carrying on in the portico, he never once thought of repairing the damages which time had wrought in it? Of the sixteen pillars, which supported this magnificent pile, there were no more than thirteen left; the three next the temple of Minerva had disappeared; with these the entablature and an angle of the front had tumbled down. Were there not in Rome fragments enough of antique columns that might have been put together and set up, to have prevented the downfall of a pile, which deserved to stand as long as the world endured?

Alexander VII. did what Urban VIII. had neglected to do. At the same time that Bernini was constructing the colonnade of St. Peter,

this pontiff ordered search to be made for pillars to match those of the portico of the Pantheon, and some were found not far from the French church of St. Louis, of the very same model. They were granite of the isle of Ilva, and those of the portico were Egyptian granite; the colour however was the same, so that the effect was equal. The pope's zeal did not stop here; he caused all the old houses before the portico to be pulled down, and the soil and rubbish to be cleared away, which covered the steps, and even the bases of some of the pillars. He began covering the roof with marble, and raised a lantern over the aperture, to keep out rain; but death took him off before his project was completed. Clement IX. his successor, enclosed the portico within iron rails. Several later popes have added to its decorations, which were all in the taste of the times they were done in, and the body of the edifice, and its architecture, gained nothing from them. The main object of their holinesses liberality was the embellishment of the grand altar. One gave purple curtains, another bestowed silver tabernacles, others again vases, and superb dresses, suited to the solemn ceremonies of religion. All these might be called rich, but they had in no sense a tendency to retrieve the ancient majesty or original splendour of the temple. The true gusto of the ornaments was a little imitated at

\* Perhaps the writer of this letter never heard that this pope, who was of the family of Barbarini, presented also as much of this metal to his nephew, as was sufficient for the decoration of his new palace: on which occasion this remarkable pasquinade was stuck up.

“ Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecere Barbarini.”

If ever gingle added force to wit, it was certainly in this instance.

the revival of the arts. Good statues took place of the skeletons and squat figures that ridiculously disgraced the altars for the space of eight centuries. The paintings of Perugino, Cozza, and Gressi, covered the dull mosaics, with which the Greeks of Constantinople had loaded the walls of most of the churches in Rome. The porphyry, and the green and yellow antique, found among the old ruins, were employed to much advantage.

Thus you have seen, Sir, how far the ancient Pantheon has been modernized from age to age: you may observe by the by, that before Alexander VII. none presumed to meddle with the roof, nor has any since, till in the year 1757, when a monstrous project took place for modernizing it all over. These new works may, perhaps, be the subject of some future letters.

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*The alterations lately proposed to be made in the Pantheon, having been censured, the following is a defence of them.*

**N**O alteration is proposed except in the dome, the attic, and the pavement. The balustrade of the sanctuary indeed has been new done already; but there is no reason that this should at all disgust the antiquarians, for the old one was certainly of a much later date than the age of Agrippa, or even of Septimius Severus.

Nothing at this time remains of the ancient ornaments of the dome, but the cornice of gilt brass which furrounds the grand aperture; all the other parts having been stript of the marbles and metals which covered them, offer nothing to the

view but rough masonry of a dark dirty complexion. The pannels, heretofore decorated with silver, still retain some fragments of the lead to which the plating was affixed; but most of them have lost even that; and the whole raises the idea of an edifice falling to ruin, rather than of the magnificence of ancient architecture. What then can the critics, who thus severely censure the reparations now carrying on, find to admire, in any thing which the reparations will hide?

As for the attic, there is great reason to doubt of its antiquity, and to suspect that the pilasters are of that kind of ornaments distinguished by the appellation of *modern antiques*. Fontana was of opinion, that in Agrippa's time the place of these pilasters was supplied by the Caryatides which Pliny speaks of, and which the antiquarians have sought for in vain. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive where these Caryatides could be placed, if the pilasters are really co-eval with the temple itself: but granting the pilasters to have been of the best age of architecture, they were two years ago broken to pieces, and fallen into ruins.

It is with still less reason the new laying of the pavement gives so much offence; for it is almost certain that this part of the Pantheon was not antique, I mean not as old as Agrippa, or Severus; but if it were so, its shattered condition called loudly for repair. The fact however is, that five or six feet below the pavement there lies another, as several eminent artists have assured me, so that the antiquity of the upper one must fall to the ground; and it is probable that it did not exist before Boniface IV. obtained the

the Pantheon of the emperor Phocas, to convert it into a church.

But though it cannot be demonstrated precisely at what time the floor of the building was laid, it is nevertheless certain that it had not always the elevation it has now; this is manifest from the plinths of the columns being buried more than two thirds under ground, four of which are even upon a level with the pavement.

There remains one article of alteration, as to which I will not take upon me to justify those who thought fit to propose it; the lantern to be placed over the grand aperture of the dome. This, however, is no conceit of the architect, but proceeds from a much higher authority. At the same time that it was resolved to embellish the dome, it was likewise determined, by means of this lantern, to secure it from the future injuries of the weather. It must indeed be admitted, that the large aperture of the dome is extremely incommodious to the congregation. Together with snow and rain, catarrhs and rheumatisms are too apt to descend through it; but to close it up with a cupola, is not only to exclude much of the light, but likewise to surcharge the edifice with a most ridiculous addition. In a word, it is to be wished that this project had never taken place.

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*Account of the Papyrus, by M. le Comte de Caylus.*

**T**HE Papyrus, or the Cyperus Niliacus, is a large plant that grows wild in the midst of the stagnating water left in hollow places after the inundation of the Nile.

We are told by Theophrastus and Pliny, that the natives used the roots of it for firing, as well as for other purposes of wood: that they built little boats of the plant itself, and formed the inner bark into sails, mats, garments, coverlids, and cordage: that they chewed it both raw and sodden, and swallowed the juice as a dainty; but, of all its uses, the most celebrated was that of its serving to write upon, like the paper of these days, which derives its name from this plant of Egypt. The intermediate part of the stalk was cut and separated into different laminæ, which were set apart, and dried in the sun for the manufacture. These laminæ were joined together horizontally and transversely, in sheets or leaves, upon a smooth board; then moistened with water, which dissolved a kind of viscous glue in the pores of the plant, serving to cement and render the whole uniform. The sheet being thus formed was put into a press, and afterwards dried for use. Such was the process of making paper in Egypt: but, as the sheets were coarse, brown, unequal, and imperfect, the Romans invented methods to bring the fabric to perfection. They contrived a glue or gum, by means of which they could occasionally enlarge the size and volume. They bleached it to a surprising degree of whiteness: they beat it with hammers, so as to render it more thin and less porous: they smoothed and polished it with ivory; and by a sort of calendar, gave it a shining gloss like that of the Chinese paper. According to the different degrees of delicacy, whiteness, and size, it acquired different appellations, either from the names of particular manufactures, from the

the great personages who used it, or from the particular uses to which it was put, such as the *Pannian*, the *Livian*, the *Claudian*, the *Imperial*, the *Hieratic*, and the *Amphibiatric*.

*A dissertation on the ancient manner of dating the beginning of the year.*

AS I have not met with an account of the time, from whence our ancestors begun their year, treated of, either accidentally or professedly, in any late author, an historical deduction of passages in our old historians, tending to illustrate the subject, may not be unacceptable to many of our readers, since the knowledge of it is necessary to clear up several passages in English history.

From Bede's time quite down to the Norman conquest, the constant way of computation seems to be from Christmas-day. For Bede (hist. v. 23.) plainly makes January to be the beginning of the year. He places the death of Beretwald, archbishop of Canterbury, to the ides of January, A. D. 731, and further inform us, under the same year, that Tatwin was consecrated in his room, on the 10th of June following; a manifest proof, that January was at that time one of the first months, as June comes after it in the same year. The Saxon chronicle begins the year from the nativity of our Lord. See A. D. 763, 827, 963, 1066, &c. quite down to the end.

After the conquest, Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, in the preface to his chronicle (Gerv. Doro-born, int. x. script. col. 1336, &c.)

takes notice of many different ways of computation in his time, that is, at the end of the xiith, or the beginning of the xiiith century. He says, that some computed from the annunciation, some from the nativity, some from the circumcision, and others from the passion of our Lord. The solar year, continues he, according to the custom of the Romans, and of the church of God, begins from the calends of January; but he rather chuses to fix the commencement of it to Christmas-day, "because (ibid. 1418, 50.) we compute the age of men from the day of their birth."

This shews there was no standing fixed rule of computation in Gervase's time; and the following observation confirms it, not only in his age, but also for several centuries after him. Matt. Paris (edit. Watts, p. 5.) Matt. Westm. (p. 255.) Ralph de Diceto (int. x. script. col. 480.) and Polydore Virgil (p. 150.) place the coronation of William the conqueror upon Christmas-day, A. D. 1067, that is, these authors begin their new year with that day, at least in this instance; whereas, on the contrary, T. Walsingham (Ypodigma Neustria, p. 436.) R. Hoveden (p. 258.) and Brompton (int. x. script. col. 661.) all refer it to Christmas day, A. D. 1066, which proves, that they do not in this place begin the year till after that day. Matt. Westm. (p. 268, ad ann. 1209.) takes notice of this difference in authors, for he observes, that "because king John's son was born in the Christmas holidays, which authors generally put, as it were, between the old and new year, in consilio anni prateriti & futuri, some place his birth to the year 1209, others to the foregoing one."

one." But it is no wonder, that different authors should disagree in this point, when T. Walsingham, one of the most accurate of our monkish historians, does not always count from the same day. In this instance he does not begin the year sooner than the circumcision; we shall see below that he sometimes dates it from the nativity.

According to this last mentioned author, who lived in the xvth century, Edward III. was made king on the 20th day of January (Hist. Ang. p. 126.) and proclaimed his peace to the people, that is, as I apprehend it, published a general pardon, on Sunday February the first, 1327. Now the particular observation of the first of February being on a Sunday, fixes it to what we should have called, before the late alteration of the style, 1326-7, and not 1327-8; consequently it is a demonstration, that he counted January and February in the beginning of the year. Any person, that will be at the trouble to compute the dominical letter, will find it to be D in that year, which letter is fixed in the calendar to be the first of February, and consequently proves it to have then fallen on a Sunday.

The same author (*ibid.* p. 382.) informs us, that Henry IV. kept his Christmas in 1413, at Eltham, that he died the 20th of March following, and that his son was crowned on Passion Sunday, the 5th of April in the same year, which agrees only with the year 1413, when Easter-day actually fell on April the 23d. Here our author dates the beginning of the year from Christmas, though, as was above-mentioned, when he speaks of William the Conqueror's coro-

nation, he does not begin it till the feast of the circumcision. Shall we say, that in his *Ypodigma Neustria*, he writes as a Norman, and that they computed the year only from the circumcision, whereas in his history of England he writes as an Englishman, who in his time generally reckoned from his nativity?

Hitherto nothing of our late custom of computing from the annunciation, has appeared in any of our old historians, except the bare mention of it in Gervase. There is good reason to think it began about the beginning of the reign of king Edward IV. for the continuator of the history of Croyland Abbey does not seem at all exact in his commencement of the year, which he sometimes begins from the circumcision, and at others from the annunciation. He mentions the death of Richard duke of York, as happening in Christmas week, at the very end of the year 1460, (*eiusdem anni jam ad terminum vergente curriculo*, p. 530. l. 52. edit. Oxon. 1684.) which shews he there ends the year with the month of December, and yet two pages after (p. 532. l. 27.) he places the following month of March to the same year, a proof he does not begin it, in this last mentioned instance, till the annunciation, and this inaccuracy seems to indicate the beginning of the custom, for he uses both computations indifferently in many places; he begins the year 1467 with the month of January (p. 541.) and does not end 1469 till after the same month (p. 544.)

Thomas Chandler, who was chancellor of Oxon. from 1458 to 1462 (Wood. Hist. & Ant. Oxon. II. 410.) in his short account of William of Wickham, printed by Wharton,



Wharton, (Angl. Sacra. 2. 355.) begins his year with the annunciation,

About 15 or 16 years after, this custom seems to have been fully settled; for another continuator of the history of Croyland Abbey, who wrote about that time, constantly computes from the annunciation, and (in p. 552.) under the year 1469, gives the reason of the difference of the computation between the two churches of Rome and England, and mentions this last as the only one then used here.

Indeed Bishop Godwin in his annals, wrote 150 years after the time now spoken of, dates his year from the first of January, (anni hujus, 1511, primo die, ip[s]is videlicet calendis Januarii) but it is to be remembered, he wrote them for the use of foreigners, who were not used to any other way of computation.

At the reformation both the civil and ecclesiastical authority interposed, to fix the commencement of the year to the feast of the annunciation, by adding the following rubric to the calendar, immediately after the table of moveable feasts for 40 years, viz. "Note, That the supputation of the year of our Lord, in the church of England, beginneth the 25th of March, the same day supposed to be the first day upon which the world was created, and the day when Christ was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary," which stood thus down to the Savoy conference, soon after the restoration, when it was thought proper to retain the order, and drop the reason given for it, and in this shape it was continued

down to the late parliamentary correction of the calendar, which brings it back to the first of January, and is indeed the only legal settlement of it for civil affairs that I have met with, for the rubric above-mentioned settles only the supputation of the church of England, and says nothing of the civil government, which seem to have never used any other date than that of the king's reign, till after the restoration, not even in common deeds. During the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, the years of our Lord seem to have been introduced, because they did not chuse to date by the years of the king's reigns, and continued for convenience afterwards without the interposition of legal authority. I have seen some deeds before that time with the date of the year inserted, not in the body of the deed, but in the middle of the initial letter, after this manner,

1548 *This Indenture.*

Our neighbours the Scots, from time immemorial, have invariably observed the 25th day of March as the first day of the year, till November 27, 1599, when the following entry was made in the books of the privy council: *On Monday proclamation made be the king's warrant, ordaining the first of January, in tyme coming, to be the beginning of the new year, which they have as constantly followed ever since.*

October 18,  
1759.

I am, &c.

N.

*Essay*

*Essay upon the use of stops.*

IT is not, perhaps, an enquiry wholly useless, or unentertaining, when the usage of stops began amongst us, since upon *them* all propriety of reading and pronunciation so much depends.

We will first consider, when they were *not*, and it will appear that \* Lipſius is on the side of truth, when he says, that "all ancient records, which were within his experience, were without notes of distinction;" by which he must mean, regular, determinate, and fixed stops †. Putean, in his observations upon Quintilian, is of the same opinion. What within our own knowledge at this day puts this beyond dispute, is, the Alexandrian manuscript, which I have particularly consulted on this occasion. This curious monument of antiquity, is at present in the king's library at the British Museum. Whoever examine this, will find, that the whole is written *continuo ductu*, without distinction of words, or sentences. How the ancients read their works, written in this manner, is not easy to conceive. Their manner of reading was, very possibly, the same with that used in courts of judicature; and what seems to favour this surmise, is the ancient custom continued in these tribunals, of writing without stops.

It has been imagined by some, that this invention of pointing, sprung up in the time of Adrian;

but this is a mistake, and arose from the misinterpretation of a passage in Suidas. Suidas speaking of Nicanor † the grammarian, says, that he composed a little treatise, *περὶ εἰγμῆς τῆς παρ' Ὀμήρου, καὶ τῆς παρὰ Καλλιμάχου*. But whoever will take the pains to examine Suidas's meaning here, will clearly see that he is not talking of stops and pointing, but of emphasis, accent, and pronunciation. Lipſius is indeed supposed, that these words intimate a proposal to introduce pointing, and that the proposal was rejected. His error lies, in not having given due attention to the import.

Isidore ‖, indeed, seems to have made a new discovery, when he tells us, that in his time, they made use of three points, or distinctions. According to him they were called, *comma*, *colon*, and *period*. The form of all three was the same, but their position different; the first being placed at the bottom, the second at the middle, and the third at the top of the letter. *Positura*, says he, *est figura ad distinguendos sensus per cola, commata, et periodos*. *Quæ dum ordine suo apponitur, sensum nobis lectionis ostendit*. *Ubi enim in initio pronunciationis, respirare oportet, fit comma, et ad unam literam ponitur*. *Ubi autem sententiæ sensum præstat, fit colon, medianque literam puncto notamus*. *Ubi vero plenam sententiæ clausulam facimus, fit periodus, punctumque ad caput literæ ponimus*. It must be observed here, that Isidore wrote about the time, when

\* In his letter de Distinct.

† De Distinct. Lib. iv.

‡ See Suidas in hac voce.

§ In his letter about pointing, printed with Putean's Dissert. de Distinct.

‖ De Orig. Lib. i. c. 19.

the old practice of joining words together ceased, and writings began to be more legible, by separating and distinguishing words from each other. About this time we find from monumental inscriptions, that they made use of certain marks placed at the end of every word; not to distinguish *sentences* but *words*\*. And, tho' we call some of our stops, at this day, by the same name, it does not follow that we use them for the same purpose. From Isidore's words, here cited, one would at first imagine, that the points were only in those places he specifies; but it must be understood, that, agreeable to the practice of that age, those notes of distinction were placed after *every* word, tho' perhaps not in the same manner.

In all the editions of the *Fastii Capitolini* these points occur. The same are to be seen on the *Columna Rostrata* †. For want of these, we find such confusion in the *Chronicon Marmoreum*, and the covenant between the Smyrnæans and Magnesiensians, which are both now at Oxford. In Salmastius's edition of *dedicatio statue regillæ Herodis*, the like confusion occurs, where we find ΔΕΤΡΙΤΕ for Δεῦρ' ἴτε.

An instance to prove, that marks of distinction were placed at the end of each word, by the ancients, will appear from the Walcote inscription found near Bath. It presents itself to the eye in the following manner:

IVLIUS VITALIS, FABRI  
CESIS, LEG. XX, V. V  
STIPENDIORUM, &c.

After every word here, except at the end of a line, we see this mark v.

\* See Cellarius's Orthography, p. 70.

† Vide Livii Hist. Edit. Oxon, 6. B. 207.

There is an inscription in Montfaucon, which has a capital letter laid in an *horizontal* position, by way of interstitial mark, which makes one apt to think that this way of pointing was sometimes according to the fancy of the graver.

P. FERRARIUS HERMES  
CAECINIAE → DIGNAE  
CONIVGI → KARRISSIMAE  
NVMERIAE → &c.

Here we observe after the words a T laid horizontally, but not after each word, which proves this to be of a much later age than the former.

Having now considered, that the present usage of stops was unknown to the ancients, I proceed to assign the time in which this commendable improvement of language began.

As it appears not to have taken place, while *manuscripts* and *monumental* inscriptions were the only known methods to convey knowledge, we must conclude, that it was introduced with the *art of printing*. The 14th century, to which we are indebted for this mystery, did not, however, bestow those appendages, we call stops; whoever will be at the pains to examine the first printed books, will discover no stops of any kind: but arbitrary marks here and there, according to the humour of the printer. In the 15th century, we observe their first appearance. We find, from the books of this age, they were not all produced at the same time: those we meet with there in use, being only the *comma*, the *parenthesis*, the *interrogation*, and *full point*. To prove this, we need but look into Bale's *Acts of English* votaries, black

letter, printed 1550: a book not commonly to be had, but which I have in my collection. Indeed, in the dedication of this book, which is to Edward VI. we discover a colon: but, as this is the only one of the kind throughout the work, it is plain this stop was not established at this time, and so warily put in by the printer: or if it was, that it was not in common use. Thirty years after this time, in that sensible and judicious performance of Sir Thomas Elyot, entitled, *The Governour*, imprinted 1580; we see the colon as frequently introduced, as any other stop; but the *semicolon* and the *admiration*, were still wanting, neither of these being visible in this book. In Hackluyt's *voyages*, printed 1599, we see the first instance of a *semicolon*: and, as if the editors did not fully apprehend the propriety of its general admission, it is but sparingly introduced. The *admiration* was the last stop that was invented, and seems to have been added to the

rest, in a period not so far distant from our own times.

Thus we see, that these notes of distinction came into use, as learning was gradually advanced, and improved: one invention indeed! but enlarged by several additions. Nothing is more probable, as we can trace them no higher than the 15th century, than that the thought was *monastic*. The monks, however ridiculous in some things, have obliged posterity with others, truly valuable. Learning, such as it was, did not want advocates in this age. If Walsingham, a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's, in this century, wrote the *Historia brevis*, a work much esteemed at that time, and was distinguished for his *literary* accomplishments; 'tis something more than conjecture to attribute this invention to him.

Westminster,  
Jan. 8.

Yours, &c.

EDGAR BOCHART.



## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Mr. Duhamel's method of preserving the health of Seamen.*

**A**FTER several observations on the difference of places whose situation is more or less wholesome, M. Duhamel concludes in general, that rising grounds, and exposed to the wind, are the most wholesome; that those situate near tide, fresh or salt water, are not subject to the epidemics that infect ships; that the sea is not the cause of these epidemics; that the seamen are more exposed to them, when they anchor in roads, surrounded by mud, marshes, and sheltered from the wind; that, when their health obliges them to go on shore, they should be compelled to return on board for the night; or, if this cannot be conveniently effected, should be kept at a distance from marshy grounds, and not permitted ever to encamp, or to lie without good tents, set up in dry, high and open places.

To discover the particular causes of infection in ships, M. Duhamel lays down this general principle: that the different qualities of the air, the vapours that humect, the exhalations that penetrate it, influence, to a great degree, the health of the animals that breathe it. Nothing but malignant vapours, or putrid exhalations in the air, can occasion those dreadful contagions that lay waste cities, and sometimes provinces. The more the air is debarred of a free circulation, the more it is susceptible of impressions from the causes that alter and corrupt it.

Now all these inconveniencies concur to infect the air in ships, especially in the hold of a ship. It there becomes thick, and its thickness does not permit the perspiration of animals that breathe it, to disperse and dissipate it. Whence it happens, that the warmth of this confined air is more sensible than that of the exterior air, and its elasticity is prodigiously weakened. It has not, therefore, that degree of condensation, that freshness, that motion, which makes it so favourable to respiration. This may be evinced from the accidents that happen to a bird shut up under a bell, where the air it breathes cannot be renewed. Between decks, and in the holds of ships, provisions contract heat, ferment, and send forth exhalations; of which the volume, stench, and malignity are augmented by the like produced by the dung of animals, the smell of their wool, their respiration and transpiration, and the vapours exhaled from the putrid waters in ships and in the sink, and even by the bitumen exhaled from the sea.

If the ship's crew are attacked by any sickness, the causes for infecting the air are still more multiplied. During voyages into cold, and much more into hot countries, seamen meet with new sources of disorders. The changes of air and climate are the more dangerous by their indiscretion in braving, and even provoking their pernicious impressions. Lastly, salt aliments, though less subject to corrupt, yet,  
by

by being hard of digestion, bring on a multiplicity of diseases, especially the scurvy. These are the enemies M. Duhamel endeavours to destroy.

He first proposes precautions against their attacks by preventing them, persuaded, that it is always easier to guard against diseases, than to cure them; or that, if they cannot be entirely avoided, their violence may, in a great measure, be checked or abated.

These precautions are: 1. To admit none aboard, but fresh and healthy sailors, and well provided with all necessaries, in linen and cloaths, to keep themselves clean; Sick, fatigued, ill-clothed sailors are, in ships, a source of contagion: 2. To clean frequently the ship; to sweep and scrub, especially on the inside, all the upper parts of the ship, and particularly the post of the sick and castle-fold. All should be carefully washed; but this ought to be only during the heat of the day, that it may dissipate the moisture before night. Cleanliness in the sailors, and keeping the ship from all filth, infection, and every thing productive of putrid exhalations and vapours, cannot be sufficiently attended to. 3. To purify and renew, as much as possible, the air in the hold, and under decks. For this purpose are used the vent-holes, the wind-sleeve, bellows, and principally Dr. Hales's ventilator.

Vent-holes are only apertures, through which the infected air may escape. Some observations are necessary to direct their use. Vapours are lighter than pure air, and their levity determines them to ascend through the vent given them. This is a general principle, that regulates the form and use of all the machines for renewing the air of

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ships. Therefore the vents for introducing the pure air cannot be placed too low, nor those for letting out the infected vapours, too high; and, if they were too narrow, the vapours would find in them a friction, which must obstruct, and cannot be conquered by their levity. As to the other machines, M. Duhamel proposes some methods for making their play more easy, and their action more effectual.

Fire is another agent, which may serve the same purposes: it rarifies the ambient air, and the vapours it is loaded with. This rarefaction augments considerably their levity, and consequently accelerates their going out. Presumes are also reckoned as a means for purifying the air of ships. The author alledged some examples of very troublesome and obstinate fainting fits, wherein the smell of vinegar alone produced the most salutary effects. This virtue he attributes less to the stimulating action of vinegar, than to the impression it produces on the air the sick persons breathe: "For, says he, there are none but have found some pleasure in breathing the vapour of vinegar on days disposed for stormy weather; wherein the air being less fit for respiration, one is obliged to fetch frequent and profound respirations; and thus it is sufficiently proved, that it is necessary to sprinkle good vinegar between the decks, and especially in the apartment of the sick." However it seems probable, that the effect is almost as transient as salutary; that is, that the salubrious quality communicated by vinegar to the air, is not so durable as the ease it procures to the sick.

The vapours of burning sulphur continues our author; hinder fermentation,

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tation, and consequently corruption, even in the liquors that are most disposed to ferment, such as wine, beer, &c. It is allowed that these vapours serve to disinfect the merchandize that come from countries suspected of contagion. Those captains of ships are therefore to be commended, who, from time to time, burn priming powder steeped in vinegar between decks, or who perfume the decks with vinegar poured upon a red-hot ball. M. Duhamel prefers the asperision of vinegar to its vapour, whereof the smoak is disagreeable, and they be hurtful, if too strong; for indeed the smell of vinegar is more grateful than breathing its vapour; and he also counsels, in certain roads, when the weather is fair, to perfume with the vapour of sulphur the decks and bread-rooms. Care, at the same time, should be taken to guard against all accidents of fire; and the ventilator of Dr. Hales, a bellows so powerful for pumping air, would not be less so, in diffusing the perfumes throughout all parts of the ship. If any disagreeable smell remained, it might be easily dissipated, by going about with a red-hot iron ladle, filled with aromatic drugs of little value, as juniper-berries and such like.

From all this practical doctrine, M. Duhamel concludes, "That the hold, where the air is more corrupt than in any other part of the ship, should never be the lodgment of the sick, except in the time of an engagement. He assigns them a place where there are no hatches from the hold nor the lower deck, because the air issuing from these places is almost always very unwholesome; and advises, in a parti-

cular manner, those that are in good health, to make no use of the wearing apparel and the hammocks of the sick, contagious maladies being chiefly communicated by cloaths. "In the time of a plague, it has been observed, says he, that whole families have preserved themselves from the contagion, by shutting themselves up in their houses, tho' they received their provisions from infected persons, who sometimes fell dead whilst they conversed with them from their windows; whereas at the same time, a single rag would communicate the plague. Of this, adds he, I have a very decisive proof in the contagion that destroyed so great a number of cattle in France and elsewhere. One of our farmers preserved all his cows, by keeping them shut up in a stable, and by hindering his domestics to go into infected stables, and those of his neighbours, whose cattle died, to come into his."

It is true, all these precautions for keeping ships from being infected, are an addition to the seamen's toil; but they need not be deemed such when found highly expedient for obtaining the great ends required from their service. M. Duhamel proposes likewise some substitutes to the ordinary food of seamen; but as the victualling of ships, particularly those of war, is provided for as the wisdom of a government thinks most proper, we shall not here touch upon that article.

When ships are arrived at their place of destination, M. Duhamel recommends, that their stay should be as short as possible in rivers and muddy ports, sheltered from the wind, and known to be unwholesome.

some. He also advises to avoid places where the sea is too calm ; to abide only where there is good anchorage ; to quit, from time to time, the road, and cruize about, in order to exercise the seamen ; to place the land hospital far from vallies, marshes, and stagnant waters ; to distribute preservatives against sickness to the soldiers, that repair at night to their tents ; to furnish them with fresh provisions in fruits, pulse, fish, &c. This care will be particularly necessary in the torrid zone : cold countries require a peculiar treatment in cloathing, exercise, regimen, &c. and sailors struck with cold should be kept from the use of spirituous liquors, till they are made to receive a certain degree of warmth.

*Methods for rectifying the stench and corruption of fresh waters.*

**G**REAT inconvenience happens but too often at sea, when the stock of fresh water, by long standing, contracts a nauseous smell, and is often foul with maggots or worms. To apply, therefore, proper and experienced remedies, in order to correct the same, the following methods are prescribed :

Take a glass-vessel, or bottle, and fill it up to the neck with salt; then pour some oil upon the salt, and stop well the aperture of the vessel with lime, to hinder any water from penetrating. Let this vessel fall, so as to hang in the midst of a cistern, or hogthead full of water: no putrefaction will happen in the water, though it should stand ever so long. Some quicksilver may be added.

**When water begins to grow pu-**

trid, it may be sufficiently purged, by throwing in a handful of salt; and, if salt is wanting, sea-water. For this reason the seamen at Venice, in Italy, when bound on a long voyage, take their supply of water from St. Nicholas's well, which, by being near the sea, is impregnated with salt, and on that account continues long pure and wholesome, the brackish taste being scarce, after a few days, perceptible. We read of the like in the scriptures, to have been done by the prophet Elisha; who, in Jericho of Palestine, by throwing salt into a fountain, made the waters potable, which before were brackish and putrid. If the water begins to ingender maggots, they are killed by throwing in lime. Any of the ingredients used for the clarifying of wine may be applicable towards the purifying and preserving of water.

*A description of a cork waistcoat.*

**M**R. Dubourg, a gentleman very fond of swimming, but subject to the cramp, was led to consider of some contrivance to secure to himself the pleasure of that exercise, without danger. For this purpose he has invented a cork waistcoat, composed of four pieces of cork, two for the breasts, and two for the back, each pretty near in length and breadth to the quarters of a waistcoat without flaps; the whole is covered with a coarse canvas, with two holes to put the arms through; there is a space left between the two back pieces, and the same betwix each back and breast-piece, that they may sit the easier to the body. By this means the waistcoat is open only before, and

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may be fastened on the wearer with strings, or, if it should be thought more secure, with buckles and leather straps. This waistcoat does not weigh above twelve ounces, and may be made up for about five or six shillings expence. It is more simple in its make than the bag, not liable to the inconvenience of being blown up, as is absolutely necessary to the use of the bag, nor, like that, subject to be torn. Mr. Dubourg has tried his waistcoat in the Thames, and found that it not only supported him on the water, but that even two men were not able to sink him, though they made their utmost efforts for that purpose. If those who use the sea occasionally, and especially those who are obliged to be almost constantly there, were to have these waistcoats, it would be next to impossible, that they should be drowned: This expedient considered as a pleasurable article, to those who love swimming, is not contemptible, but further and greater uses may be derived from it. It would be of vast service to those, who, for their health sake, bathe in the sea, and even the most timorous and delicate young lady might boldly venture, with one of these waistcoats, into a rough sea. I need not say how useful they would be to the navy, and how many lives they would save. And as we have now experienced, that the coasts of France are not inaccessible, surely these waistcoats might be of prodigious service to our men in embarking and disembarking; as it would be impossible, that even those who cannot swim, should be drowned before they could receive help from the boats. The expence of providing a sufficient number of them for our navy, can be no objec-

tion to a nation so wisely and gratefully fond of a marine. Besides, the charge cannot be great; if a single one can be made for about five shillings, surely 30 or 40,000 may be made, upon an average, for much less a price.

Again, it is to be remembered, that the cork will last for a very long time; and the canvas, which would seldom want renewing, is the least chargeable material. I therefore hope to live to see them introduced on board our whole navy; and to hear that many lives are saved by them. T. F.

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*A particular method of recovering persons that are drowned; exemplified in the case of a young woman who had lain some hours under water.*

**T**HIS account is communicated to the author of *Journal Historique sur les matieres de tems*, for December 1758, by Dr. Du Moulin, an eminent physician, who accidentally, and luckily for the poor girl, happened to hear of her misfortune soon after she was taken out of the water.

A servant maid, he says, of about eighteen years of age, had fallen into the river, down which she was carried, by the force of the stream, upwards of 150 paces from the place she fell in at. But her cloaths catching hold of some piles, driven down for the use of a neighbouring tanner, she there stopt; and, some hours after, the tanner's people coming that way, she was taken up. Being personally unknown to those who first found her, she was exposed some time before her friends heard of the disaster that had happened.

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At length she was carried to the house of her mistress; where she was stripped and laid down before the fire, without any hopes, however, of her recovery. In this situation the doctor found her without motion, stiff, and cold, her eyes shut, her mouth open, her countenance pale and hollow, and her whole body much swelled and full of water. She had no pulse, and the case being looked upon as desperate, the doctor had a mind to try an experiment, suggested to him by what he had observed of flies and other insects, that being drowned and apparently dead, will yet recover by half burying them in ashes or salt. He accordingly ordered a sufficient quantity of dry pot-ashes to be strewed upon a bed to about three inches deep: upon this layer of ashes the girl was placed, and another layer of ashes of about two inches deep, was sprinkled over her. On her head was put a cap, containing a good quantity of ashes also; and round her throat a stocking filled with the same. The blankets were now laid on the bed, and thus the patient lay about half an hour; when her pulse began to beat, by degrees she recovered her voice, and soon cried out articulately, *O I am frozen!—I am frozen.*

A cordial was administered, and she continued to lie eight hours in the ashes; during which time the water came away by the urinary passages, to an amazing quantity: after which she found herself greatly relieved; and though for the three following days she was still a little indisposed, the indisposition was slight, and went soon off. In want of a sufficient quantity of dry pot-ashes, dry salt may be used, and, according to the doctor, with the same success.

*An account of some preservatives (with their processes) against hunger and thirst, equal, perhaps, in virtue to the so much boasted French alimentary powder.*

**T**HERE were some compositions in vogue among the ancients, for averting the direful effects of hunger and thirst, and were held by them to be extremely necessary in time of scarcity, long voyages, and warlike expeditions. Pliny says, that a small portion of some things allays the hunger and thirst, and preserves strength; such as butter, cheese made of mare's milk, and liquorice. The American Indians use a composition of the juice of tobacco, with calcined shells of snails, cockles, oysters, &c. which they make into pills, and dry in the shade. Whenever they go upon a long journey, and are likely to be destitute of provisions by the way, they put one of these pills between the lower lip and the teeth, and by swallowing what they suck from it, feel neither hunger, thirst, nor fatigue, for four or five days together.

The following composition is an extract from a manuscript scholium on a book of Heron in the Vatican library; and one much to the same effect, with some others, may be seen in Philo's fifth book of Military affairs. It was reputed an exceeding nutritive medicament, and also very effectual for banishing thirst. Both the besiegers of cities, and the besieged, fed upon it, in time of extremity, and called it the Epimenidian Composition, from the sea-onion, which was an ingredient in its composition. The process is thus:

The sea-onion being boiled, wash-

ed with water, and afterwards dried, it was cut into very thin slices, to which a fifth part of sesame was added, and a fifteenth of poppy; all which being mixed and worked up into a mass with honey, the whole was divided into portions about the bigness of a walnut, whereof two in the day, taken morning and evening, were sufficient to prevent hunger and thirst.

There was another way of preparing it, by taking a pint of sesame, the same quantity of oil, and two quarts of unshelled sweet almonds; when the sesame was dried, and the almonds ground and sifted, the sea-onions were to be peeled and sliced, the roots and leaves being cut off: then, pounding them in a mortar, till reduced to a pap, an equal part of honey was to be added, and both worked up with the oil: afterwards all the ingredients were to be put into a pot, on the fire, and stirred with a wooden ladle, till thoroughly mixed. When the mass acquired a solid consistence, it was taken off the fire, and formed into lozenges, of which two only, as

above, were very sufficient for a day's subsistence.

Avicenna relates, that a person, setting out upon a journey, drank one pound of oil of violets, mixed with melted beef-suet, and afterwards continued fasting for ten days together, without the least hunger. He says, that the oil of almonds and beef-suet, will effect the same by their viscosity. Hence it was that this celebrated physician, who knew things more by unquestionable experiments, than by idle speculations and conjectures, prescribed the following composition, which in time of famine, by sea or land, might be extremely serviceable.

Take of sweet almonds, unshell'd, one pound, the like quantity of melted beef-suet; of oil of violets two ounces; a sufficient quantity of mucilage; and of the roots of marshmallows one ounce: let all together be brayed in a mortar, and made into bolusses about the bigness of a common nut. They must be kept so as to prevent their melting by the heat of the sun.



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*A fable, by the celebrated Linnæus,  
translated from the Latin.*

ONCE upon a time the seven wife men of Greece were met together at Athens, and it was proposed that every one of them should mention what he thought the greatest wonder in the creation. One of them, of higher conceptions than the rest, proposed the opinion of some of the astronomers about the fixed stars, which they believed to be so many suns, that had each their planets rolling about them, and were stored with plants and animals like this earth. Fired with this thought, they agreed to supplicate Jupiter, that he would at least permit them to take a journey to the moon, and stay there three days in order to see the wonders of that place, and give an account of them at their return. Jupiter consented, and ordered them to assemble on a high mountain, where there should be a cloud ready to convey them to the place they desired to see. They picked out some chosen companions, who might assist them in describing and painting the objects they should meet with. At length they arrived at the moon, and found a palace there well fitted up for their reception. The next day, being very much fatigued with their journey, they kept quiet at home till noon; and being still faint, they refreshed themselves with a most delicious entertainment, which they relished

so well, that it overcame their curiosity. This day they only saw through the windows that delightful spot, adorned with the most beautiful flowers, to which the beams of the sun gave an uncommon lustre, and heard the singing of most melodious birds till evening came on. The next day they rose very early in order to begin their observations; but some very beautiful young ladies of that country, coming to make them a visit, advised them first to recruit their strength before they exposed themselves to the laborious task they were about to undertake.

The delicate meats, the rich wines, the beauty of these damsels, prevailed over the resolution of these strangers. A fine concert of music is introduced, the young ones begin to dance, and all is turned to jollity; so that this whole day was spent in gallantry, till some of the neighbouring inhabitants growing envious at their mirth, rushed in with swords. The elder part of the company tried to appease the younger, promising the very next day they would bring the rioters to justice. This they performed, and the third day the cause was heard, and what with accusations, pleadings, exceptions, and the judgment itself, the whole day was taken up, on which the term set by Jupiter expired. On their return to Greece, all the country flocked in upon them to hear the wonders of the moon described.

scribed, but all they could tell was, for that was all they knew, that the ground was covered with green, intermixed with flowers, and that the birds sung among the branches of the trees; but what kinds of flowers they saw, or what kind of birds they heard, they were totally ignorant. Upon which they were treated every where with contempt.

If we apply this fable to men of the present age, we shall perceive a very just similitude. By these three days the fable denotes the three ages of man. First, youth, in which we are too feeble in every respect to look into the works of the Creator. All that season is given up to idleness, luxury, and pastime. Secondly, manhood, in which men are employed in settling, marrying, educating children, providing fortunes for them, and raising a family. Thirdly, old age, in which, after having made their fortunes, they are overwhelmed with law-suits, and proceedings relating to their estates. Thus it frequently happens that men never consider to what end they were destined, and why they were brought into the world.

know where to hide her wretched head.

These great, these noble charities, have been very forcibly recommended to the attention of the public. I beg your assistance to convey some hints on a subject I do not remember to have seen yet treated of, which, though, it cannot be considered in the light of the above charities, is nevertheless of some consequence. I mean the improper education given to a great number of the daughters of low tradesmen and mechanics. Every village in the neighbourhood of this great city has one or two little boarding schools, with an inscription over the door, *Young ladies boarded and educated*. The expence is small, and hither the blacksmith, the alehouse-keeper, the shoe-maker, &c. sends his daughter, who, from the moment she enters these walls, becomes a young lady. The parent's intention is an honest one: his time is too much taken up, as well as his wife's, by the necessary duties of their profession, to have any to bestow on the education of their children; they are therefore obliged to send them from home. As this is the case, there ought certainly to be proper schools for their reception: but surely, the plan of these schools ought to differ as much from that of the great schools, intended for the daughters of the nobility and gentry, as the station in life of the scholars at the one differs from those of the other. This is however so far from being the case, that the article of expence excepted, the plan is the same, and the daughter of the lowest shopkeeper at one of these schools, is as much Miss, and a young lady, as the daughter of the first

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*From the London Chronicle.*

*On boarding-schools for girls.*

SIR,

BY the spirited endeavours of the marine society, our vagrant boys are rescued from want and the gallows. By the Asylum, our deserted girls are saved from infamy, disease, and prostitution. By the Magdalen-house a retreat is offered to the most miserable, the most forlorn of creatures, the repentant prostitute, who may now

first viscount in England, at one of the other. The mistress of the school is called governess, for the word *Mistress* has a vulgar sound with it: and Miss, whose mamma sells oysters, tells Miss, whose papa deals in smallcoal, that her governess shall know it, if she spits in her face, or does any thing else unbecoming a young lady. Was a foreigner acquainted with our language, to overhear a conversation of this kind; and some such conversation is to be heard every day in some alley or other in this town, how would he be astonished at the opulence of a country, where the meanest tradesmen kept governesses for their daughters. French and dancing is also to be taught at these schools, neither of which can be of any use to young ladies of this sort. The parents may imagine, the first may procure them a place; but in this they may be greatly mistaken; as, I believe, there is hardly a single instance of a girl's having learnt that language, to any degree of perfection at one of these schools. As to the last, I could give reasons against that accomplishment making a part of their education, far too numerous to be inserted. I shall only mention that it cannot possibly be of use to them, and that it would be of much more consequence they should be well instructed how to wash the floor, than how to dance upon it. I am very certain, there are several fathers of this rank, who have had cause to wish their daughters had lost the use of their limbs, rather than been taught this pernicious use of them, by the dancing-master, the consequence of which has often been, that, of inducing them to quit their parent's sober dwell-

ling, at a midnight hour, for the licentious liberties of a ball of 'prentices, where the young lady, no governess present, may be exposed to great dangers, at a place where the scheme for the ruin of many an innocent girl has been formed and executed. The needle-work taught at these schools is of a kind, much more likely to strengthen the natural propensity in all young minds to show and dress, than to answer any housewifely purpose. One of these young ladies, with the assistance of an ounce of coarse thread, and a yard of cat-gut, dresses herself up, in what has the appearance of point, or Brussels-lace.

How disappointed will the honest shopkeeper be, if, at an age when he thinks proper to take his daughter from school, he should expect any assistance from her! Can he suppose a young lady will weigh his soap for him? or perform any other office, the gentility of her education has exalted her so far above? Though ignorant of every thing else, she will be so perfect in the lessons of pride and vanity, that she will despise him and his nasty shop, and quit both, to go off with the first man who promises her a silk gown, and a blonde cap. In short, the plan of these schools appears to me much better calculated to qualify the scholars to become, in a few years, proper inhabitants of the Magdalen-house, than to make of them industrious frugal wives to honest tradesmen, or sober faithful servants; and I cannot suppose the ambition of any father of this rank, amongst us, rises higher, than to see his children in one or the other of these stations. That he may not be disappointed in so laudable

laudable a view, I would propose that schools for the education of such girls should be kept by discreet women; those who have been house-keepers in large families, would be the properest persons for this purpose: that the young people should be taught submission and humility to their superiors, decency and modesty in their own dress and behaviour. That they should be very well instructed in all kinds of plain-work, reading, writing, accounts, pastry, pickling, preserving, and other branches of cookery; be taught to weave, and wash lace, and other linen. Thus instructed, they may be of great comfort and assistance to their parents and husbands; they may have a right to expect the kindest treatment from their mistresses; they are sure to be respected as useful members of society; whereas young ladies are the most useless of all God's creatures.

I am, SIR,  
Your constant reader, and  
obedient humble servant, C. S.

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*The advantages of Ancestry demonstrated.*

**A**NCESTRY, however now slighted by some, and industriously decried by others, has been in all preceding times esteemed and revered. But in this refined and innovating age, when it is the mode to profess a licentiousness of sentiment, even in the most sacred and important concerns; it is not so much to be wondered at, that there are not wanting a set of men, who, from a levelling disposition, speak evil of dignities and distinctions, and have in particular

aimed at extirpating the difference heretofore paid to birth.—Genealogies, or, as they more sneeringly phrase it, Pedigree, they have earnestly endeavoured to abolish, by ridicule; a few leading men of this cast have not failed to make a number of proselytes, not so much from their arguments, as from the humour of the present century, in exploding every thing, from which our predecessors derived any innate satisfaction or enjoyment, as superstitious, antiquated, or absurd, and from a fond but far from generally true conceit, industriously propagated by their aforementioned preceptors, that every generation grows wiser and wiser. But the discountenancing ancestry is sure so far from a proof of our being wiser than formerly, that many must be of the opinion it is a direct proof of the contrary. For is there any one benefit it will be productive of? will it either tend to reform the vices of the present, or any future generation? will it augment the few virtues extant among us? will it extirpate volupturnousness and effeminacy, or restore the hospitality and martial bravery, for which we were anciently so renowned? No; it is certainly highly consistent with the policy of every government and state, to inculcate and countenance family honour. 'Tis essential to the preserving that scale of gradation, requisite in every well ordered political body; for if all distinction and degree be dissolved, government can never long exist; and it is somewhat to be doubted, when once a levelling spirit prevails, if the unequal distribution of fortune alone will be sufficient to keep the multitude in subordination. Nothing will more

pro-

promote a spirit of emulation, than the countenancing family repute; it was in a considerable degree this that heightened the valour of the ancient English. — They well knew that the estimation of merit was not confined to the short period of their own lives, but that their good or evil actions would transmit some degree of honour or infamy to their descendants. —

'Twas then family vied with family, which should produce the greatest number of heroes and other worthies. — This was their incentive to magnanimity, hospitality, and many other virtues they possessed. This thirst after family renown, it was, together with the reflection on the example of their ancestors, that animated them in the bitterest conflicts, and occasioned them to meet death rather with transport than reluctance. The histories of many noble families, both extant and extinct among us, will sufficiently verify this assertion, such as Piercy, Howard, Vere, Neville, &c. &c. — And there is no truth more obvious, than that if men will not act greatly for the enhancing of their family honour, to which they have so close an affinity, they seldom will for the good of their country; for the more diffused their connections become, in general, the less interested will they think themselves, and consequently the less tenacious will they be of the public welfare. — Thus, when it shall no longer be accounted of any consideration to be born of ancestors, who have eminently distinguished themselves by any worthy acts of public utility; but the man of yesterday, by the possession of opulence, however oppressively or fraudulently acquired, shall be held in equal reverence

and repute; emulation will inevitably subside, and the desire of fame, which has been the source of so many meritorious achievements, will in a manner be extinguished; for every one will then live uninfluenced by the conduct of his progenitors, and equally unawed by any odium infamous actions might deservedly leave upon record.

But if the Almighty (as we are told in the Decalogue) visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation, and on the contrary, shews mercy and favour to the issue of the virtuous; why are not the descendants of the one, and of the other, to be duly distinguished among men? Birth, on the one hand, is not to be too highly and immoderately esteemed; we should consider that the most illustrious families, could they be traced to their origin, were at first obscure, and not distinguished from the common race of mortals; and that, however mortifying it may be, many of the greatest families that ever existed, after gradually rising from obscurity, to the greatest eminence, wealth, and power, and after having been conspicuous a few centuries, have again as progressively dwindled into extinction. Many such there were, the names of which alone only now remain, which all persons conversant in the history and antiquities of Europe must allow. And how many thousand families of a second class, have there been, who after furnishing for 5, 6, 7, or 800 years, a long succession of knights and gentlemen, have after such various periods of time (and often a much less) draught into oblivion, either by  
a total



a total cessation of descendants, by the alienation of their estates (thru' prodigality, profusion, and excess) or by some other human contingency. — Empires and kingdoms have hitherto had an origin, meridian, and period to their glory and continuance; and shall families, which are only so many limbs of states and governments, expect to have a more protracted duration? No; there seems to be nothing human designed for us to pride ourselves too highly upon; those therefore only delude themselves, who, instead of an humble and due deportment, assume haughtiness and arrogance.

As to the influence of blood, or the qualities inherent from descent, though they are not to be insisted upon as infallible, yet they are not to be treated as wholly chimerical by any candid or rational person. The advocates of this say, it is so very apparent, even in animals, that they wonder any one will dispute it: and many are the arguments made use of, which are admitted or disputed, as they tally with the principles or prejudices of the persons contending; but that which seems at once to surmount every objection that can be made is, that we seldom fail to see the infirmities and maladies of human nature entailed on posterity. Madness, chronical diseases, violent and inordinate passions, and the various evils of intemperance, are usually transmitted from the parent to his offspring; why then may we not from hence presume to infer, that many valuable and amiable endowments are as often derived from birth? An inherent generosity and benevolence have been the distinguishing characteristics of some fa-

milies, and various other virtues of others. Children often more resemble their parents by a parity of manners and conduct, than in the external similitude of their persons. This has been observed in orphans and posthumous issue, where neither paternal example nor precept could have been the immediate cause of it. Certain it is, that as there are no general rules without exceptions, so there are many men, who, without the advantages of birth, are possessed of the most valuable qualifications; and, on the contrary, that there are many of a distinguished rank of the most profligate and odious dispositions; but these last are of an unthinking inconsiderate kind, who by being immersed in a continual succession of sensual gratifications, never suffer themselves to reflect at all, or trouble themselves about those which have gone before, or shall come after them.

But where persons have been observed to be filled with a just and due veneration of the virtues of their predecessors, I believe they have seldom been known very glaringly to deviate therefrom, but to imitate, if not improve upon them, has been a plan they have continually kept in view; nay, I am persuaded, that, next to religion, nothing has so strongly actuated thinking men, nor indeed produced so many good and brave men, as their being inspired with a desire of keeping up to the examples of their forefathers.

Such a spirit, therefore (however visionary its basis) it is nationally requisite, should be cherished, particularly amongst a military people. Our neighbours the French and Germans seem more thorough-

ly convinced of this; we find this ancestral enthusiasm breathing through all their noblesse. And many are of the opinion, it would be more consonant to the epithet our modern lacubratists assume, of being publicly beneficial, if they were properly to inculcate and enforce it, instead of advancing any thing derogatory thereto.

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*On imprisonment for debt.*

[From the Idler.]

**W**E often look with indifference on the successive parts of that, which, if the whole were seen together, would shake us with emotion. A debtor is dragged to prison, pitied for a moment, and then forgotten; another follows him, and is lost alike in the caverns of oblivion: but when the whole mass of calamity rises up at once, when twenty thousand reasonable beings are heard all groaning in unnecessary misery, not by the infirmity of nature, but the mistake or negligence of policy, who can forbear to pity and lament, to wonder and abhor?

There is no need of declamatory vehemence; we live in an age of commerce and computation; let us, therefore, coolly enquire what is the sum of evil which the imprisonment of debtors brings upon our country.

It seems to be the opinion of the later computists, that the inhabitants of England do not exceed six millions, of which twenty thousand is the three hundredth part. What shall we say of the humanity or the wisdom of a nation, that voluntarily sacrifices one in every three hundred to lingering destruction?

The misfortunes of an individual

do not extend their influence to many; yet, if we consider the relations and effects of consanguinity and friendship, and the general reciprocation of wants and benefits, which make one man dear or necessary to another, it may reasonably be supposed, that every man languishing in prison gives trouble of some kind to two others, who love or need him. By this multiplication of misery we see distress extended to the hundredth part of the whole society.

If we estimate at a shilling a day what is lost by the inaction, and consumed in the support of each man thus chained down to involuntary idleness, the public loss will rise in one year to three hundred thousand pounds; in ten years to more than a sixth part of our circulating coin.

I am afraid that those who are best acquainted with the state of our prisons, will confess that my conjecture is too near the truth, when I suppose that the corrosion of resentment, the heaviness of sorrow, the corruption of confined air, the want of exercise, and sometimes of food, the contagion of diseases from which there is no retreat, and the severity of tyrants against whom there can be no resistance, and all the complicated horrors of a prison, put an end every year to the life of one in four of those that are shut up from the common comforts of human life.

Thus perish yearly five thousand men, overborne with sorrow, consumed by famine, or putrified by filth; many of them in the most vigorous and useful part of life: for the thoughtless and imprudent are commonly young, and the active and busy are seldom old.

According to the rule generally

received, which supposes that one in thirty dies yearly, the race of man may be said to be renewed at the end of thirty years. Who would have believed till now, that of every English generation, an hundred and fifty thousand perish in our goals! That in every century, a nation eminent for science, studious of commerce, ambitious of empire, should willingly lose, in noisome dungeons, five hundred thousand of its inhabitants: a greater number than has ever been destroyed in the same time by the pestilence and sword!

A very late occurrence may shew us the value of the number which we thus condemn to be useless: in the re-establishment of the trained-bands, thirty thousand are considered as a force sufficient against all exigencies: while, therefore, we detain twenty thousand in prison, we shut up in darkness and uselessness two thirds of an army, which ourselves judge equal to the defence of our country.

The monastic institutions have been often blamed, as tending to retard the increase of mankind. And perhaps retirement ought rarely to be permitted, except to those whose employment is consistent with abstraction, and who, though solitary, will not be idle; to those whom infirmity makes useless to others, or to those who have paid their due proportion to society, and who, having lived for others, may be honourably dismissed to live for themselves. But whatever be the evil, or the folly of these retreats, those have no right to censure them whose prisons contain a greater number than the monasteries of other countries. It is, surely, less foolish and less criminal to permit inaction than compel it, to comply

with doubtful opinions of happiness, than condemn to certain and apparent misery; to indulge the extravagancies of erroneous piety, than to multiply and enforce temptations to wickedness.

The misery of goals is not half their evil, they are filled with every corruption which poverty and wickedness can generate between them; with all the shameless and profligate enormities that can be produced by the impudence of ignominy, the rage of want, and the malignity of despair. In a prison the awe of the public eye is lost, and the power of the law is spent; there are few fears, there are no blushes. The lewd inflame the lewd, the audacious harden the audacious. Every one fortifies himself as he can against his own sensibility, endeavours to practise on others, the arts which are practised on himself, and gains the kindness of his associates by similitude of manners.

Thus some sink amidst their misery, and others survive only to propagate villainy. It may be hoped that our lawgivers will some time take away from us this power of starving and depraving one another. But, if there be any reason why this inveterate evil should not be removed in this age, which true policy has enlightened beyond any former time, let those, whose writings form the opinions and the modes of their contemporaries, endeavour to transfer the infamy of such imprisonment from the debtor to the creditor, till universal infamy shall pursue the wretch, whose wantonness of power, or revenge of disappointment, condemns another to torture and to ruin, till he shall be hunted through the world as an enemy to  
man,

man, and find in riches no shelter from contempt.

Surely, he whose debtor perished in prison, tho' he may acquit himself of deliberate murder, must at least have his mind clouded with discontent, when he considers how much another has suffered from him; when he thinks on the wife bewailing her husband, or the children begging the bread which the father would have earned. If there are any made so obdurate, by avarice or cruelty, as to revolve these consequences without dread or pity, I must leave them to be awakened by some other power, for I write only to human beings.

To the above, we shall subjoin some very pertinent reflections on the same subject, of one of the authors of the Critical Review.

"It is but too common a saying with creditors, where they expect no benefit or interest from throwing their unhappy fellow-creatures into a goal, that they do it by way of punishment, and that they will at least have that satisfaction." In too many cases they have indeed a right to be exasperated, at some particular circumstances that may have attended the incurrence of the debt, on the part of the debtors. But the law, which never attends to the vindictiveness of private parties, beyond what is necessary for the good of society, might surely interpose, without injustice to them, and oftener to their advantage, to limit the extent and duration of that punishment, which, as things stand, is now arbitrarily left to the creditors, who, blinded themselves by resentment, not seldom the greater in proportion to its injustice, will suffer their debtors to languish out their lives in a goal, whilst every day's

confinement lessens the prospect of their payment, by increasing their disability. And what is worse is, that this rigour of the law generally falls on the most innocent, and the most deserving of commiseration: whilst the unfair debtor, those who have meditated their fraud, are always those who are the least liable to the sufferings the others undergo, in a greater degree for want of having deserved them.

A fraudulent debtor, who is in course prepared for an arrest by his justly incensed creditor, commonly takes his measures so well, that when the circumstance of confinement falls upon him, he has already secreted wherewithal to make his imprisonment easy to himself, and to nose his creditors with his riot at their expence, whilst he looks on himself as in some sort acquitted to them, by the satisfaction the loss of his liberty is supposed to give them. If the sense of that loss has sometimes engaged some such debtors (and they are the less apt to be engaged to it, from their anticipation of that case) to pay their debts, in whole or in part, according as they might be able; by much the greater number, having already lost their reputation, even by the manner in which it becomes known their debts were contracted; to say nothing of their being exposed by the bare arrest, or circumstance of being carried to a goal, reserve what they have got by their unfair dealings, to sweeten the horrors of one, and to secure a support, at least for some time, without thinking themselves obliged to consult the interest of those creditors especially who shall not have spared them, and whose sufferings they look on as compensated in some measure by their own.

Whereas,

Whereas, was the law, which with so much propriety and justice grants to the injured creditors the attachment and imprisonment of their persons, to compel from them a most exact and rigorous account of what they should have at that time in possession, to be immediately secured for the benefit of the creditors; with such reparation and farther security to them; as the nature of the debtor's circumstances should admit; how many creditors would have reason to bless such a disposition? And the same law determining the duration of a debtor's imprisonment, according to the dictates of reason and humanity, after his making all the satisfaction in his power, (and what more ought to be required?) would not only favour the creditor's greatest interest, but restore to the uses of civil life, numbers of debtors, reformed, if susceptible of reformation, by such a reasonable temporary punishment, and, at the worst, rendered by the loss of credit, more incapable of hurting others; whom such a circumstance must naturally put on their guard.

But, if even the case of fraudulent or ill-designing debtors claims the emendation of the law for the sake of their creditors, how much more does that of only unfortunate ones deserve it for their own? And for the honour of human kind, it is to be hoped, they are infinitely the greater number of the two; and whom it would be consequently the greatest injustice, as well as cruelty, to sacrifice to any considerations of the other; even if those considerations did not favour the creditors themselves, or that tenderness for liberty, which characterises our nation, did not so strongly recommend it.

*A letter from Bishop Atterbury to his son Obadiah; at Christ-Church, Oxon.*

Dear Obby;

I Thank you for your letter, because there are manifest signs in it of your endeavouring to excel yourself, and by consequence to please me. You have succeeded in both respects, and will always succeed; if you think it worth your while to consider what you write; and to whom, and let nothing, tho' of a trifling nature, pass through your pen negligently; get but the way of writing correctly and justly; time and use will teach you to write readily afterwards; not but that too much care might give a stiffness to your style, which ought, in all letters; by all means to be avoided. The turn of them should be natural and easy, for they are an image of private and familiar conversation. I mention this with respect to the four or five first lines of yours, which have an air of poetry, and do therefore naturally resolve themselves into blank verses: I send you your letter again, that you yourself may now make the same observation. But you took the hint of that thought from a poem, and it is no wonder, therefore, that you heightened the phrase a little, when you were expressing it: The rest is as it should be; and, particularly there is an air of duty and sincerity; that if it comes from your heart, is the most acceptable present you can make me. With these good qualities, an incorrect letter would please me, and without them the finest thoughts and language would make no lasting impression upon me: The great Being says, you know,—  
*My son, give me thy heart, implying that*

that without it, all other gifts signify nothing. Let me conjure you, therefore, never to say any thing, either in a letter, or common conversation, that you do not think, but always to let your mind and your words go together, on the most trivial occasions. Shelter not the least degree of insincerity under the notion of a compliment, which, as far as it deserves to be practised by a man of probity, is only the most civil and obliging way of saying what you really mean; and whoever employs it otherwise, throws away truth for breeding; I need not tell you how little his character gets by such an exchange.

I say not this as if I suspected that in any part of your letter you intended to write what was proper, without any regard to what was true; for I am resolved to believe that you were in earnest, from the beginning to the end of it, as much as I am when I tell you, that I am,

Your loving father, &c.

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*An Essay on Monosyllables.*

**W**HAT I have to offer on this subject may be called a vindication of our language, and of our best poets, who have authorised the use of monosyllable lines by frequent examples of them, not out of choice, but because they could not avoid them between the multitude of English monosyllables and the restraint of rhyme and measure. Pope, in his Essay on Criticism, exposes monosyllable verses that are rough; but there, and in his other poems, he is free enough in the use of those that are smooth, and so are Dryden, Waller, Prior, &c. The author of Love Elegies is an har-

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monious writer, and yet, in the very shortest of them, if I remember right, he has these monosyllable lines:

*She nurs'd my hopes, and taught me  
how to sue;*

*She is my saint, to her my pray'rs are  
made;*

*One tear of, her's is more than all thy  
pain.*

These three in a poem of thirty-two lines, exceed by accident the usual proportion of such lines, which are not above two or three in a hundred; and as for lines with but one word of more syllables than one, which are likewise blamed, you will generally meet with about five and twenty of them in every hundred: but to proceed; as far as the constant practice of our most celebrated poets can be of weight, monosyllable verses are justified; and to prove that they deserve to be so instead of being only excused, as slips and defects incident to the best writers, I shall admit what a certain author says, that verses ought to run like Ovid's, or walk like Virgil's, and not to stand stock still like Doctor Donne's. If therefore monosyllable lines, under proper management, can both walk and run when occasion requires them so to do, nothing better can be expected from polysyllables by those who are fondest of them; and this will always be the case where well vowelled words (as Dryden calls them) are chosen, and where there is a convenient mixture of liquids and short syllables; though long ones will serve the turn now and then, if they open upon one another, more or less, by beginning or ending with more vowels.

Thus in the first line of Dryden's translation of the Æneid:

F f

*Arms*

*Arms and the man I sing who forc'd  
by fate.*

Of ten syllables five are short, and more short ones would have been too many. The first foot is indeed a spondee, but the second is a pyrrich, and the three last are iambics. This verse, therefore, must of necessity run, whereas the second line of Milton's *Paradise lost*,

*Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal  
taste,*

moves very slowly, though it has one trisyllable, nor can it do otherwise, as it consists of long syllables, viz. five spondees, and the communication between the words is pretty much cut off, by their generally ending and beginning with consonants. The author of Cooper's Hill, speaking to the Thames, says, *O could I flow like thee, and make thy stream, &c.*

he has his wish, and flows like the Thames in monosyllables; and without doubt the prejudice against them is grounded upon the practice of our antiquated poets, who having little help from the Latin, deak frequently in Teuton monosyllables, and those generally rough; and hence arose the consequence *ab usu ad usum*, from rough monosyllables to monosyllables as such, tho' never so smooth, and from many that occur in our old English, to the very few that are required in the course of our modern versification upon any subject whatsoever; though were they many more, and not offensive to the ear, it is hard to say why they should be censured. Of the four following lines in Cooper's Hill,

*Like him in birth, thou should'st be  
like in fame,*

*As thine his fate, if mine had been  
his flame:*

*But whoso'er he was, nature de-  
sign'd,*

*First a brave place, and then as  
brave a mind,*

three are monosyllables, and full as smooth as the other, though indeed each of them takes up more room in paper, if that be an objection: and now we are upon Cooper's Hill, we shall find it has many more monosyllable lines, in proportion to its length, than any other good poem you shall meet with; but if, notwithstanding its character, its author should be thought not sufficiently modern, take the following couplet from the Hind and Panther.

*Good life be now my task, my doubts  
are done,*

*What more could fright my faith than  
three in one!*

And if these two monosyllable lines, succeeding each other, give you more disgust than any one of them would have done, they shall be turned into dissyllables, with a proper mixture of trisyllables, and monosyllables, merely for the sake of variety.

*Goodlife benowmy task, mydoubts  
aredone;*

*Whatmore could frightmyfaith than  
threesinone!*

Here your objection is entirely removed; you wanted polysyllables, and you have them; so that if the lines are not rough in all shapes (which would be another question) you are bound upon your own principle, to be pleased with them; and yet, pray, why so? as Dr. Trapp would have said; the syllables in this new form are the very same they were before, and follow one another in the same order, so that of necessity they must have the same effect upon the ear, which they had when they were all monosyllables. Suppose

pose a foreigner, acquainted with the measure of our poetry, but a stranger to our language; shew him the two foregoing lines, divided into five feet, and ask him his opinion of their harmony, he will have no other way to answer you but by consulting his ear, without enquiring how many syllables go to a word, or whether there are as many words as syllables. Again, take the most harmonious line consisting of polysyllables that you can think of, and it will be full as harmonious if you divide it into monosyllables, as a rough line of monosyllables will be equally rough when you have turned them into polysyllables; and I have dwelt the longer upon this argument, as I think it places the question in that point of light which amounts to a demonstration; and proves, with great submission, that the objection against monosyllable lines is quite imaginary, as it is grounded upon a distinction without a difference. The most galloping of all measures is an hexameter of dactyls, viz.

*Pulverulenta putrim sonitu quatit ungula campum;*

and you may compose such another when you please of English monosyllables, viz.

*While on a plain we trip it by a grove,*

*or a stream, or a green hill.*

Something like this occurs in the measure of some of our ballads when they gallop away in monosyllables:

*When young at the bar you first  
taught me to score,  
And bade me be free of my lips and  
no more.*

Upon the whole matter it seems to result pretty clearly, from what has been laid down, that monosyllables or polysyllables is not the question, but harmony or dissonance. No modern versificators can have occasion for monosyllable lines, except it be now and then, and when he has occasion, it is no hard matter for him to secure their harmony by the quantity, the sound, and the situation of his syllables, after which he will be in a fair way of carrying his point, by appealing from a man's prejudices to his ear.

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*An Indian tale, from the Idler.*

AS the English army was passing towards Quebec, along a soft savanna, between a mountain, and a lake, one of the petty chiefs of the inland regions stood upon a rock surrounded by his clan, and from behind the shelter of the bushes contemplated the art and regularity of European war. It was evening; the tents were pitched. He observed the security with which the troops rested in the night, and the order with which the march was renewed in the morning. He continued to pursue them with his eye till they could be seen no longer, and then stood for some time silent and pensive.

Then turning to his followers, "My children (said he) I have often heard that there was a time when our ancestors were absolute lords of the woods, the meadows,

F f 2

and



and the lakes, wherever the eye can reach or the foot can pass.

A new race of men entered our country from the great ocean: they inclosed themselves in habitations of stone, which our ancestors could neither enter by violence, nor destroy by fire: they issued from those fastnesses, sometimes covered like the armadillo with shells, from which the lance rebounded on the striker, and sometimes carried by mighty beasts, which had never been seen in our vales or forests, of such strength and swiftness that flight and opposition were vain alike. Those invaders ranged over the continent, slaughtering in their rage those that resisted, and those that submitted in their mirth. Of those that remained, some were buried in caverns, and condemned to dig metal for their masters; some were employed in tilling the ground, of which foreign tyrants devoured the produce; and when the sword and the mines have destroyed the natives, they supply their place with human beings of another colour, brought from some distant country to perish here under toil and torture.

Some there are, who boast their humanity, that content themselves to seize our chases and fisheries, who drive us from every tract of ground where fertility and pleasantness invite them to settle, and make no war upon us except when we intrude upon our own lands.

Others pretend to have purchased a right of residence and tyranny; but surely the insolence of such bargains is more offensive than the allowed and open dominion of force.

But the time perhaps is now approaching, when the pride of usur-

pation shall be crushed, and the cruelty of invasion shall be revenged. The sons of rapacity have now drawn upon each other, and referred their claims to the decision of war: let us look unconcernedly upon the slaughter, and remember that the death of every European delivers the country from a tyrant and a robber; for what is the claim of either nation, but the claim of the vulture to the leveret, and the tyger to the faun? Let them then continue to dispute their title to regions which they cannot people, to purchase by danger and blood the empty dignity of dominion over mountains which they will never climb, and rivers which they will never pass. Let us endeavour, in the mean time, to learn their discipline, and forge their weapons; and when they shall be weakened with mutual slaughter, let us rush down upon them, force their remains to take shelter in their ships, and reign once more in our native country."

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*On Biography, from the Idler.*

**B**iography is, of the various kinds of narrative writing, that which is most eagerly read, and most easily applied to the purposes of life.

In romances, when the field of possibility lies open to invention, the incidents may easily be made more numerous, the vicissitudes more sudden, and the events more wonderful; but from the time of life when fancy begins to be overruled by reason, and corrected by experience, the most artful tale raises little curiosity when it is known to be false; it may, perhaps, be

be sometimes read as a model of a plain or elegant stile, not for the sake of knowledge what it contains, but how it is written; or those that are weary of themselves may have recourse to it as a pleasing dream, of which, when they awake, they voluntarily dismiss the images from their minds.

The examples and events of history press, indeed, upon the mind with the weight of truth; but when they are repositied in the memory, they are oftener employed for shew than use, and rather diversify conversation than regulate life; few are engaged in such scenes as give them opportunities of growing wiser by the downfall of statesmen, or the defeat of generals. The stratagems of war, and the intrigues of courts, are read by far the greater part of mankind with the same indifference as the adventures of fabled heroes, or the revolution of a fairy region. Between falsehood and useless truth there is little difference; as gold which he cannot spend will make no man rich, so knowledge which he cannot apply will make no man wise.

The mischievous consequences of vice and folly, of irregular desires and predominant passions, are best discovered by those relations which are levelled with the general surface of life, which tell not how any man became great, but how he was made happy; not how he lost the favour of his prince, but how he became discontented with himself.

Those relations are therefore commonly of most value in which the writer tells his own story. He that recounts the life of another, commonly dwells most upon conspicuous events, lessens the famili-

arity of his tale to increase its dignity, shews his favourite at a distance, decorated and magnified like the ancient actors in their tragic dress, and endeavour to hide the man that he might produce a hero.

But if it be true which was said by a French prince, *that no man was a hero to the servants of his chamber*, it is equally true that every man is yet less a hero to himself. He that is most elevated above the crowd by the importance of his employments, or the reputation of his genius, feels himself affected by fame or business but as they influence his domestic life. The high and low, as they have the same faculties and the same senses, have no less similitude in their pains and pleasures. The sensations are the same in all, tho' produced by very different occasions. The prince feels the same pain when an invader seizes a province, as a farmer when a thief drives away his cow. Men thus equal in themselves, will appear equal in honest and impartial biography: and those whom fortune or nature place at the greatest distance may afford instruction to each other.

The writer of his own life has at least the first qualification of an historian, the knowledge of the truth; and tho' it may be plausibly objected, that his temptations to disguise it are equal to his opportunities of knowing it, yet I cannot but think that impartiality may be expected with equal confidence from him that relates the passages of his own life, as from him that delivers the transactions of another.

Certainty of knowledge not only excludes mistake, but fortifies veracity. What we collect by conjecture, and by conjecture only can

one man judge of another's motives or sentiments, is easily modified by fancy or by desire ; as objects, imperfectly discerned, take forms from the hope or fear of the beholder. But that which is fully known, cannot be falsified but with reluctance of understanding, and alarm of conscience ; of understanding the lover of truth, of conscience the centinel of virtue.

He that writes the life of another is either his friend or his enemy, and wishes either to exalt his praise, or aggravate his infamy ; to him many temptations to falsehood will occur in the disguise of passions, too specious to fear much resistance. Love of virtue will animate panegyric, and hatred of wickedness imbitter censure. The zeal of gratitude, the ardour of patriotism, fondness of an opinion, or fidelity to a party, may easily over-

power the vigilance of a mind habitually well disposed, and prevail over unassisted and unfriended veracity.

But he that speaks of himself has no motive to falshood or partiality except self-love, by which all have so often been betrayed, that all are upon the watch against its artifices. He that writes an apology for a single action, to confute an accusation, or recommend himself to favour, is indeed always to be suspected of favouring his own cause ; but he that sits down calmly and voluntarily to review his life for the admonition of posterity, or to amuse himself, and leaves his account unpublished, may be commonly presumed to tell truth, since falshood cannot appease his own mind, and fame will not be heard beneath the tomb.



## P O E T R Y.

## A S I M I L E.

CORINNA, in the country bred,  
 Harbour'd strange notions in her head;  
 Notions in town quite out of fashion;  
 Such as that love's a dangerous passion,  
 That virtue is the maiden's jewel,  
 And to be safe, she must be cruel.

Thus arm'd, she'd long secur'd her honour  
 From all assaults, yet made upon ~~upon~~ her;  
 Had scratch'd th' impetuous captain's hand,  
 Had torn the lawyer's gown and band,  
 And gold refus'd from knights and squires,  
 To bribe her to her own desires:  
 For, to say truth, she thought it hard,  
 To be of pleasures thus debarr'd,  
 She saw by others freely tasted,  
 So pouted, pin'd, grew pale, and wasted:  
 Yet, notwithstanding her condition,  
 Continued firm in opposition.

At length a troop of horse came down,  
 And quarter'd in a neighb'ring town;  
 The cornet he was tall and young,  
 And had a most bewitching tongue.  
 They saw and lik'd: the siege begun:  
 Each hour he some advantage won.  
 He ogled first;—she turn'd away;—  
 But met his eyes the following day:  
 Then her reluctant hand he seizes,  
 That soon she gives him, when he pleases;  
 Her ruby lips he next attacks:  
 She struggles;—in a while she smacks:  
 Her snowy breast he then invades;—  
 That yields, too, after some parades:  
 And of that fortress once possess'd,  
 He quickly masters all the rest.  
*No longer now a dupe to fame,  
 She smother's or resists her flame,  
 But loves without, or fear, or shame.*

So have I seen the Tory race  
 Long in the pouts, for want of place;

Never in humour, never well,  
 Wishing for what they dar'd not tell ;  
 Their heads with country notions fraught,  
 Notions in town not worth a groat ;  
 These tenets all reluctant quit,  
 And step by step at last submit  
*To Reason, Eloquence, and P\_\_\_\_\_t.*

At first to Hanover a *plum*

Was sent ;——They said——a trivial sum ;  
 But if he went one tittle further,  
 They vow'd and swore, they'd cry out murder ;  
 Ere long a larger sum is wanted ;  
 They pish'd and frown'd—but still they granted ;  
 He push'd for more and more agen——  
 Well——money's better sent than men :  
 Here virtue made another stand ——  
 No——not a man shall leave the land.  
 What ? not one regiment to Embden ?  
 They start—but now they're fairly hem'd in :  
 These soon, and many more are sent ;——  
 They're silent——silence gives consent.  
 Our troops they now can plainly see,  
 May Britain guard in Germany ;  
 The Hanoverians, Hessians, Prussians,  
 Are paid to oppose the French and Russians ;  
 Nor scruple they with truth to say,  
 They are fighting for America :  
 No more they make a fiddle-faddle  
 About a Hessian horse or saddle ;  
 No more of continental measures,  
 No more of wasting British treasures :  
 Ten millions, and a vote of credit.——  
 'Tis night —— he can't be wrong who did it :  
 They're fairly fous'd o'er head and ears,  
 And cur'd of all their rustic fears.

### D O L L C O M M O N.

*A fragment, in answer to the foregoing.*

• • • • •  
 • • • • •

So, lost to sense of shame and duty,  
 Doll came to town to sell her beauty :  
 Cælia her friend, with heart-felt pain,  
 Had preach'd up virtue's lore in vain :  
 In vain she try'd each winning art ;  
 For Doll had lewdness in her heart.

Thus

Thus bent to be a fordid whore,  
 She knock'd at Prostitution's door :  
 \* \* \* arofe and let her in,  
 And stroak'd her cheek, and chuck'd her chin ;  
 While far from whimpers, sobs, or weeping,  
 Doll curt'fied, and was soon in keeping :  
 Now in Hyde-Park she flaunts by day,  
 At night she flutters at the play.  
 This keeper, and a second dy'd ;  
 Now Doll is humbled in her pride.  
 At length she comes upon the town ;  
 First palms a guinea ; then a crown ;  
 Nay, slander fays, that underhand,  
 The forlorn wretch did walk the Strand ;  
 'Till grown the scorn of man and woman,  
 A pot of beer would buy Doll Common.

Mean time, deep fmit with honeft flame,  
 Cælia espous'd a youth of fame.  
 From the chafte bed fair iffue sprung ;  
 With peals of joy the country rung.  
 Again the matron pregnant grown,  
 Now haftens to lye-in in town.

There, near the Park, Doll Common found her,  
 (Her little family around her)

Then Doll began——“ So modest mifs !

“ Is all your prudery come to this ?

“ Why, but your apron's round, I fee,

“ You're e'en a strumpet rank, like me :

“ *Quite cur'd of all your ruffic fears,*

“ *And fairly fous'd o'er bead and ears.*

“ Coy fimp'ring maids I find can fin :

“ For shame, your belly's at your chin :

“ In fpite of all your virtuous lore,

“ You're now become an arrant whore.”

Fair Cælia's cheek a blufh o'erfpread ;

And thus, with calm difdain, fhe faid :

“ That love poffeffes me, 'tis true ;

“ Yet, heav'n be prais'd ! I am not you :

“ *My head's with country notions fraught,*

“ *Notions (to you) not worth a groat.*

“ Aided by ev'ry virtuous art,

“ A generous youth has won my heart.

“ Yet never did I yield my charms,

“ 'Till honour led me to his arms.

“ My charms I never bafely fold ;

“ I am no prostitute for gold ;

“ On my own rents I liv'd before,

“ Nor has my William added more.

“ Wealth

" Wealth is our scorn ; our humble labours  
 " Aim but to *serve* or *save* our neighbours.  
 " See—— heav'n has blest our chaste embrace ;  
 " Behold this little smiling race,  
 " The offspring of an honest bed ;——  
 " Here, Senegal, hold up your head :  
 " This tawny boy, his parents' boast,  
 " Shall us bring us gold from Afric's coast.  
 " And mark these twins, of Indian mien ;  
 " This Louisbourg, and that Du Quesne :  
 " Their bold and honest looks presage,  
 " They'll be our comfort in old age.  
 " And if the child that swells my womb,  
 " To a propitious birth shall come,  
 " O'erjoy'd I'll bless the happy day,  
 " And call our child America."

Thus Cælia spake with modest grace ;  
 But rage deform'd the harlot's face :  
 Her fiery eyes began to roll,  
 A hag in look, a fiend in soul :  
 And now she vomits forth the din  
 Of oyster wenches drunk with gin.  
 Nay, rumour scruples not to tell ye,  
 The strumpet kick'd the matron's belly ;  
 Of the fair coming birth afraid :  
 For black *abortion* was her trade.

*The S I M I L E answered.*

CORINNA, in a maiden state,  
 You liken to a Tory :  
 She jealous of her virgin fame ;  
 He of his country's glory.

Corinna, when debauch'd, you hint,  
 By some false flattering prig,  
 Becomes a prostitute as vile  
 As any fawning Whig.

Granted your principles are fair ;  
 Not so your fly conclusion :  
 The SIMILE is faintly drawn,  
 Nor just is the allusion.

Expunge Corinna's name, and place  
 Britannia's full in view,  
 Each lively stroke your wit pursues,  
 Is apt, and strictly true.

Britannia

Britannia lost her virgin pride,  
Her faith and former plight,  
By Hogan-Mogan, wiles debauch'd,  
And plunder'd of her right.

He \* stript her first, and every ill  
Of dire Pandora's box,  
Transfus'd throughout her tender frame,  
And left her in a pox.

High German Doctors now were call'd,  
To prop her constitution :  
But what the foreign quacks prescrib'd,  
Increas'd the first pollution.

A group of home-bred coblers next,  
(The vilest scum on earth !)  
Bled, purg'd, and grip'd the wretched dame,  
And tokens brought of death.

At length a Patriot Doctor came,  
Scorning reward or fee ;  
Who aided by Britannia's friends,  
From ruin set her free.

He eas'd her pains, restor'd her health,  
No more her spirits fret ;  
No *running evil* now she feels,  
But *running* more in *debts*.

This symptom too in proper time  
He will subdue, no doubt,  
For skilful *doctors* ne'er *astrange*,  
'Till all the *venom's* out.

*Some STANZA's, addressed to no Minister nor Great Man:*

W I T H all thy titles, all thy large estate,  
And all the favours which a king can grant,  
Something is wanting still to make thee great,  
And still that something thou wilt ever want.

For, is it greatness at a sumptuous board  
To feast a country, and to hear thy name  
'Mid noisy revels riotously roar'd,  
When longer than the banquet lasts not fame ?

Or, is it greatness, in the pomp of pow'r,  
Each morn a crowd obsequious to collect,  
Pleas'd to accept th' obeisance of an hour,  
When with the levee endeth all respect ?

\* Some read " clapt."

He



He who is great some nobler purpose shews,  
Nor feasts nor levees his attention claim :  
That which is fit and right he first pursues,  
And after finds it justify'd by fame.

What tho' a fawning academic train  
(O shame to learning !) on thy footsteps wait,  
Tho' flatt'ring muses, in a courtly strain,  
Salute thee pillar of the *British* state :

Yet in fair history's impartial page,  
Penn'd not in flatt'ring nor invective strain,  
Truth will report thee to the future age  
No statesman, but a courtier light and vain.

For, hath *thy* civil prudence well upheld  
The state 'gainst foreign and domestic foe ?  
Was fierce rebellion by *thy* counsel quell'd ?  
By *thee* averted *Gallia's* threaten'd blow ?

Where was *thy* foresight when the *Gaul* prepar'd  
To seize the provinces of *Albion's* realm ?  
That foul disgrace with thee tho' *others* shar'd,  
Yet seiz'd they were when *thou* wert at the helm.

And tho' once more *Britannia* lifts her head,  
By pow'rful nations sees herself rever'd,  
And hails her valiant sons, by glory led,  
T' assault that realm whence late assault she fear'd :

Yet from their deeds no honour *thou* can'st gain,  
Tho' victory's laurels should their brows intwine :  
For when did'st *thou* these arduous toils maintain ?  
Or, of their bold exploits, which plan was *thine* ?

Did'st *thou* secure the harvest of the land  
Amid invasion's threat and war's alarm ?  
When martial weapons fill'd the reaper's hand,  
Was it *thy* voice exhorted him to arm ?

Have fleets and armies by *thy* orders mov'd  
To distant lands and oceans far remote ?  
And, when success those orders hath approv'd,  
Do crowds *thy* wisdom and *thy* spirit note ?

Yet in the triumph *thou* assum'st a share,  
Bustling, important, full of giddy zeal ;  
And vainly sitt'st, with ministerial air,  
A fly of state on glory's chariot-wheel.

STANZAS *addressed to a Great Minister and Great Man.*

WITH titles, honours and a large estate,  
 And all a favour'd subject can possess,  
 Can aught be wanting still to make thee great,  
 Or can envenom'd slander make thee less ?  
 For sure 'tis greatness, nobly to disdain  
 The high rewards that wait the statesman's toils,  
 And rather, with unsparing hand, to drain  
 The private wealth, than share the public spoils.  
 And sure 'tis greatness, to the muse's choir  
 Thy fostering care and bounty to extend,  
 With royal smiles her grateful train to fire,  
 And *Attic* grace with *Spartan* morals blend.  
 Who, such a length of years, 'midst party rage  
 And veering patriots, with deserv'd applause,  
 In place, in pow'r, has shone, from youth to age,  
 True to his King and to his country's cause ?  
 On whose firm credit, ere the terms were known,  
 Have *Britain's* wealthy sons so oft rely'd,  
 In whom such boundless confidence been shewn,  
 Or on whose word such millions been supply'd ?  
 Hence to thy toils each distant nation pays  
 That just reward which envy here denies ;  
 Hence, future annals shall record thy praise,  
 And lasting trophies to thy honour rise.  
 Who, when of old the public torrent ran  
 With boist'rous rage, polluted from its source,  
 In early life, with care and cost began  
 To check, to turn, and regulate its course ?  
 Who, unapproach'd, has since for half an age,  
 In Freedom's cause such stedfast zeal approv'd ?  
 Who cou'd the esteem of Sire and Son engage,  
 By each entrusted, and by each belov'd ?  
 And tho' Detraction now these wreaths would tear,  
 And break those bands whence all our triumphs flow  
 Who plac'd our *Tully* in the consul's chair ?  
 To whose advice this statesman do we owe ?  
 Say, when *Hortensius* in the senate rose,  
 Who on his rival fix'd his sov'reign's choice ?  
 That well-weigh'd choice, deplor'd by *Britain's* foes,  
 And prais'd with transport by the public voice !

Still

Still may the world, *distinguish'd pair*, behold  
 What bliss your country to this union owes !  
 Still to the winds her conqu'ring flags unfold,  
 And pour her strength collected on her foes !  
 And oh ! in glory's radiance tho' the flies  
 Of envy float, on brisk but transient wing,  
 Their harmless rage regard with scornful eyes,  
 Nor heed their buzz, — you cannot fear their sting.

CRITO.

*An Ode to Mr. Pitt.*

O UR pray'rs unbrib'd, unpension'd, rise  
 For thee the fav'rite of the skies,  
 The guardian of the land :  
 For thee, defender of the laws,  
 The foremost in fair Freedom's cause,  
 The chief of Virtue's band.

Long may thy light thy country cheer !  
 Thou minister without a peer,  
 Long may thy wisdom warm !  
 For, like the spring thy genial ray  
 Improves the sun, adorns the day,  
 And guards us all from harm.

Behold the ox in safety feeds,  
 And Ceres scatters all her seeds,  
 And Plenty smiles around.  
 Each ship triumphant rides the main,  
 Bright Honour dreads black Slander's stain,  
 And dances glad the ground.

*Britannia* now for battle burns,  
 Behold her genius now returns,  
 Her foes dismay'd with fear ;  
 Her vengeance shall affright the brave,  
 Reduce the proud, and crush the slave,  
 If *Pitt* but points her spear.

Auspicious *Pitt* ! thy glory beams  
 On Mississippi's silver streams,  
 And Ohio's savage shores ;  
 It dazzles Afric's tawny race,  
 Inspires the noble, scares the base,  
 And ev'ry heart explores.

Now blest, and free, each *Briton* roves  
 Along his hills, or thro' his groves,  
 Nor fears the frowns of kings :  
 Enjoys himself (that bliss divine)  
 Or to the elm he joins the vine,  
 Or clears the bubbling springs.

Then social quaffs the chearful bowl,  
 While gratitude inflames his soul,  
 And *Pitt* employs his praise;  
 In solemn pomp he crowns his bust,  
 Amidst the great, the good, and just,  
 With laurels, palms, and bays.

Oh! be it thine at last to close  
 The scene of war, of Europe's woes,  
 And hush the world to rest:  
 Bid Peace advance with placid mien,  
 Proclaim her sports on ev'ry green,  
 And let each land be blest.

This is our pray'r, when cool we rise,  
 Ere morning blushes streak the skies,  
 Or Phœbus tips the dew:  
 This is our pray'r, when thee we toast,  
 Auspicious *Pitt*! as *Britain's* boast,  
 And ev'ning joys renew.

*Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day, Nov. 10, 1759,*

*By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; Poet Laureat.*

Strophe.

**B**egin the song.—Ye subject choirs,  
 The bard whom liberty inspires  
 Wakes into willing voice th' accordant lays.—  
 Say, shall we trace the hero's flame  
 From the first foist'ring gale of fame,  
 Which bade th' expanding bosom pant for praise?  
 Or hail the star whose orient beam  
 Shed influence on his natal hour,  
 What time the nymphs of *Leyna's* stream,  
 Emerging from their wat'ry bower,  
 Sung their soft carols thro' each osier shade,  
 And for the pregnant fair invok'd *Lucina's* aid?

Antistrophe.

No. Haste to *Scheld's* admiring wave,  
 Distinguish'd amidst thousands brave,  
 Where the young warrior flesh'd his eager sword:  
 While *Albion's* troops with rapture view'd  
 The ranks confus'd, the *Gaul* subdu'd,  
 And hail'd, prophetic hail'd, their future lord,

Waiting

Waiting the chief's maturer nod,  
 On his plum'd helmet vict'ry fate,  
 While suppliant nations round him bow'd,  
 And *Austria* trembled for her fate,  
 'Till, at his bidding slaughter swell'd the *Mayne*,  
 And half her blooming sons proud *Gallia* wept in vain.

## Epode.

But what are wreaths in battle won?  
 And what the tribute of amaze  
 Which man too oft mistaken pays  
 To the vain idol shrine of false renown?  
 The noblest wreath the monarch wears  
 Are those his virtuous rule demands,  
 Unstain'd by widows' or by orphans' tears,  
 And woven by his subjects' hands.  
 Comets may rise, and wonder mark their way  
 Above the bounds of nature's sober laws,  
 But 'tis th' all-cheering lamp of day,  
 The permanent, th' unerring cause,  
 By whom th' enliven'd world its course maintains,  
 By whom all nature smiles, and beauteous order reigns.

*Ode for the New Year 1759.*

*Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; Poet Laureat, and set by Dr.  
 BOYCE, master of his Majesty's band of musick.*

## Strophe.

**Y**E guardian powers, to whose command,  
 At nature's birth, th' Almighty mind  
 The delegated task assign'd  
 To watch o'er *Albion's* favour'd land,  
 What time your hosts with choral lay,  
 Emerging from its kindred deep,  
 Applausive hail'd each verdant steep,  
 And white rock, glittering to the new-born day!  
 Angelic bands where'er ye rove,  
 Whilst lock'd in sleep creation lies,  
 Whether to genial dews above  
 You melt the congregated skies,  
 Or teach the torrent streams below  
 To wake the verdure of the vale,  
 Or guide the varying winds that blow  
 To speed the coming or the parting sail,  
 Where'er you bend your roving flight,  
 Whilst now the ardent lord of light

Winds

Winds to the north his sliding sphere,  
Avert each ill, each bliss improve,  
And teach the minutes as they move  
To bless the op'ning year.

Antistrophe.

Already *Albion's* lifted spear  
And rolling thunders of the main,  
Which Justice' sacred laws maintain,  
Have taught the haughty *Gaul* to fear.  
On other earths, in other skies  
Beyond old Ocean's western bound,  
Tho' bleeds afresh th' eternal wound,  
Again *Britannia's* cross triumphant flies.  
To *British George*, the King of isles,  
The tribes that rove th' *Acadian* snows,  
Redeem'd from *Gallia's* polish'd wiles,  
Shall breathe their voluntary vows:  
Where nature guards her last retreat,  
And pleas'd *Africa* lingers still,  
While faith yet triumphs o'er deceit,  
And virtue reigns from ignorance of ill.  
Yet, angel-powers, tho' *Gallia* bend,  
Tho' Fame, with all her wreaths, attend  
On bleeding war's tremendous sway,  
The sons of Leisure still complain,  
And musing Science sighs in vain,  
For Peace is still away.

Epode.

Go, then, ye faithful guides  
Of her returning steps, *Angelic* band,  
Explore the sacred seats where Peace resides,  
And waves her olive wand.  
Bid her the wastes of war repair.  
— O southward seek the flying fair.  
For not on poor *Germania's* harra's'd plain,  
Nor where the *Vistula's* proud current swells,  
Nor on the borders of the frighted *Seine*,  
Nor in the depths of *Russia's* snows she dwells.  
Yet O, where'er, deserting freedom's isle,  
She gilds the slave's delusive toil,  
Whether on *Ebro's* banks she strays,  
Or sighing traces *Taio's* winding ways,  
Or soft *Aufonia's* shores her feet detain,  
O bring the wanderer back with glory in her train.

*To the Rev. Mr. HURD. An Elegy.*

**F**RRIEND of my youth, who, when the willing Muse  
Stream'd o'er my breast her warm poetic rays,  
Saw'st the fresh feeds their vital power diffuse,  
And fed'st them with the fostering dew of praise!

Whate'er the produce of th' unthrifty soil,  
The leaves, the flowers, the fruits, to thee belong :  
The labourer earns the wages of his toil ;  
Who form'd the poet, well may claim the song.

Yes, 'tis my pride to own, that taught by thee  
My conscious soul superior flights essay'd ;  
Learn'd from thy lore the poet's dignity,  
And spurn'd the hirelings of the rhyming trade:

Say, scenes of Science, say, thou haunted stream !  
(For oft my muse-led steps did'st thou behold)  
How on thy banks I rifled every theme,  
That fancy fabled in her age of gold.

How oft I cry'd, " O come, thou tragic queen !  
" March from thy Greece with firm majestic tread !  
" Such as when Athens saw thee fill her scene,  
" When Sophocles thy choral Graces led :

" Saw thy proud pall its purple length devolve,  
" Saw thee uplift the glitt'ring dagger high,  
" Ponder with fixed brow thy deep resolve  
" Prepar'd to strike, to triumph, and to die.

" Bring then to Britain's plain that choral throng,  
" Display thy buskin'd pomp, thy golden lyre,  
" Give her historic forms the soul of song,  
" And mingle Attic art with Shakespear's fire."

" Ah what, fond boy, dost thou presume to claim ?"  
The Muse replied. " Mistaken suppliant, know,  
" To light in Shakespear's breast the dazzling flame  
" Exhausted all Parnassus could bestow.

" True ; art remains ; and, if from his bright page  
" Thy mimic power one vivid beam can seize,  
" Proceed ; and in the best of tasks engage,  
" Which tends at once to profit, and to please."

She spake ; and Harewood's towers spontaneous rose ;  
Soft virgin warblings echo'd thro' the grove ;  
And fair Elfrida pour'd forth all her woes,  
The hapless pattern of connubial love.

More awful scenes old Mona next display'd ;  
 Her caverns gloom'd, her forests wav'd on high,  
 While flam'd within her consecrated shade  
 The Genius stern of British liberty.

And see, my Hurd ! to thee those scenes consign'd ;  
 O ! take and stamp them with thy honour'd name.  
 Around the page be friendship's chaplet twin'd ;  
 And if they find the road to honest fame,  
 Perchance the candour of some nobler age  
 May praise the bard, who bad gay folly bear  
 Her cheap applauses to the busy stage,  
 And leave him pensive Virtue's silent tear ;

Chose too to consecrate his favourite strain  
 To him, who grac'd by ev'ry liberal art,  
 That best might shine amid the learned train,  
 Yet more excell'd in morals, and in heart :

Whose equal mind could see vain fortune shower  
 Her flimzy favours on the fawning crew,  
 While in low Thurcastan's sequester'd bower  
 She fixt him distant from promotion's view :

Yet, shelter'd there by calm Contentment's wing ;  
 Pleas'd he could smile, and with sage Hooker's eye  
 " See from his mother earth God's blessings spring,  
 " And eat his bread in peace and privacy."

March 20, 1759.

W. MASON:

*An Ode to Miss L. ———. On the death of General Wolfe.*

**B** R I T O N S, the work of war is done !  
 Conquest is yours, the battle's won,  
 Loud triumphs rend the air :  
 Yet, tho' with martial pride elate,  
 Each heart bewails Wolfe's hapless fate,  
 Nor tastes its joy sincere.

Too well they knew his dauntless mind ;  
 They knew it open, unconfin'd,  
 Awake to glory's call :  
 The soldier heard this bold command ;  
 They saw him lead their foremost band ;  
 They saw their leader fall.

One common grief their hearts possess—  
 You, gentle maid, above the rest,  
 His fate untimely mourn ;  
 Who vow'd, if heav'n should spare his youth,  
 With love, with constancy, and truth,  
 To crown his wish'd return.



Yet weep no more, but nobly claim

A proud alliance with his fame,

And all his glory share :

His country's cause requir'd his aid ;

For victory to heav'n he pray'd,

And heaven hath heard his pray'r.

His wound was honest, on his breast ———

Lay me in peace, and let me rest,

Th' expiring hero cry'd :

The pitying fates his death delay,

'Till heaven for him declares the day ———

He heard, rejoic'd and dy'd:

*An Essay to an Epitaph on the truly great and justly lamented Major General Wolfe, who fell victoriously before Quebec, Sept. 12, 1759.*

**H**ERE rests from toil, in narrow bounds confin'd,

The human shell of a celestial mind ;

Who once, with splendor, fill'd a scene so large ;

And took the fate of empires in his charge.

A hero, with a patriot's zeal inspir'd ;

By public virtue, not by passion, fir'd.

A hero, disciplin'd in wisdom's school ;

In action ardent, in reflection cool.

In bloom of years, who gain'd a glorious name,

And reap'd, betimes, the harvest of his fame.

Before Quebec he charg'd the daring foe,

And, quick as lightning, struck the fatal blow :

By active valour made the day his own,

And liv'd to see the num'rous foe o'erthrown.

Crown'd by just vict'ry drew his latest breath:

As wont to smile on danger, smil'd on death :

And, having bravely for his country fought,

Dy'd nobly as he wish'd, and calmly as he ought.

The troops around him shar'd a glorious grief,

And while they gather'd laurels wept their chief:

Their chief! to whom the great Montcalm gave way ;

And fell to crown the honours of the day !

*On the Vicar of W——— d.*

**T**HE vicar's rich, his income clear,

Exceeds eight hundred pounds a year.

Yet weeping want goes by his door,

Or knocks unheard—the vicar's poor.

His daughter weds, her husband fails,

The rogue may beg, or bite his nails.

But shall the daughter starve ? unkind,  
 The match was not the vicar's mind ;  
 Besides she once has had her dow'r,  
 What can he more ? — the vicar's poor.  
 Tom graceless quits his band and gown,  
 To spend a winter once in town ;  
 The vicar saw the approaching curse,  
 And hard he strung his heart and purse ;  
 But Tom's resolves as fixt remain,  
 His heart and purse are strung in vain.  
 Slow then he told with trembling thumb  
 Five guineas ; death, a dreadful sum !  
 Tom saw the splendid pieces lie,  
 But saw them with a thankless eye :  
 What then, 'tis not sufficient, well,  
 Back go the guineas to their cell.  
 Unhappy Tom, whate'er thy lot,  
 A priest, a squire, a saint, or sot ;  
 A cit polite, or sage demure,  
 Or sink or swim — the vicar's poor.  
 While fairer than her mother's fair,  
 With sparkling eye, and golden hair,  
 Miss Betty still divine appears,  
 Nor feels the force of forty years ;  
 What pity such enchanting charms  
 Shou'd fill no generous lover's arms ;  
 Be doom'd to please some country boor,  
 It must be so — the vicar's poor.  
 To see the vicar once there came,  
 A friend of equal years and fame,  
 A brother parson, free and gay,  
 Who nothing grudg'd the tedious way.  
 He knock'd — admitted — down he sat,  
 And ancient deeds records in chat.  
 A pipe was call'd, he lov'd to smoke,  
 He spoke, and puff'd, and puff'd and spoke.  
 Two pipes were done, the thirsty vicar,  
 Who long had look'd in vain for liquor,  
 Impatient now, he whisper'd, John !  
 Bring out the horses, let's be gone !  
 With whip and hat, enrag'd he flew,  
 Nor bad his wretched friend adieu !  
 Yet none for this will blame him sure,  
 What cou'd he do ? — the vicar's poor.  
 The pulpit oft with black bespread,  
 To mourn some fool of fashion dead,  
 What won't he do to save his riches,  
 Supplies the vicar's coat and breeches.

But then to pay the taylor's pains,  
 And ev'ry little trifle drains ;  
 His wife supplies the taylor's art,  
 She measur'd just his nether part ;  
 A well known task, and next with stitches,  
 To work she falls and forms his breeches.  
 But buckram must be bought I fear !  
 Let 'scutchcons do for that my dear.  
 And can there be a greater farce,  
 Those coats of arms shall kiss your a — se.  
 Besides, my dear, you need not lock it,  
 When rampant lions guard your pocket.  
 Unhappy vicar and unhappy wife,  
 By endless riches doom'd to endless strife,  
 Content unknown, 'tis poverty they flee,  
 And are for ever what they dread to be.

*The following is the Prologue and Epilogue to the Adelpbi of Terence, which was acted this year by the young Gentlemen of Westminster College.*

#### PROLOGUS.

**C**UM patres populumque dolor communis haberet,  
 Fleret & Æmilium maxima Roma suum,  
 Funebres inter ludos, his dicitur ipsis  
 Scenis extinctum condecorâsse ducem.  
 Ecquis adest — scenam nocte hâc qui spectet eandem,  
 Nec luctum nobis sentiat esse pa rem ?  
 Utcunque arrisit pulchris victoria cæptis,  
 Qua sol extremas visit uterque plagas,  
 Successus etiam medio de fonte Britannis  
 Surgit amari aliquid, legitimusque dolor.  
 Si famæ generosa sitis, si bellica virtus,  
 Ingenium felix, intemerata fides.  
 Difficiles Laurus, ipsoque in flore juventæ,  
 Heu ! lethi nimium præcipitata dies ;  
 Si quid habent pulchrum hæc, vel si quid amabile, jure  
 Esto tua hæc, Wolfi, laus propriumque decus.  
 Nec moriere omnis — quin usque corona vigebit,  
 Unanimis Britonum quam tibi nescit amor.  
 Regia quin pietas marmor tibi nobile ponet,  
 Quod tua perpetuis prædicet acta notis.  
 Constat huc studio visendi Martia pubes,  
 Sentiet et flammâ corda calere pari ;  
 Dumque legit mediis cecidisse heroæ triumphis,  
 Dicet, sic detur vincere, sic moriar.

EPILOGUS. [*Syrus loquitur.*]

**Q**Uanta intus turba est! quanto molimine sudat  
 Accinctus cultro & forcipe quisque coquus!  
 Monstrum informe maris testudo in prandia fertur,  
 Quæ varia & simplex omnia sola sapit.  
 Pullina esca placet, vitulina, suilla, bovina?  
 Præsto est. Hæc quadrupes singula piscis habet.  
 De gente Æthiopum conducitur Archimagirus,  
 Qui secet & coquat & concoquat arte novâ.  
 Qui doctè contundat aromata, misceat aptè  
 Thus, apium, thyma, sal, cinnama, cepe, piper.  
 Qui jecur & pulmonem in frustra minutula scindat,  
 Curetque ut penitus sint saturata mero,  
 Multo ut ventriculus pulchrè flavescat ab ovo,  
 Ut tremulis circum viscera vernet adepes.  
 His rite instructis conchæ sint fercula, nam tu,  
 Testudo, & patinis sufficis atque cibo.  
 Quam cuperem in laudes utriusque excurrere conchæ!  
 —Sed vereor *Calepash* dicere vel *Calepee*.  
 Vos etiam ad cœnam mecum appellare juvaret,  
 Vellem & reliquias participare dapum,  
 At sunt convivæ tam multi tamque gulosi,  
 Restabit, metuo, nil nisi concha mihi.

*The Dying Rake's Soliloquy : altered and enlarged from the Universal Visitor,*  
*Numb. 3. p. 40. by Dr. Bartholomew.*

**I**N the fever of youth, ev'ry pulse in a flame,  
 Regardless of fortune, of health, and of fame;  
 Gay pleasure my aim, and profusion my pride,  
 No vice was untasted, no wish was deny'd.  
 Grown headstrong and haughty, capricious and vain,  
 Not decency aw'd me, nor laws could restrain;  
 The vigils of Comus and Venus I kept,  
 Tho' tired, not sated; in sunshine I slept:  
 All my appetites pall'd, I no pleasure enjoy'd,  
 Excess made 'em tasteless, their frequency cloy'd;  
 When my health and my fortune to riot gave way,  
 And my parts, and my vigour, felt total decay;  
 The doctors were sent for, who greedy of fees,  
 Engag'd that their skill should remove the disease;  
 With looks most important each symptom was weigh'd,  
 And the farce of prescription full gravely was play'd.

Reduc'd by their arts, and quite worn to a lath,  
 My carcase was sent to the vultures of Bath ;  
 When drench'd and well drain'd by the faculty there,  
 All the hope that remain'd was to try native air.  
 Scarce a drop in my purse, or a drop in my veins,  
 To my old mortgag'd house they convey'd my remains ;  
 No friend to assist, no relation to grieve,  
 And scarcely a bed my bare bones to receive ;  
 With solitude curs'd, and tormented with pain,  
 Distemper'd my body, distracted my brain.

Thus from folly to vice, and from vice to the grave,  
 I sink, of my passions the victim and slave.  
 No longer debauch, or companions deceive,  
 But alarm'd at the vengeance, I'd fain disbelieve ;  
 With horrors foreboding, desponding I lie,  
 Tho' tired of living, yet dreading to die.

*Mons. Brooks à son Lit.*

**T**HEATRE des ris et des pleurs :  
*Lit ! où je nais et où je meurs —*  
*Tu nos fais voir combien voisins*  
*Sont nos plaisirs et nos chagrins.*

### IMITATED.

**T**HOU bed ! in which I first began  
 To be that various creature, man ;  
 And, when again the fates decree,  
 The place where I must cease to be ;  
 When sickness comes, to whom I fly,  
 To sooth my pain, and close my eye :  
 When cares surround me, where I weep ;  
 Or lose them all in balmy sleep :  
 When sore with labour, whom I court,  
 And to thy downy breast resort ;  
 Where too ecstatic joys I find,  
 When deigns my Delia to be kind ;  
 And full of love, in all her charms -  
 Thou giv'st the fair one to my arms ;  
 The center thou ! where joy and pain,  
 Disease and rest alternate reign !  
 Instructive emblem of mankind,  
 In whom those opposites are join'd :  
 Oh ! if within thy little space  
 So many different scenes have place.

Lessons as useful shalt thou teach  
 As fages dictate, churchmen preach :  
 And man, convinc'd by thee alone,  
 This great important truth shall own,  
 That this partitions do divide  
 The bounds where good and ill reside ;  
 That nought is perfect here below,  
 But bliss still borders upon woe.

R. B.

*Ode to Health.*

**D**aughter of Exercise ! at whose command  
 Mirth spreads a smile upon the cheek of care :  
 At whose re-kindling breath  
 Sickness looks up and lives :  
 Say ! where (for much thy haunts I long to woo)  
 Shall I thy joy-infusing presence hail,  
 Amidst what sylvan scenes,  
 Or unfrequented plains ?  
 Say ! when the roseate finger of the Morn  
 Points out the glories of her short-liv'd reign,  
 Shall I thy steps pursue,  
 Climbing the mountain's side,  
 From whose tall brow, in eminence superb,  
 Fair Nature views her fruitful vales below,  
 While Phœbus darts around  
 His oriental eye ?  
 Or shall I trace thy vestige o'er the heath,  
 Where in derision of the florist's aid,  
 Shoots up, untaught by art,  
 The voluntary flow'r ?  
 For well 'tis known, that oft upon the heath,  
 In contemplation, devious art thou seen,  
 Or panting up the steep  
 Of un-imprinted hill.  
 Or, when cool Evening, in the floating vest  
 Sweeps o'er the lawns diffusing shadowy pomp,  
 And bids the sun recline  
 On Amphitrite's breast,  
 I will attend thee to the solemn grove,  
 Where love stands register'd on ev'ry tree,  
 Where the rook rocks his young,  
 And Echo learns to caw.  
 Or standing on the margin of the stream,  
 I will survey thee on the passive wave,  
 Then press the liquid bed  
 To meet thy Naiad kiss,

O tell

O tell me, nymph, thy chosen residence,  
 Be it on mountain top, or forest wild,  
 And I will consecrate  
 A temple to thee there.

J. COPYWELL.

*A Tankard of Porter.**Nunc est bibendum.*

HOR.

THE foaming cup replete with mad'ning juice  
 Of Gallic vines, to others' taste I leave.  
 Why should I sicken for exotic draughts,  
 Since with kind hand domestic Ceres gives  
 Potation more robust? — Replenish here —  
 Boy take this honest tankard — fill it high  
 With buxom porter, such as Hercules,  
 Was Hercules in being, would imbibe.  
 Behold its pyramid of tow'ring froth,  
 Brown as a nut, and sparkling on the sight;  
 Tho' some prefer it white as Alpine snow,  
 Or Cælia's milky orbs! encircled oft  
 Amidst my jovial intimates, to her,  
 Benignant goddess of the barley-mow,  
 Who ever guards, and swells the smiling ear,  
 Her own libation let me offer up  
 With thanks exulting, 'till I can no more.  
 'Tis this enlivens the *freethinker's* brain,  
 Great bulwark of the *Robinhood* debate!  
 By this he dares his florid argument,  
 And pours forth unpremeditated tropes.  
 How shall I speak its praise! this mental balm  
 To the desponding chairman, vig'rous nurse  
 Of spirits warlike, to the soldier's breast  
 Impenetrable steel, nerve of his nerves;  
 And comfort to the sailor in the storm!  
 Rouz'd from the lethargy of sleeping thought,  
 By *porter's* fluid, the mechanic prates  
 Of state connections, as at night he sits  
 With smoke envelop'd, over *Trueman's* mild.  
 Say! is it he, who pleads, for *British* freedom,  
 This little monarch in his potent cups!  
 Is't he, whose ample mind excursive roves  
 To where the *Prussian* hero leads his troops  
 Against united forces! this the man  
 Who plans an expedition, lays down rules  
 To settle politic concerns, and dares  
 With sage advice to dictate to a throne?

Grant

Grant it ! but 'tis the *porter's* manly juice  
 That animates his organs, gives his tongue  
 The liberty of speech, his hollow thought  
 Impregnates quick, and sets his brain on fire.  
 At rich Hortensio's table though thou'rt held  
 In estimation cheap, thy charms to me  
 Are not diminish'd ; for secure from ills,  
 I quaff thy salutif'rous stream, whilst he,  
 (Sad slave to appetite, that knows no bounds)  
 Drinks in each glass th' inflammatory gout,  
 " And thousand other ills that flesh is heir to."

Can dear-bought claret boast of services  
 With thine co-equal ? or can punch itself,  
 However temper'd, or with Wenman's rum,  
 Or Ashley's brandy, or Batavian 'rack,  
 High-priz'd, diffuse hilarity like thine !  
 Absurd—before the nodding barley-sheaf  
 The Gallic vine must bow, and Gallic butlers  
 To the stout British draymen must give way.  
 Now when the evening creeps with gradual step,  
 And wraps the day within her sable shroud ;  
 Come, *tankard*, to my hand, and with thee bring  
 The pipe, companion meet. Attended thus  
 My nectar will I quaff, and fill the room  
 With smoke voluminous, 'till Morpheus' wand  
 Slow-breaking thro' the cloud mine eye-lids close,  
 And fix me snoring in my elbow-chair.

J. COPYWELL.

*A Drinking Song, from a collection published at Berlin.*

**L** E T Euler go measure the fun,  
 His knowledge must truckle to mine,  
 I measure the size of my tun.

And I know it in bottles of wine.

Let Meyer chop logic for nought,  
 A syllogist is but an ass ;  
 While, without wasting a thought,  
 Can infer from the bottle the lass.

Let Haller mispend half his time,  
 O'er moss, weeds, and rubbish to pore ;  
 I only seek out for a rhyme,  
 As himself, wiser once, did before.

Let Bodmer his inference draw,  
 And stoutly with casuists fight ;  
 He might as well balance a straw,  
 He will never put folly to flight.

And



And to ages to come, tho' they cry,  
 ' Such men when again shall we see !'  
 While I am forgot—What care I—  
 What are ages to come, pray, to me ?

*On Happiness.*

**O** Happiness, where's thy resort ?  
 Amidst the splendor of a court ?  
 Or dost thou more delight to dwell  
 With humble hermit in his cell,  
 In search of truth ? or dost thou rove  
 Thro' Plato's academic grove ?  
 Or else with Epicurus gay,  
 Laugh at the farces mortals play ?  
 Or with the Graces dost thou lead  
 The sportive dance along the mead ?  
 Or in Bellona's bloody car,  
 Exult amidst the scenes of war ?  
 No more I'll search, no more I'll mind thee,  
 Fair fugitive :—I cannot find thee !

*The Sky-Lark. A song.*

*By WILLIAM SHENSTONE, Esq;*

**G**O, tuneful bird, that glad'st the skies,  
 To Daphne's window speed thy way ;  
 And there on quivering pinions rise,  
 And there thy vocal art display.  
 And if she deign thy notes to hear,  
 And if she praise thy matin song,  
 Tell her the sounds that sooth her ear,  
 To Damon's native plains belong.  
 Tell her, in livelier plumes array'd,  
 The bird from Indian groves may shine ;  
 But ask the lovely partial maid,  
 What are his notes compar'd to thine ?  
 Then bid her treat yon witless beau,  
 And all his flaunting race with scorn ;  
 And lend an ear to Damon's woe,  
 Who sings her praise, and sings forlorn,

## AN INSCRIPTION.

*Within this monument doth lie  
What's left of CÆLIA's gallantry.*

STRANGER, whoe'er thou art, bestow  
One sigh in tribute ere you go:  
But if thy breast did ever prove  
The rapture of successful love,  
Around her tomb the myrtle plant;  
And berry'd shrubs, which ring-doves haunt;  
The spreading cypress; and below  
Bid clumps of arbor vitæ grow;  
Th' uxorious plant that leans to find  
Some female neighbour of its kind.  
With beech to tell the plighted flame,  
And sylvan to conceal the shame;  
That ev'ry tree and ev'ry flow'r  
May join to form the am'rous bow'r;  
Wherein at close of summer's heat,  
The lovers of the green shall meet,  
While Cælia's shade propitious hears  
Their sanguine vows, their jealous fears;  
Well pleas'd to consecrate her grove  
To Venus, and the rites of love.

*To Dr. H——, upon his Petition of the Letter I to D—— G——, Esq;*

IF 'tis true, as you say, that I've injur'd a letter,  
I'll change my note soon, and I hope for the better;  
May the just right of *letters*, as well as of *men*,  
Hereafter be fix'd by the tongue and the pen;  
Most devoutly I wish that they both have their due,  
And that *I* may be never mistaken for *U*.

*The Beldames. A Poem.*

THE character which this author has satyriized, under the name of Beldame, he has thus described:

By no degree, no sex defin'd,  
Their virtues stamp the Beldame-kind.  
Who cringe and slander, sting and fawn,  
In rags, in lice, or fur, or lawn;  
Whether in perriwigs or pinner's,  
If Whitfield's saints, or Arthur's sinners;

If now the scold at Wapping flames,  
 Or flaunts a dutchess at St. James';  
 Alike, if they revile or flatter,  
 (Who lie in praise, will lie in satire)  
 All the foul sisterhood compose,  
 All those, and all resembling those.

The following extracts may serve as a specimen of this piece, in which, though there is not minute accuracy, there is truth, elegance and spirit.

As in the sun's meridian blaze  
 A cloud obscene of insects plays,  
 Or with invenom'd sting invades  
 The quiet of sequester'd shades;  
 Now swarms on filth, and now pollutes  
 The nectar of the fairest fruits:  
 So thro' each rank, thro' ev'ry stage,  
 Wantons the ceaseless Beldame's rage.  
 Sublimely wrapt in patriot heat,  
 Furious she shakes the monarch's seat;  
 Now stooping, spurns the lowly cell  
 Where calm content and concord dwell,  
 Well pleas'd degraded worth to see,  
 Or felons load the groaning tree.—  
 Behold the fiend all pallid stand,  
 A pencil trembling in her hand.  
 See malice mix the various dyes  
 Of fainter truths and bolder lies.  
 The deep'ning gloom thick spreads around,  
 And low'ring shades the dusky ground.  
 There sickness blights the cheek of health,  
 And begg'ry soils the robe of wealth.  
 Here, columns moulder in decay;  
 There, virtue sets with dubious ray.  
 Now heav'nly beauty fades, and now  
 The laurel droops on valour's brow.  
 Around the daemon throngs her race,  
 The weak, the busy, and the base;  
 Eager to copy, and disperse:  
 Hence stand'rous prose, and ribald verse;  
 The heaps that croud Suilla's board,  
 And swell wise Paulo's precious hoard.  
 There scandal all its store unloads,  
 Ballads, and epigrams, and odes.  
 Stern party whets her blunted knife,  
 And stabs the husband thro' the wife;  
 While notes historically sage  
 Fill the broad margin of each page;

Initials, dashes, well supply'd,  
 And all that fear or shame would hide;  
 Faithful record for future times,  
 To harden by their fathers' crimes. —  
 With liquid fire the goblet crown'd,  
 The livid tapers gleaming round,  
 While wisdom, valour, beauty, sleep,  
 The midnight hags their sabbath keep.  
 And recent from impure delights,  
 Fell Hecat' leads th' infernal rites.  
 O'er her wan cheek diffusely spread,  
 Fierce glares the bright vermilion's red.  
 The borrow'd hair in ringlets flows  
 Adown her neck of art-form'd snows;  
 While baleful drugs in vain renew  
 Departing beauty's faded hue.

Some spotless name their rage demands,  
 The name rebellowing thro' the bands;  
 Some holy sage of sainted life,  
 A virgin pure, a faithful wife.  
 And you, who dauntless dar'd to brave  
 The ruthless foe, and threat'ning wave,  
 Vainly you 'scap'd th' unequal fight;  
 Deep yawns the gulph of deadlier spight;  
 There plung'd—th' insatiate Beldames roar,  
 And the wide ruin gapes for more.



## An Account of Books published in 1759.

*The continuation of the life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England.*

A Work of Lord Clarendon appearing at this time, interests the learned world in the same manner as a fine antique statue dug up would the curious in arts and antiquities. We receive it with all the pleasure of novelty, and at the same time, with all the veneration we usually have for an established character. The history which we have before us, is not in general so correct in the language and disposition as the great work; it is indeed doubtful whether the noble author originally intended it should be published at all; for it is out of the general mass of this, as from the rude materials, that that history of the great rebellion is taken. Yet this work is by no means less entertaining than the other, as it enters yet more minutely and faithfully into the secret motives, the real springs and principles of action, of those who acted on the great stage; and as it describes the private life, and marks the progress of the private fortune of a virtuous man, and marks the equanimity and steadiness of his mind in the great revolution that fortune underwent, it may be of greater use to the generality of readers, than the more finished work. The style of this history is, like that of his works which have before appeared, full and flowing; but as it does

not seem to be adjusted to any critical rules, the periods are long winded, the sense sometimes embarrassed, and the construction frequently even ungrammatical. It is impossible not to observe sometimes an over minute attention to things, which nobody but a person who writes an account of *himself* could think of importance; indeed there is diffused through the whole work something of that character of vanity and self-partiality, that never fails to attend a writer of an history of his own life and times. However, it may be doubted whether these little imperfections, which shew us the man as well as the writer, do not make such books more entertaining, and soften down something of the severity of study. Few books have been more read, or pleased more, than Burnet's history; though along with very many other faults, it had this in a great degree. Montaigne pleases the good-humoured and companionable reader, in proportion as he offends the stern critics of Port-Royal. On the whole, with whatever faults it may have, this work must always have a distinguished rank. The narrative glows with the feeling of a man conversant and interested in the events he describes. The author was perfectly acquainted with the court, the nation, the laws, and human nature; and certainly no person at that time, had such opportunities of knowing the true state of public affairs, and of particular characters; these

these characters, which he has an admirable talent at drawing, abound in the work, and are often authenticated by well chosen and pleasing anecdotes. As we have given some of them in another article in our work, which may serve as a specimen of his happiness in that way, we shall content ourselves with an extract, which may give an idea of his style and manner on other occasions; and it is itself a passage curious enough; painting in very good colours a very important scene; and it shews in a strong light that odd mixture of human affairs, by which some disagreeable, tho' minute incidents, are sufficient to take off, in a great measure, the pure and sincere relish of the highest, and most unexpected good fortune.

“ It will be convenient here, before we descend to those particulars which had an influence upon the minds of men, to take a clear view of the temper and spirit of that time; of the nature and inclination of the army; of the disposition and interest of the several factions in religion, all which appeared in their several colours without dissembling their principles, and with equal confidence demanded the liberty of conscience they had enjoyed in and since the time of Cromwell; and the humour and the present purpose and design of the parliament itself, to whose judgment and determination the whole settlement of the kingdom both in church and state stood referred by the King's own declaration from Breda, which by God's inspiration had been the sole visible motive to that wonderful change that had ensued. And whosoever takes a prospect of all those several

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passions and appetites and interests, together with the divided affections, jealousies and animosities, of those who had been always looked upon as the King's party, which if united would in that conjuncture have been powerful enough to have balanced all the other: I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this composition of contradictory wishes and expectations, must confess that the King was not yet master of the kingdom, nor his authority and security such as the general noise and acclamations, the bells and the bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no conjuncture more need, that the virtue and wisdom and industry of a prince should be evident and made manifest in the preservation of his dignity, and in the application of his mind to the government of his affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him, should be men of unquestionable sincerity, who with industry and dexterity should first endeavour to compose the public disorders, and to provide for the peace and settlement of the kingdom, before they applied themselves to make or improve their own particular fortunes. And there is little question, but if this good method had been pursued, and the resolutions of that kind, which the King had seriously taken beyond the seas, when he first discerned his good fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the hearts and affections of all degrees of men were so prepared by their own natural inclinations and integrity, by what they had seen, and what they had suffered, by their observations and experience, by their

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fears or by their hopes; that they might have been all kneaded into a firm and constant obedience and resignation to the King's authority, and to a lasting establishment of monarchic power in all the just extents which the King could expect, or men of any public or honest affections could wish or submit to.

The first mortification the King met with was as soon as he arrived at Canterbury, which was within three hours after he landed at Dover; and where he found many of those who were justly looked upon, from their own sufferings or those of their fathers, and their constant adhering to the same principles, as of the King's party, who with joy waited to kiss his hand, and, were received by him with those open arms and flowing expressions of grace; calling all those by their names who were known to him, that they easily assured themselves of the accomplishment of all their desires from such a generous prince. And some of them, that they might not lose the first opportunity, forced him to give them present audience, in which they reckoned up the insupportable losses undergone by themselves or their fathers, and some services of their own; and thereupon demanded the present grant or promise of such, or such an office. Some, for the real small value of one, though of the first class, pressed for two or three with such confidence and importunity, and with such tedious discourses, that the King was extremely nauseated with their suits, though his modesty knew not how to break from them: that he no sooner got into his chamber, which for some

hours he was not able to do, that he lamented the condition to which he found he must be subject; and did in truth from that minute contract such a prejudice against the persons of some of those, though of the greatest quality, for the indecency and incongruity of their pretences, that he never afterwards received their addresses with his usual grace or patience, and rarely granted any thing they desired, though the matter was more reasonable, and the manner of asking much more modest.

But there was another mortification which immediately succeeded this, that gave him much more trouble, and in which he knew not how to comport himself. The general, after he had given all necessary orders to his troops, and sent a short dispatch to the parliament of the King's being come to Canterbury, and of his purpose to stay there two days till the next Sunday was past, he came to the King in his chamber, and in a short secret audience, and without any preamble or apology, as he was not a man of a graceful elocution, he told him, "that he could not do him better service, than by recommending to him such persons, who were most grateful to the people, and in respect of their parts and interests were best able to serve him:" And thereupon gave him a large paper full of names, which the King in disorder enough received, and without reading it put it into his pocket that he might not enter into any particular debate upon the persons, and told him, "that he would be always ready to receive his advice, and willing to gratify him in any thing he should desire, and which should not be pre-

prejudicial to his service." The King, as soon as he could, took an opportunity, when there remained no more in his chamber, to inform the chancellor of the first assaults he had encountered as soon as he alighted out of his coach, and afterwards of what the general had said to him; and thereupon took the paper out of his pocket and read it. It contained the names of at least threescore and ten persons, who were thought fittest to be made privy counsellors; in the whole number whereof, there were only two, who had ever served the King, or been looked upon as zealously affected to his service, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earl of Southampton, who were both of so universal reputation and interest, and so well known to have the very particular esteem of the King, that they needed no such recommendation. All the rest were either those counsellors who had served the King, and deserted him by adhering to the parliament; or of those who had most eminently diserved him in the beginning of the rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all fierceness and animosity until the new model, and dismissing the Earl of Essex: then indeed Cromwell had grown terrible to them, and disposed them to wish the King were again possessed of his regal power, and which they did but wish. There were then the names of the principal persons of the presbyterian party, to which the general was thought to be most inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly inclinations of his wife. There were likewise the names of some who were most notorious in all the other factions; and of some who in respect of their

mean qualities and meaner qualifications, no body could imagine how they could come to be named; except that, by the very odd mixture, any sober and wise resolutions and concurrence might be prevented.

The King was in more than ordinary confusion with the reading this paper, and knew not well what to think of the general, in whose absolute power he now was. However, he resolved in the entrance upon his government not to consent to such impositions, which might prove perpetual fetters and chains upon him ever after. He gave the paper therefore to the chancellor, and bade him "take the first opportunity to discourse the matter with the general" (whom he had not yet saluted) "or rather with Mr. Morrice, his most intimate friend," whom he had newly presented to the King, and "with both whom he presumed he would shortly be acquainted," though for the present both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual visits had passed between them, and such professions as naturally are made between persons who were like to have much to do with each other; and Mr. Morrice being in private with him, the chancellor told him, "how much the King was surprized with the paper he had received from the general, which at least recommended (and which would have always great authority with him) some such persons to his trust, in whom he could not yet, till they were better known to him, repose any confidence." And thereupon he read many of their names, and said, "that if such men were made privy counsellors, it would either be



imputed to the King's own election, which would cause a very ill measure to be taken of his majesty's nature and judgment; or (which more probably would be the case) to the inclination and power of the general, which would be attended with as ill effects." Mr. Morrice seemed much troubled at the apprehension, and said, "the paper was of his hand-writing, by the general's order, who he was assured had no such intention; but that he would presently speak with him and return," which he did within less than an hour, and expressed "the trouble the general was in upon the King's very just exception; and that the truth was, he had been obliged to have much communication with men of all humours and inclinations, and so had promised to do them good offices to the King, and could not therefore avoid inserting their names in that paper, without any imaginations that the King would accept them: that he had done his part, and all that could be expected from him, and left the King to do what he had thought best for his own service, which he would always desire him to do, whatever proposition he should at any time presume to make to his majesty, which he would not promise should be always reasonable. However, he did still heartily wish, that his majesty would make use of some of those persons," whom he named, and said, "He knew most of them were not his friends, and that his service would be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out."

The King was abundantly pleased with this good temper of the general, and less disliked those, who

he discerned would be grateful to him, than any of the rest; and so the next day, he made the general knight of the garter, and admitted him of the council; and likewise at the same time gave the signet to Mr. Morrice, who was sworn of the council and secretary of state; and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been presented by the general under a special recommendation, was then too sworn of the council, and the rather, because having lately married the niece of the Earl of Southampton (who was then likewise present, and received the garter to which he had been elected some years before) it was believed that his slippery humour would be easily restrained and fixed by the uncle. All this was transacted during his majesty's stay at Canterbury."

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*The genuine remains in prose and verse of Mr. Samuel Butler, author of Hudibras, published from the original manuscripts, formerly in the possession of W. Longueville, Esq; with notes by R. Tbyer, keeper of the public library at Manchester. In two vols. Octavo. J. and R. Tonson, in the Strand.*

**T**HAT extraordinary age which is the subject of the foregoing history, abounded in great and uncommon revolutions. It was the most fertile in new religions; in new models of government; in new systems of politics, morality and philosophy, that perhaps ever was. There was a person at that time among the many extraordinary ones which it produced, that looked on all these things which had caused so much serious

serious good and evil in the world in a light of pleasantry and humour; and as there were in all much false pretence and many striking follies, no man possessed more strongly the talent of exposing them with all the force of wit, humour and satire. This was Butler. His *Hudibras* is the most witty book in the world. The posthumous pieces, though there are few of them perfectly finished, carry the proof of their genuineness about them. Nobody could have written them but Butler. And it is pleasing, even in the unfinished sketches, to trace the first drawings of thought in an ingenious mind, and to see in what manner a great master worked; we value the most incorrect scratches of a first-rate painter.

These posthumous pieces shew Butler in a light in which he was not known in his own age, that of a prose writer; but it is a light in which he has great merit; his speeches, and his occasional reflections, are written in a spirited and masculine style, and are full of wit and good sense. A whole volume consists of characters; the drawing of which was a sort of exercise of the wits of that time; but to say the truth, they are rather, for the greater part, monstrous caricatures than just and regular pictures. They are forced and unnatural, and tire by the repetition of the same thing in new, indeed, but often odd and extravagant lights. However, they have, like the rest of Butler's works, a profusion of wit; and there are detached parts where the thoughts are incomparable, and deserve to be better placed. To give the reader some idea of this way of writing (for the fashion is the same in all that drew fanciful characters

at that time, tho' the stuff is here better than common) we insert the following.

"An impudent man is one, whose want of money and wit have engaged him beyond his abilities. The little knowledge he has of himself being suitable to the little he has in his possession, has made him believe himself fit for it. This double ignorance has made him set a value upon himself, as he that wants a great deal appears in a better condition, than he that wants a little. This renders him confident, and fit for any undertaking, and sometimes (such is the concurrent ignorance of the world) he prospers in it, but oftener miscarries, and becomes ridiculous; yet this advantage he has, that as nothing can make him see his error, so nothing can discourage him that way; for he is fortified with his ignorance, as barren and rocky places are by their situation, and he will rather believe that all men want judgment, than himself. For as no man is pleased, that has an ill opinion of himself, nature, that finds out remedies herself, and his own ease, renders him insensible of his defect.—From hence he grows impudent; for as men judge by comparison, he knows as little what it is to be defective, as what it is to be excellent. Nothing renders men modest, but a just knowledge how to compare themselves with others; and where that is wanting, impudence supplies the place of it: for there is no vacuum in the minds of men, and commonly, like other things in nature, they swell more with rarefaction than condensation. The more men know of the world, the worse opinion they have of it;

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and the more they understand of truth, they are better acquainted with the difficulties of it, and consequently are the less confident in their assertions, especially in matters of probability, which commonly is squint-ey'd, and looks nine ways at once. It is the office of a just judge to hear both parties, and he that considers but the one side of things can never make a just judgment, though he may by chance a true one. Impudence is the bastard of ignorance, not only unlawfully, but incestuously begotten by a man upon his own understanding, and laid by himself at his own door, a monster of unnatural production; for shame is as much the propriety of human nature (though overseen by the philosophers) and perhaps more than reason, laughing, or looking askint, by which they distinguish man from beasts; and the less men have of it, the nearer they approach to the nature of brutes. Modesty is but a noble jealousy of honour, and impudence the prostitution of it; for he, whose face is proof against infamy, must be as little sensible of glory. His forehead, like a voluntary cuckold's, is by his horns made proof against a blush. Nature made man barefaced, and civil custom has preserved him so; but he that's impudent does wear a vizard more ugly and deformed than highway thieves disguise themselves with. Shame is the tender moral conscience of good men. When there is a crack in the skull, nature herself with a tough horny callus repairs the breach; so a flaw'd intellect is with a brawny callus face supplied. The face is the dial of the mind; and where they do not go together, 'tis a sign, that one or

both are out of order. He that is impudent is like a merchant, that trades upon his credit without a stock, and if his debts were known, would break immediately. The inside of his head is like the outside; and his peruke as naturally of his own growth, as his wit. He passes in the world like a piece of counterfeit coin, looks well enough until he is rubbed and worn with use, and then his copper complexion begins to appear, and nobody will take him but by owl light."

That part intitled Thoughts on various subjects, is much better, of which the following is a specimen.

"The ambition of some men and the wants of others, are the ordinary causes of all civil wars.

Governments, like natural bodies, have their times of growing, perfection, and declining; and according to their constitutions some hold out longer, and some decay sooner than others; but all in their beginnings and infancies are subject to so many infirmities and imperfections, that what Solomon said of a monarchy, *Wo to that kingdom whose prince is a child*, may be more justly said of a new republic: and we may with as much reason say, *Wo be to that people, that live under a young government*: for as both must of necessity be under tutors, protectors, and keepers of liberties, until they can give the world an account, that they are able to govern of themselves (which a prince does in fewer years than a republic can in ages) the people always suffer under so many lords and masters; and though a foundation of liberty be laid, the fruition of it is for after-ages, like the planting of trees, whose shade

and fruit is only to be enjoyed by posterity.---For what protection can a nation have from a government that must itself be protected? that must maintain guards and armies at their own charge to keep themselves in obedience, that is, in slavery, until in process of time by slow degrees, that which was rugged at first becomes gentle and easy?---For as that, which was tyranny at first, does in time become liberty: so there is no liberty, but in the beginning was tyranny. All unripe fruit is harsh; and they, that live in new-built houses, are apt to catch diseases and infirmities. Nor is it possible to settle any government by a model, that shall hold, as men contrive ships and buildings: for governments are made, like natural productions, by degrees, according as their materials are brought in by time, and those parts of it, that are unagreeable to their nature, cast off.

He that keeps a watchful and vigilant eye upon that man's interest whom he is to treat withal, and observes it as the compass that all men generally steer by, shall hardly be deceived with fair pretences.

Principles of justice and right have chiefly relation to the general good of mankind, and therefore have so weak an influence upon particulars, that they give place to the meanest and most unworthy of private interests.

The deserts of good men do not produce so bad effects being unrewarded, as the crimes of evil men unpunished.---For good men are but discouraged, but the bad become more perverse and wicked.

It is safer for a prince to tolerate all sorts of debauchery than sedi-

tious meetings at conventicles.---As those, that have the stone, the gout, or consumption, are not shut up, because their diseases are only hurtful to themselves; but those, that have any contagious maladies that are apt to spread and infect multitudes, are with all care to be shut up, and kept from conversing with others, whom their distempers may endanger, and in time propagate among the people.

The worst governments are the best, when they light in good hands: and the best are the worst, when they fall into bad ones.

The worst governments are always the most chargeable, and cost the people dearest; as all men in courts of judicature, pay more for the wrongs that are done them, than the right.

Princes that have lost their credit and reputation, are like merchants inevitably destined to ruin: for all men immediately call in their loyalty and respect from the first, as they do their money from the latter.

The vices of tyrants run in a circle, and produce one another, begin with luxury and prodigality, which cannot be supplied but by rapine. Rapine produces hate in the people, and that hate fear in the prince: fear cruelty, cruelty despair, and despair destruction."

A tyrant is a monster of prodigy born to the destruction of the best men; as among the ancients, when a cow calved a monster, great numbers of cattle, that were fair and perfect in their kind, were presently sacrificed, to expiate and avert the ominous portent.

All governments are in their managements so equal, that no one has the advantage of another unless in speculation; and in this there

is no convenience that any particular model can pretend to, but is as liable to as great inconveniencies some other way ; infomuch that the worst of all governments in speculation, that is, tyranny, is found to be the best in the hands of excellent princes, who receive no advantage from the greatness of their power, but only a larger latitude to do good to their subjects ; which the best constitution forms, that is, the most limited, do but deprive them of, and tye them up from doing good, as well as hurt.

Princes have great reason to be allowed flatterers to adore them to their faces, because they are more exposed to the infamy and detraction of the world, than the meanest of their subjects ; otherways they would be dealt with very unequally, to be bound to all the infamy, true or false, that can be laid upon them, and not to be allowed an equal freedom of praise to qualify it ; for though he may be abused at any man's pleasure, he cannot be flattered without his own.

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*Miscellaneous tracts relating to natural history, husbandry and physick. Translated from the Latin, with notes, by Benj. Stillingfleet. R. and J. Doddsley in Pallmall.*

THE pieces which compose this book, we are informed by the translator, were selected from many others published by several ingenious members of the great and hitherto unrivalled school of natural history, the university of Upsal in Sweden. These were not selected as the best of the collection, but as answering best the excellent

purpose of the translator, which was to make known more generally how far all mankind is concerned in the study of natural history. Indeed nothing can be better adapted to that purpose than the pieces he has chosen, which are not only written with a perfect knowledge of the subject, but with a spirit and eloquence very rare in those who make profession of the sciences ; and on that account they are extremely useful to excite in young minds that laudable curiosity which is one of the great principles of science. To these pieces is prefixed by the translator a preface, to explain his reasons for publishing them, together with a defence of those enquiries in natural philosophy, the practical use of which does not immediately appear ; and it is indeed such a piece of writing as, we believe, will make every body with that learned author otherwise employed than in translation.

" I can (says he) scarcely condemn mankind for treating with contempt a virtuoso whom they see employed in poring over a moss or an insect day after day, and spending his life in such seemingly unimportant and barren speculations. The first and most natural reflections that will arise on this occasion must be to the disadvantage of such pursuits. Yet were the whole scene of nature laid open to our view, were we admitted to behold the connections and dependencies of every thing on every other, and to trace the oeconomy of nature thro' the smaller as well as greater parts of this globe, we might perhaps be obliged to own we were mistaken ; that the Supreme Architect had contrived his works in such

such a manner, that we cannot properly be said to be unconcerned in any one of them ; and therefore that studies which seem upon a slight view to be quite useless, may in the end appear to be of no small importance to mankind. Nay were we only to look back into the history of arts and sciences, we must be convinced we are apt to judge over-hastily of things of this nature. We should there find many proofs, that he who gave this instinctive curiosity to some of his creatures, gave it for good and great purposes, and that he rewards with useful discoveries all these minute researches.

It is true this does not always happen to the searcher, or his contemporaries, nor even sometimes to the immediate succeeding generation ; but I am apt to think that advantages of one kind or other always accrue to mankind from such pursuits. Some men are born to observe and record what perhaps by itself is perfectly useless, but yet of great importance to another who follows and goes a step farther still as useless. To him another succeeds, and thus by degrees ; till at last one of a superior genius comes, who laying all that has been done before his time together, brings on a new face of things, improves, adorns, exalts human society.

All those speculations concerning lines and numbers so ardently pursued, and so exquisitely conducted by the Grecians ; what did they aim at ? or what did they produce for ages ? A little arithmetic, and the first elements of geometry were all they had need of. This Plato asserts, and tho' as being himself an able mathematician and remarkably fond of these sciences, he recommends the study of them, yet he

makes use of motives that have no relation to the common purposes of life.

When Kepler, from a blind and strong impulse merely to find analogies in nature, discovered that famous one between the distances of the several planets from the sun, and the periods in which they complete their revolutions ; of what importance was it to him or to the world ?

Again ; when Galileo, pushed on by the same irresistible curiosity, found out the law by which bodies fall to the earth, did he or could he foresee that any good would come from his ingenious theorems, or was any immediate use made of them ?

Yet had not the Greeks pushed their abstract speculations so far ; had not Kepler and Galileo made the above mentioned discoveries ; we never could have seen the greatest work that ever came from the hands of man. Every one will guess that I mean Sir Isaac Newton's Principia.

Some obscure person, whose name is not so much as known, diverting himself idly as a stander-by would have thought, with trying experiments on a seemingly contemptible piece of stone, found out a guide for mariners on the ocean, and such a guide as no science, however subtle and sublime its speculations may be, however wonderful its conclusions, would ever have arrived at. It was bare curiosity that put Sir Thomas Millington upon examining the minute parts of flowers ; but his discoveries have produced the most perfect, and most useful system of botany that the world has yet seen.

Other instances might be produced

ed to prove; that bare curiosity in one age is the source of the greatest utility in another. And what has frequently been said of chymists may be applied to every other kind of virtuosi. They hunt perhaps after chimeras and impossibilities, they find something really valuable by and by. We are but instruments under the Supreme Director, and do not so much as know in many cases what is of most importance for us to search after. But we may be sure of one thing, viz. that if we study and follow nature, whatever paths we are led into, we shall at last arrive at something valuable to ourselves and others, but of what kind we must be content to remain ignorant.

I am sensible that after all I have said, or can say, many people will not be persuaded to allow that study of some parts of natural history can be worthy of a rational creature. They never will vouchsafe to look on mosses and insects in this light. Yet why may not the study of these likewise have its use in future times? It ought to be considered that the number of the latter is immense, that it is but lately that any great attention has been paid to them, that one of them has been long the means of cloathing thousands and feeding more, that another affords us honey, another a fine dye, not to mention some few besides, of acknowledged benefit to mankind. Lastly, that they are capable of doing the greatest mischief, and that it is possible that a more thorough knowledge of them may instruct us how to secure ourselves against their attacks. Whether this be possible we can never know, till proper encourage-

ment has been given to this branch of natural history."

As in this contracted scale we cannot give a full idea of the work, nor is it our intention to do more than to excite and direct the reader's curiosity, we must be contented with giving one short extract from the first of these pieces, which is an oration of the celebrated *Linnaeus* on the curious and uncommon subject of *Travelling in one's own Country*. See what he says of himself and his country; nothing can be more sensible and animated.

"My design was, in the little time allotted me, to speak to you, gentlemen, not of the peculiar advantages of universities, or of sojourning at this, rather than any foreign one: but chiefly of travelling in one's own country, thro' its fields, and roads; a kind of travelling, I confess, hitherto little used, and which is looked upon as fit only for amusement. I once more, most honourable auditors, beg your patience, and that I may not forfeit all right to your favour and benevolence, I promise to be as short as possible. You know the poet says,

The farmer talks of grasses and of grain,

The sailor tells you stories of the main.

You ought not therefore to wonder that I chose to make travelling in one's own country the subject of my discourse. Every one thinks well of what belongs to himself, and every one has pleasures peculiar to himself. I have travelled about, and passed over on foot the frosty mountains of Lapland, have climbed up the craggy ridges of Norland, and

and wandered along its steep hills, and almost impenetrable woods. I made large excursions into the forests of Dalecarlia, the groves of Gothland, the heaths of Smoland, and the unbounded plains of Scania. There is scarcely any considerable province of Sweden, which I have not crawled thro', and examined; not without great fatigue of body and mind. My journey to Lapland was indeed an undertaking of immense labour; and I must confess, that I was forced to undergo more labour, and danger in travelling thro' this one tract of the northern world, than thro' all those foreign countries put together, which I have ever visited; tho' even these have cost me no small pains, and have not a little exhausted my vigour. But love to truth, and gratitude towards the Supreme Being, oblige me to confess, that no sooner were my travels finished, but, as it were, a Lethæan oblivion of all the dangers, and difficulties came upon me; being rewarded by the inestimable advantages, which I reaped from those devious pursuits. Advantages the more conspicuous, for that I became daily more and more skillful, and gained a degree of experience, which I hope will be of use to myself, and others; and, what I esteem above all other considerations, as it comprehends in one all other duties, and charities; to my country: and the public.

Good God! how many, ignorant of their own country, run eagerly into foreign regions, to search out and admire whatever curiosities are to be found; many of which are much inferior to those, which offer themselves to our eyes at home. I have yet beheld no foreign

land, that abounds with more natural curiosities of all kinds, than our own. None which presents so many, so great, so wonderful works of nature; whether we consider the magazines of snow heaped up for so many ages upon our Alps, and amongst these vast tracks of snow green meadows, and delicious valleys here and there peeping forth, or the lofty heads of mountains, the craggy precipices of rocks, or the sun lying concealed from our eyes for so many months, and thence a thick Cimmerian darkness spread over our hemisphere, or else at another season darting his rays continually along the horizon. The like to all which in kind, and degree, neither Holland, nor France, nor Britain, nor Germany, nor lastly, any country in Europe can shew; yet thither our youth, greedy of novelty, flock in troops. But it was not my intent to speak of these things at present. I come now closer to my purpose, being about to shew by instances, that the natural philosopher, the mineralogist, the botanist, the zoologist, the physician, the oeconomist, and all others initiated in any part of natural knowledge, may find in travelling through our country things, which they will own they never dreamed of before. Nay things which to this day were never discovered by any person whatever. Lastly, such things as may not only gratify and satiate their curiosity; but may be of service to themselves, their country, and all the world.

To give a few examples. The sagacious searcher after nature will find here, wherewithal to sharpen and exercise his attention in beholding the top of mount Swucku,

of



of so immense a height, that it reaches above the clouds. The wonderful structure of mount Torfburg, the horrid precipices of the rock Blakulla in an island of that name, situated near Oeland, and that presents by its name, still used among the Sueogothic vulgar no less than by its dismal aspect, an idea of the stupidity, and superstition of that ancient people.

Besides the wonderful vaults, and caverns of the Skiula mountains, the high plains of the island Carolina, the unusual form and structure of the Kierkerfian fountains in Oeland; to pass over numberless other strange works of nature, the like to which perhaps are no where to be met with.

Where can we have greater opportunities, than in this Sueogothic tract, of considering the intense rigour, and vehemence of winter, the incredible marble-like strength of ice? And yet in this inclement climate grain of all sorts is observed to spring forth sooner, grow quicker, and ripen in less time than in any other part of the world †.

Whoever desires to contemplate the stupendous metamorphoses of sea and land, will scarcely find any where a more convenient opportunity, that in the south and east parts of Gothland; where the rock-giants, as they are called, seem to threaten heaven, and where the epocha's of time, the ages, the years, if I may so say, are as it were carved out in a surprising

series upon the sea shore, and the ground above the shore.

The philosopher will find room to exercise his ingenuity sufficiently in the Oeland stone, by trying to discover how to overcome its moist nature, and quality, which whoever could accomplish would do no small service to his country, and above all would infinitely oblige the inhabitants of that place.

I shall say no more than what is known, and confessedly by all the world, when I say that there is no country in the habitable part of the globe, where the mineralogist may make greater progress in his art, than in this country. Let any one that can, tell me, and I shall esteem him no mean prophet, in what regions more rich, and ample mines of metal are found, than in Sweden, and where they dig deeper into the very bowels of the earth than here.

Let the mines of Norburg, the ridge of Taberga, the pits of Dannemore, Bitsberg, Grengia, and lastly the immense treasures of Salbergen, and Fahlens, be my witnesses, which exceed all in the known world.

Where do the possessors suffer foreigners more freely to approach their furnaces, and observe their operations? where are there men more ready to communicate their knowledge? Strangers are received by us with civility, and even pressed to stay.

Who would not shudder on beholding those forges, vomiting forth immense clouds of fire, and

† Vid. a treatise concerning the foliation of trees published in this collection, and the prolegomena to the Flora Lapponica of this author, where he says that at Purkyar in Lapland anno 1732. barley sown May 1731. was ripe in July 28. i. e. in 58 days; and rye sown May 31. was ripe, and cut Aug. 5. i. e. in 66 days.

smoak, where our iron ores are melted? Who would not behold with pleasure the simple countrymen in the thick pine groves of Dalecarlia, without furnace, without any apparatus, extracting an iron so very hard, so fit for use, that it yields to no other, tho' prepared with the fiercest fires, and greatest expence?"

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*The history of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia, in two small pocket volumes. Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, and W. Johnston.*

**T**HE instruction which is found in most works of this kind, when they convey any instruction at all, is not the predominant part, but arises accidentally in the course of a story planned only to please. But in this novel the moral is the principal object, and the story is a mere vehicle to convey the instruction.

Accordingly the tale is not near so full of incidents, nor so diverting in itself, as the ingenious author, if he had not had higher views, might easily have made it; neither is the distinction of characters sufficiently attended to: but with these defects, perhaps no book ever inculcated a purer and sounder morality; no book ever made a more just estimate of human life, its pursuits, and its enjoyments. The descriptions are rich and luxuriant, and shew a poetic imagination not inferior to our best writers in verse. The style, which is peculiar and characteristic of the author, is lively, correct, and harmonious. It has however in a few places an air too exact and studied.

The ideas which travellers have

given us of a mountain in which the branches of royal family of Abissinia are confined, though it may not be very well founded in fact, affords a ground for the most striking description of a terrestrial paradise, which has ever been drawn; in this the author places the hero of his tale.

"The place, which the wisdom or policy of antiquity had destined for the residence of the Abissinian princes, was a spacious valley in the kingdom of Amhara, surrounded on every side by mountains of which the summits overhang the middle part. The only passage by which it could be entered was a cavern that passed under a rock, of which it has been long disputed whether it was the work of nature or of human industry. The outlet of the cavern was concealed by a thick wood, and the mouth which opened into the valley was closed with gates of iron, forged by the artificers of ancient days, so massy that no man could, without the help of engines, open or shut them.

From the mountains on every side, rivulets descended that filled the valley with verdure and fertility, and formed a lake in the middle inhabited by fish of every species, and frequented by every fowl whom nature has taught to dip the wing in water. This lake discharged its superfluities by a stream which entered a dark cleft of the mountain on the northern side, and fell with dreadful noise from precipice to precipice till it was heard no more.

The sides of the mountains were covered with trees, the banks of the brooks were diversified with flowers; every blast shook spices from the rocks, and every month dropped

dropped fruits upon the ground. All animals that bite the grass, or browse the shrub, whether wild or tame, wandered in this extensive circuit, secured from beasts of prey by the mountains which confined them. On one part were flocks and herds feeding in the pastures, on another all the beasts of chase frisking in the lawns; the sprightly kid was bounding on the rocks, the subtle monkeys frolicking in the trees, and the solemn elephant reposing in the shade. All the diversities of the world were brought together, the blessings of nature were collected, and its evils extracted and excluded.

The valley, wide and fruitful, supplied its inhabitants with the necessaries of life, and all delights and superfluities were added at the annual visit which the emperor paid his children, when the iron gate was opened to the sound of music; and during eight days every one that resided in the valley was required to propose whatever might contribute to make seclusion pleasant, to fill up the vacancies of attention, and lessen the tediousness of time. Every desire was immediately granted. All the artificers of pleasure were called to gladden the festivity; the musicians exerted their power of harmony, and the dancers shewed their activity before the princes, in hope that they should pass their lives in this blissful captivity, to which those only were admitted whose performance was thought able to add novelty to luxury. Such was the appearance of security and delight which this retirement afforded, that they to whom it was new, always desired that it might be perpetual; and as those, on whom the iron gates

had once closed, were never suffered to return, the effect of longer experience could not be known. Thus every year produced new schemes of delight, and new competitors for imprisonment." In this delightful seclusion, nothing that art or nature could supply, was wanting to solace and gladden its inhabitants; and the palace of the princes was decorated in the most sumptuous manner. "Here the sons and daughters of Abissinia lived only to know the soft vicissitudes of pleasure and repose, attended by all that were skilful to delight, and gratified with whatever the senses can enjoy. They wandered in gardens of fragrance, and slept in the fortresses of security. Every art was practised to make them pleased with their condition. The sages who instructed them, told them of nothing but the miseries of public life, and described all beyond the mountains as regions of calamity, where discord was always raging, and where man preyed upon man.

To heighten their opinion of their own felicity, they were daily entertained with songs, the subject of which was the *Happy Valley*. Their appetites were excited by frequent enumerations of different enjoyments, and revelry and merriment was the business of every hour, from the dawn of morning to the close of evening.

These methods were generally successful; few of the princes had ever wished to enlarge their bounds, but passed their lives in full conviction that they had all within their reach that art or nature could bestow, and pitied those whom fate had excluded from this tranquility, as the sport of chance, and the slaves of misery."

Rasselas,

Raffaels, in the 26th year of his age, began to be uneasy in his situation, and thus expressed the source of his grief. "What, said he, makes the difference between man and all the rest of the animal creation? Every beast that strays beside me has the same corporal necessities with myself; he is hungry and crops the grass, he is thirsty and drinks the stream, his thirst and hunger are appeased, he is satisfied, and sleeps: he rises again, and is hungry, he is again fed, and is at rest. I am hungry and thirsty, like him; but when thirst and hunger cease, I am not at rest: I am, like him, pained with want; but am not, like him, satisfied with fulness. The intermediate hours are tedious and gloomy; I long again to be hungry, that I may again quicken my attention. The birds peck the berries out of the corn, and fly away to the groves, where they sit in seeming happiness on the branches, and waste their lives in tuning one unvaried series of sounds. I likewise can call the lutenist and the singer; but the sounds that pleased me yesterday weary me to-day, and will grow yet more wearisome to-morrow. I can discover within me no power of perception, which is not glutted with its proper pleasure; yet I do not feel myself delighted. Man has surely some latent sense for which this place affords no gratification; or he has some desires distinct from sense, which must be satisfied before he can be happy."

In consequence of these reflections, he contrives to escape out of the valley; but if the hero of the tale was not happy in this situation, we are not to be surpris'd, that he did not find happiness in

his excursion into the world at large.

Though the author has not put his name to this work, there is no doubt that he is the same who has before done so much for the improvement of our taste and our morals, and employed a great part of his life in an astonishing work for the fixing the language of this nation; whilst this nation, which admires his works, and profits by them, has done nothing for the author.

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*A letter from M. Rousseau of Geneva, to M. d' Alembert, of Paris, concerning the effects of theatrical entertainments on the manners of mankind.*

NONE of the present writers have a greater share of talents and learning than Rousseau; yet it has been his misfortune and that of the world, that those of his works which have made the greatest noise, and acquired to their author the highest reputation, have been of little real use or emolument to mankind. A tendency to paradox, which is always the bane of solid learning, and threatens now to destroy it, a splenetic disposition carried to misanthropy, and an austere virtue pursued to an unsociable fierceness, have prevented a great deal of the good effects which might be expected from such a genius. A satire upon civilized society, a satire upon learning, may make a tolerable sport for an ingenious fancy; but if carried farther it can do no more (and that in such a way is surely too much) than to unsettle our notions of right and wrong, and lead by degrees to universal scepticism. His having before

fore attempted two such subjects, must make his attack upon the stage far less formidable than otherwise it would have been. This last subject has been often discussed before him; more good pieces have been written against the stage than in its favour; but this is by far the most ingenious, spirited, and philosophical performance that ever appeared on theatrical entertainments. The author has placed the matter in a light almost wholly new. So far as his remarks relate to small and indigent states in general, and to that of Geneva in particular, they are as just as they are ingenious; but with regard to the stage writers and performers in nations not so circumstanced, he seems to have pushed his objections much too far. There are certainly plays which shew, that the stage may at least be made as innocent as any other public entertainment; as innocent as his favourite entertainment of dancing; and there are actors of both sexes, who (though it must be admitted their situation is a little dangerous) have proved by their conduct the injustice of his assertion, which makes vice inseparable from their profession, and its infamy not created, but only declared by the laws. We shall give two extracts, in order to convey to our readers an idea of his manner of writing; one with regard to plays, the other with regard to the actors.

“Public entertainments are made for the people and it is only by their effects on them that we can determine their absolute qualities. There may be an infinite variety of these entertainments as there is an infinite variety of manners, constitutions, and characters of different nations.

Nature is the same I allow; but nature, modified by religion, government, law, customs, prejudice, and climates, becomes so different from itself, that we must no longer enquire for what is suitable to man in general, but what is proper for him in such a place or country. Hence Menander's plays, which had been written for the Athenian stage, did not at all suit that of Rome; hence the shews of gladiators, which in the times of the republic used to inspire the Romans with courage, had no other effect, under the emperors, than to make those very Romans ferocious and cruel: from the same spectacle, exhibited at different times, the people learned at first to undervalue their own lives, and afterwards to sport with those of others.

With regard to the species of public entertainments, this must be determined, by the pleasure they afford, and not by their utility. If there is any utility to be obtained by them, well and good: but the chief intent is to please; and provided the people are amused, this view is fulfilled. This alone will ever hinder these institutions from having all the advantages of which they are susceptible; and they must be greatly mistaken, who form an idea of perfection, which cannot be reduced to practice, without offending those whom we would willingly instruct. Hence ariseth the difference of entertainments, according to the different character of nations. A people of an intrepid spirit, but determined and cruel, will have spectacles full of danger, where valour and resolution are most conspicuous. A hot fiery people are for bloodshed, for battles, for the indulging of sanguinary passions. A

voluptuous nation wants music and dancing: A polite people require love and gallantry. A trifling people are for mirth and ridicule: *trahit sua quemque voluptas*. To please all these, the entertainments must encourage, whereas in right reason they ought to moderate their affections.

The stage in general is a picture of the human passions, the original of which is imprinted in every heart; but if the painter did not take care to flatter these passions, the spectators would soon be offended, not chusing to see their faces in such a light as must render them contemptible to themselves. And if he draws some in odious colours, it is only such as cannot be called general, and are naturally hated.

Let us not then attribute to the stage a power of changing opinions or manners, when it has only that of following or heightening them. An author who offends the general taste, may as well cease to write, for nobody will read his works. When Moliere reformed the stage, he attacked modes and ridiculous customs; but he did not affront the public taste, he either followed or explained it, as Corneille did also on his part. It was the ancient French theatre that began to offend this taste; for tho' the age improved in politeness, the stage still preserved its primitive rudeness. Hence the general taste having changed since those two authors, if both their master-pieces were still to make their first appearance, they would certainly be damned. Nor does it signify that they are yet admired by connoisseurs; if the public still admires them, it is rather through shame of retracting, than from any real sense of their beauties. It is

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said that a good play will never miscarry; indeed I believe it: and this is because a good play never runs counter to the manners of the present time. Who can have the least doubt, but the very best tragedy of Sophocles would be hissed off our modern stage? We cannot put ourselves in the place of people with whom we have not the least resemblance.

The general effect of a play, is to heighten the national character, to strengthen the natural inclinations, and to give a new vigour to the passions. In this sense, one would imagine, that as this effect consists in heightening, and not in changing the established manners, the comic muse would have a good effect upon the good, and an ill one upon the vicious. Even in the first case the point would still be to know, whether when the passions are too much irritated, they do not degenerate into vices. I am not ignorant that the poetic art, so far as it regards the theatre, pretends to a contrary effect; and to purge while it excites the passions: but I have great difficulty to understand this rule. Is it that to grow temperate and wise, we should begin with being intemperate and mad?

"Not at all! it is not that, say the defenders of the stage. Tragedy indeed pretends, that the several passions should move us; but it does not always require, that we should have the same feeling, as a man really tormented by a passion. On the contrary, its aim more frequently is, to excite quite different sentiments, from those with which it inspires its heroes." They tell us, that a faithful representation of the passions, and of the anxieties attending them, is alone sufficient to make

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us avoid this rock with all possible care.

To be convinced of the insincerity of these answers, we need only to consult our own breasts at the end of a tragedy. Can the concern, the pain, the pity we feel during the play, and which continue some time after it is over, can these be said to be the forerunners of a disposition to regulate and subdue our passions? Those lively impressions, which by frequent repetition must needs grow habitual, are they proper to moderate our affections? Why should the idea of pain arising from the passions, efface the remembrance of joys which also flow from the same source, and which the poet takes care to represent in lively colours, in order to embellish his play? Is it not well known, that all the passions are sisters, that one only is sufficient to excite a thousand, and that to combat one by means of another, is the way to render the heart more sensible to them all? The instrument that serves to purge them is reason; and reason, I have already taken notice, has no effect upon the stage. It is true, we are not equally affected with all the characters: for, as their interests are opposite, the poet must make us prefer some particular one to another, otherwise we should not be affected at all: but to attain this end, he is far from chusing the passion he likes himself, he is rather obliged to chuse that which is our favourite. What has been said of the species of plays, ought also to be understood of the interest by which they engage the audience. At London a lady interests the spectators in her favour, by making them hate the French; at Tunis the favourite passion would be piracy; at Messi-

na, deep revenge; at Goa, the honour of committing Jews to the flames."

"When the Romans declared comedians infamous by law, was it with a view to dishonour the profession? Of what use would so cruel a decree have been? No; they did not dishonour the profession, they only gave open testimony of the dishonour inseparable from it: for good laws never alter the nature of things, they are only guided by it; and such laws only are observed. The point is not therefore to cry out against prejudices; but to know first of all whether these are really prejudices; whether the profession of a comedian is not in itself dishonourable.

What is then the so much boasted ability of a comedian? It is the art of counterfeiting, of assuming a strange character, of appearing differently from what he really is, of flying into a passion in cold blood, of saying what he does not think as naturally as if he really did think it; in short, of forgetting his own station to personate that of others. What is this profession of a comedian? A trade by which a man exhibits himself in public, with a mercenary view; a trade by which he submits to ignominies and affronts from people, who think they have purchased a right to treat him in this manner: a trade, in short, by which he exposes his person to public sale. I conjure every ingenuous man to tell me, whether he is conscious in the bottom of his heart, that this traffic has something in it servile and base. What sort of spirit is it then that a comedian imbibes from his condition? A mean spirit, a spirit of falshood, pride, and low ridicule, which qualifies him for

for acting every sort of character, except the noblest of all, that of man, which he lays aside.

I am not ignorant, that the action of a comedian, is not like that of a cheat, who wants to impose upon you; that he does not pretend you should take him for the real person he represents; or that you should think him actuated by the passions which he only imitates: I know also, that by giving this imitation for what it really is, he renders it altogether innocent. Therefore I do not absolutely charge him with being a cheat, but with making it his whole business to cultivate the art of deception, and with practising it in habits, which, though innocent perhaps on the stage, must every where else be subservient to vice. Those fellows so genteely equipped, and so well practised in the theory of gallantry and whining, will they never make use of this art to seduce the young and innocent? Those lying varlets, so nimble with their tongue and fingers upon the stage, so artful in supplying the necessities of a profession more expensive than profitable, will they never try their abilities off the stage? Comedians must be honest by far than the rest of mankind, if they are not more corrupt.

The orator and the preacher, you will say, expose their persons in public, as well as the comedians. There is a very great difference. When the orator appears in public, it is to speak, and not to exhibit himself as a show: he represents only his own person, he acts only his own proper part, he speaks only in his own name, he says, or he ought to say, no more than he really thinks: as the man and the character are the same being, he is in his right place;

he is in the case of every other citizen that discharges the duties of his station. But a player is a person who delivers himself upon the stage in sentiments not his own; who says only what he is made to say; who oftentimes represents a chimerical being: consequently he is lost, as it were, in his hero. What shall I say of those who seem apprehensive of being too much respected in their native colours, and therefore degrade themselves so far as to act in characters, which they would be extremely sorry to resemble in real life? It is doubtless a sad thing to see such a number of villains in the world, who pass for honest men: but what can be more odious and shocking, or more base, than to see an honest comedian acting the part of a villain, and exerting his whole abilities to establish criminal maxims, which he sincerely detests in his own heart?

All this shews there is something dishonourable in the profession; but there is still another source of corruption in the debauched manners of the actresses, which necessarily draws after it the same immorality in the actors. Yet why should this immorality be inevitable? Why, say you? At any other time there would be no occasion to ask this question; but in this present age, when prejudice and error reign triumphantly under the specious name of philosophy, mankind, intoxicated by their empty learning, are grown deaf to the voice of human reason, as well as nature.

In all countries, and in all conditions of life, there is so strong and so natural a connection between the two sexes, that the manners of the one ever determine those of the other. Not that these manners are



always the same, but they have always the same degree of goodness, modified in each sex by their own peculiar inclinations. In England the women are gentle and timid: the men are rough and bold: Whence comes this seeming opposition? It is because the character of each sex is thus heightened; and it is natural for this nation to carry every thing to extremes. This excepted, in other respects they are alike. The two sexes chuse to live asunder; they are both fond of good eating; both retire after dinner, the men to the bottle, the women to the tea; both sit down to play without any violent eagerness, and seem to make rather a trade of it, than a passion; both have a great respect for decency; both do honour to the conjugal vow; and if ever they violate their fidelity, they do not boast of the violation; they are both fond of domestic quiet; they are both remarkable for taciturnity; they are both difficult to move; they are both hurried by their passions; in both love is terrible and tragical, it determines the fate of their days, the consequence is nothing less, says Muralt, than to lose either their reason or life; finally, they are both fond of the country, and the English ladies are as well delighted in wandering alone in their parks, as in shewing themselves at Vauxhall. From this general taste for solitude, ariseth that for meditation, and romances, with which England is over-run. Thus both sexes, more recollected within themselves, are less influenced by foolish modes, have a greater relish for the real pleasures of life, and study less to appear than to be happy.

I have quoted the English thro' preference, because of all nations in

the world, there is none where the manners of the two sexes seem to differ more at first sight. From the relation between men and women in that country, we may conclude for every other. The whole difference consists in this, that the life of the females continually shews their manners; whereas that of the men being more lost in the uniformity of business, you cannot judge rightly of them without seeing them in their pleasures. If you will therefore know the men, you must study the women. This is a general maxim, and so far all the world would agree with me. But if I should add, that the virtues of the fair sex, are to be found no where but in a retired life; that the peaceful care of a family is their peculiar province; that their dignity consists in modesty; that bashfulness is the inseparable companion of chastity; that to court the looks of men is a proof of corruption; and that every woman, who is fond of shewing her charms, brings dishonour on her person: instantly I hear the noise of this new-fangled philosophy, which has its rise and declension in the corner of a large city, and would fain stifle the voice of nature and all mankind."

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*The Theory of Moral Sentiments, by Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy, in the university of Glasgow.*

IT is very difficult, if not impossible, consistently with the brevity of our design, to give the reader a proper idea of this excellent work. A dry abstract of the system would convey no juster idea of it, than the skeleton of a departed beauty would  
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of her form when she was alive; at the same time the work is so well methodised, the parts grow so naturally and gracefully out of each other, that it would be doing it equal injustice to shew it by broken and detached pieces. There will, in a work of this kind, always be great deficiencies; but we are far from professing to make our accounts stand to the reader in the place of the books on which we remark. Had we thought that this in any degree would happen, we should certainly think ourselves obliged totally to omit this article in the Register, as it would be an effect the farthest in the world from our design, which is in the strongest manner to recommend to the attention of our readers, some of these books which we think deserving of it; we chuse none which we cannot recommend; we give our judgment with candour and impartiality; but never aiming to impose our opinions dogmatically on the public, we think it but justice to the authors and the readers, to give some specimen, however imperfect, of each writer's way of thinking and expression. We mean to raise, not to satisfy curiosity.

There have been of late many books written on our moral duties, and our moral sensations. One would have thought the matter had been exhausted. But this author has struck out a new, and at the same time a perfectly natural road of speculation on this subject. Had it been only an ingenious novelty on any other subject, it might have been praised; but with regard to morals, nothing could be more dangerous. We conceive, that here the theory is in all its essential parts just, and founded on truth and na-

ture. The author seeks for the foundation of the just, the fit, the proper, the decent, in our most common and most allowed passions; and making approbation and disapprobation the tests of virtue and vice, and shewing that those are founded on sympathy, he raises from this simple truth, one of the most beautiful fabrics of moral theory, that has perhaps ever appeared. The illustrations are numerous and happy, and shew the author to be a man of uncommon observation. His language is easy and spirited, and puts things before you in the fullest light; it is rather painting than writing. We insert the first section as it concerns sympathy, the basis of his theory; and as it exhibits equally with any of the rest, an idea of his style and manner.

#### *Of Sympathy.*

“How selfish foever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it. Of this kind is pity or compassion, the emotion which we feel for the misery of others, when we either see it, or are made to conceive it in a very lively manner. That we often derive sorrow from the sorrow of others, is too obvious to require any instances to prove it; for this sentiment, like all the other original passions of human nature, is by no means confined to the virtuous and humane, though they perhaps may feel it with the most exquisite sensibility. The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator

of the laws of society, is not altogether without it.

As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation. Though our brother is upon the rack, as long as we are at our own ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers. They never did, nor ever can carry us beyond our own persons, and it is by the imagination only, that we can form any conception of what are his sensations. Neither can that faculty help us to this any other way, than by representing to us what would be our own, if we were in his case. It is the impressions of our own senses only, not those of his, which our imaginations copy. By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure him, and thence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something, which, tho' weaker in degree, is not altogether unlike them. His agonies, when they are thus brought home to ourselves, when we have thus adopted and made them our own, begin at last to affect us, and we then tremble and shudder, at the thought of what he feels. For as to be in pain or distress of any kind excites the most excessive sorrow, so to conceive or to imagine that we are in it, excites some degree of the same emotion, in proportion to the vivacity or dulness of the conception.

That this is the source of our fellow-feeling for the misery of others, that it is by changing places in fancy with the sufferer, that we

come either to conceive or be affected by what he feels, may be demonstrated by many obvious observations, if it should not be thought sufficiently evident of itself. When we see a stroke aimed and just ready to fall upon the leg or arm of another person, we naturally shrink and draw back our own leg, or our own arm; and when it does fall, we feel it in some measure, and are hurt by it as well as the sufferer. The mob, when they are gazing at a dancer on the slack rope, naturally writhe and twist, and balance their own bodies, as they see him do, and as they feel that they themselves must do in his situation. Persons of delicate fibres, and a weak constitution of body, complain, that in looking on the sores and ulcers that are exposed by beggars in the streets, they are apt to feel an itching or uneasy sensation in the corresponding part of their own bodies. The horror which they conceive at the misery of those wretches affects that particular part in themselves, more than any other; because that horror arises from conceiving what they themselves would suffer, if they really were the wretches whom they are looking upon, and if that particular part in themselves was actually affected in the same miserable manner. The very force of this conception is sufficient, in their feeble frames, to produce that itching or uneasy sensation complained of. Men of the most robust make, observe that in looking upon sore eyes they often feel a very sensible soreness in their own, which proceeds from the same reason; that organ being in the strongest man more delicate than any other part of the body is in the weakest.

Neither

Neither is it those circumstances only, which create pain or sorrow, that call forth our fellow-feeling. Whatever is the passion which arises from any object in the person principally concerned, an analogous emotion springs up, at the thought of his situation, in the breast of every attentive spectator. Our joy for the deliverance of those heroes of tragedy or romance who interest us, is as sincere as our grief for their distress, and our fellow-feeling with their misery is not more real than than with their happiness. We enter into their gratitude towards those faithful friends, who did not desert them in their difficulties; and we heartily go along with their resentment against those perfidious traitors, who injured, abandoned, or deceived them. In every passion, of which the mind of man is susceptible, the emotions of the bystander always correspond to what, by bringing the case home to himself, he imagines, should be the sentiments of the sufferer.

Pity and compassion are words appropriated to signify our fellow-feeling with the sorrow of others. Sympathy, though its meaning was, perhaps, originally the same, may now, however, without much impropriety, be made use of to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever.

Upon some occasions sympathy may seem to arise merely from the view of a certain emotion in another person. The passions, upon some occasions, may seem to be transfused from one man to another, instantaneously, and antecedent to any knowledge of what excited them in the person principally concerned. Grief and joy, for example, strongly expressed in the look and gestures

of any one, at once affect the spectator, with some degree of a like painful or agreeable emotion. A smiling face is, to every body that sees it, a cheerful object; as a sorrowful countenance, on the other hand, is a melancholy one.

This, however, does not hold universally with regard to every passion. There are some of which the expressions excite no sort of sympathy, but before we are acquainted with what gave occasion to them, serve rather to disgust and provoke us against them. The furious behaviour of an angry man is more likely to exasperate us against himself, than against his enemies. As we are unacquainted with his provocation, we cannot bring his case home to ourselves, nor conceive any thing like the passions which it excites. But we plainly see what is the situation of those with whom he is angry, and to what violence they may be exposed from so enraged an adversary. We readily, therefore, sympathize with their fear or resentment, and are immediately disposed to take part against the man, from whom they appear to be in so much danger.

If the very appearances of grief and joy inspire us with some degree of the like emotions, it is because they suggest to us the general idea of some good or bad fortune that has befallen the person in whom we observe them: and in these passions this is sufficient to have some little influence upon us. The effects of grief and joy terminate in the person who feels those emotions, of which the expressions do not, like those of resentment, suggest to us the idea of any other person for whom we are concerned, and whose interests are opposite to his. The

general idea of good or bad fortune, therefore, creates some concern for the person who has met with it; but the general idea of provocation excites no sympathy with the anger of the man who has received it. Nature, it seems, teaches us to be more averse to enter into this passion, and, till informed of its cause, to be disposed rather to take part against it.

Even our sympathy with the grief or joy of another, before we are informed of the cause of either, is always extremely imperfect. General lamentations, which express nothing but the anguish of the sufferer, create rather a curiosity to enquire into his situation, along with some disposition to sympathize with him, than actual sympathy that is very sensible. The first question that we ask is, What has befallen you? Till this be answered, tho' we are uneasy, both from the vague idea of his misfortune, and still more from torturing ourselves with conjectures about what it may be, yet our fellow-feeling is not very considerable.

Sympathy therefore, does not arise so much from the view of the passion, as from that of the situation which excites it. We sometimes feel for another, a passion of which he himself seems to be altogether incapable; because when we put ourselves in his case, that passion arises in our breast from the imagination, though it does not in his from the reality. We blush for the impudence and rudeness of another, though he himself appears to have no sense of the impropriety of his own behaviour; because we cannot help feeling with what confusion we ourselves should be covered, had we behaved in so absurd a manner.

Of all the calamities to which the

condition of mortality exposes mankind, the loss of reason appears, to those who have the least spark of humanity, by far the most dreadful, and they behold that last stage of human wretchedness with deeper commiseration than any other. But the poor wretch, who is in it, laughs and sings perhaps, and is altogether insensible of his own misery. The anguish which humanity feels, therefore, at the sight of such an object, cannot be the reflection of any sentiment of the sufferer. The compassion of the spectator must arise altogether from the consideration of what he himself would feel if he was reduced to the same unhappy situation, and, what perhaps is impossible, was at the same time, able to regard it with his present reason and judgment.

What are the pangs of a mother when she hears the moaning of her infant, that during the agony of disease cannot express what it feels? In her idea of what it suffers, she joins, to its real helplessness, her own consciousness of that helplessness, and her own terrors for the unknown consequences of its disorder; and out of all these forms, for her own sorrow, the most complete image of misery and distress. The infant, however, feels only the uneasiness of the present instant, which can never be great. With regard to the future it is perfectly secure, and in its thoughtlessness and want of foresight, possesses an antidote against fear and anxiety, the great tormentors of the human breast, from which reason and philosophy will in vain attempt to defend it when it grows up to a man.

We sympathize even with the dead, and overlooking what is of real importance in their situation, that  
awful

aweful futurity which awaits them, we are chiefly affected by those circumstances which strike our senses, but can have no influence upon their happiness. It is miserable, we think, to be deprived of the light of the sun; to be shut out from life and conversation; to be laid in the cold grave a prey to corruption and the reptiles of the earth; to be no more thought of in this world, but to be obliterated in a little time from the affections and almost from the memory of their dearest friends and relations. Surely, we imagine, we can never feel too much for those who have suffered so dreadful a calamity. The tribute of our fellow-feeling seems doubly due to them now when they are in danger of being forgot by every body: and, by the vain honours which we pay to their memory, we endeavour, for our own misery, artificially to keep alive our melancholy remembrance of their misfortune. That our sympathy can afford them no consolation, seems to be an addition to their calamity; and to think that all we can do is unavailing, and that, what alleviates all other distress, the regret, love, and the lamentation of their friends, can yield no comfort to them, serves only to exasperate our sense of the misery. The happiness of the dead, however, most assuredly is affected by none of these circumstances; nor is it the thought of these things which can ever disturb the security of their repose. The idea of that dreary and endless melancholy, which the fancy naturally ascribes to their condition, arises altogether from our joining to the charge which has been produced upon them, our own consciousness of that charge, from our

putting ourselves in their situation, and from our lodging, if I may be allowed to say so, our own living souls in their inanimated bodies, and thence conceiving what would be our emotions in this case. It is this very illusion of the imagination which renders the foresight of our own dissolution so terrible to us, and the idea of those circumstances, which undoubtedly can give us no pain when we are dead, makes us miserable while we are alive. And from thence arises one of the most important principles in human nature, the dread of death, the great poison to the happiness, but the great restraint upon the injustice of mankind, which, while it afflicts and mortifies the individuals, guards and protects the society."

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*The history of Scotland, during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI. till his accession to the crown of England. With a review of the Scottish history previous to that period; and an appendix containing original papers. By William Robertson, D. D. minister of Lady Yester's, Edinburgh. In two volumes Quarto. A. Millar, in the Strand.*

THE great and just applause with which this history has been received, makes it less necessary for us to dwell long upon it. Its merit is of the very first class, and it has not been under-rated. But there is one beauty we have not so generally heard taken notice of, in that work; which is the great judgment of the author in drawing out or abridging his story according as he found the matter more or less important

important and interesting in itself. The history of Scotland furnished him with a long detail of facts prior to their great revolution in religion and in political connections; but he has happily thrown all of that aside, except what does in some measure lead to and explain the great events of that interesting period. And after the accession of James I. to the crown of England, he again contracts his plan, and satisfies himself with a general view of the state of Scotland to the Union; sensible that from this period the affairs of that kingdom naturally made part of the English history, and that they could not be treated of separately, but in a disorderly and unconnected manner. The same judgment appears every where in the conduct of the work; the reader is never tired, and pays as little for a great deal of instruction as can be imagined. He is admirable for the clearness with which he states all the points relative to politics and manners, that may make for the illustration of his narrative; and nobody ever introduced or made them blend with the body of the story with more propriety or grace; his account of the ancient feudal constitution is one of the best specimens of his mastery in his way.

“ At the time when Robert Bruce began his reign in Scotland, the same form of government was established in all the kingdoms of Europe. And the surprising similarity in their constitution and laws, demonstrates that the nations which overturned the Roman empire, and erected these kingdoms, though divided into different tribes,

and distinguished by different names, were originally the same people. When we take a view of the feudal system of laws and policy, that stupendous and singular fabric erected by them; the first object that strikes us is the King. And when we are told that he is the sole proprietor of all the lands within his dominions, that all his subjects derive their possessions from him, and in return consecrate their lives to his service; when we hear that all marks of distinction, and titles of dignity, flow from him, as the only fountain of honour; when we behold the most potent peers, on their bended knees, and with folded hands, swearing fealty at his feet, and acknowledging him to be their *Sovereign*, and their *Liege Lord*; we are apt to pronounce him a powerful, nay an absolute monarch. No conclusion, however, would be more rash, or worse founded. The genius of the feudal government was purely aristocratical. With all the ensigns of royalty, and with many appearances of despotic power, a feudal King was the most limited of all Princes.

Before they sallied out of their own habitations to conquer the world, many of the northern nations seem not to have been subject to the government of Kings\*; and even where monarchical government was established, the Prince possessed but little authority. A general rather than a King, his military command was extensive, his civil jurisdiction almost nothing†. The army which he led was not composed of soldiers, who could be compelled to serve, but of such as voluntarily followed his standard‡. These conquered

\* Cæf. lib. vi, c. 23.

† Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 11.

‡ Cæf. ibid.

not for their leader, but for themselves; and being free in their own country, renounced not their liberty when they acquired new settlements. They did not exterminate the ancient inhabitants of the countries which they had subdued, but seizing the greater part of their lands, they took their persons under protection. And the difficulty of maintaining a new conquest, as well as the danger of being attacked by new invaders, rendering it necessary to be always in a posture of defence, the form of government which they established, was altogether military, and nearly resembling that to which they had been accustomed in their native country. Their general still continuing to be the head of the colony, part of the conquered lands were allotted to him; the remainder, under the name of *beneficia* or *fiefs*, was divided amongst his principal officers. As the common safety required that these officers should, upon all occasions, be ready to appear in arms, for the common defence, and should continue obedient to their general, they bound themselves to take the field, when called, and to serve him with a number of men in proportion to the extent of their territory. These great officers again parcelled out their lands among their followers, and annexed the same condition to the grant. A feudal kingdom was properly the encampment of a great army; military ideas predominated, military subordination established, and the possession of land was the pay which soldiers received for their personal service. In consequence of these notions, the possession of land was granted during pleasure only, and Kings were elective. In other words, an officer disagreeable to his general was deprived of his

pay, and the person who was most capable of conducting an army, was chosen to command it. Such were the first rudiments, or infancy of feudal government.

But long before the beginning of the fourteenth century, the feudal system had undergone many changes, of which the following were most considerable. Kings formerly elective, were then hereditary; and fiefs granted at first during pleasure, descended from father to son, and were become perpetual. These changes, not less advantageous to the nobles than to the prince, made no alteration in the aristocratical spirit of the feudal constitution. The King, who at a distance seemed to be invested with majesty and power, appears, on a nearer view, to possess none of those advantages, which bestow on monarchs their grandeur and authority. His revenues were scanty; he had not a standing army; and he enjoyed no proper jurisdiction,

At a time when pomp and splendor were unknown, even in the palaces of Kings; when the officers of the crown received little salary besides the fees and perquisites of their office; when embassies to foreign courts were rare; when armies were composed of soldiers who served without pay; it was not necessary that a King should possess a great revenue; nor did the condition of Europe in those ages, allow its princes to be opulent. Commerce made little progress in the kingdoms, where the feudal government was established. Institutions, which had no other object but to inspire a martial spirit, to train men to be soldiers, and to make arms the only honourable profession, naturally discouraged the commercial arts. The revenues, arising



arising from the taxes imposed on the different branches of commerce, were by consequence inconsiderable, and the prince's treasury received little supply from a source, which among a trading people, flows with such abundance, and is almost inexhaustible. A fixed tax was not levied even on land; such a burthen then would have appeared intolerable to men who received their estates as the reward of their valour, and who considered their service in the field as a full retribution for what they possessed. The King's demesnes, or the portion of land which he still retained in his own hands unalienated, furnished subsistence to his court, and defrayed the ordinary expences of government\*. The only stated taxes which the feudal law obliged vassals to pay to the King, or to those of whom they held their lands, were three; one when his eldest son was made a knight; another when his eldest daughter was married; and a third to ransom him if he should happen to be taken prisoner. Besides these the King received the feudal casualties of the ward, marriage, &c. of his own vassals. And, on some extraordinary occasions, his subjects granted him an aid, which they distinguished by the name of a benevolence, in order to declare that he received it not in consequence of any right, but as a gift, flowing from their good will†. All these added together, produced a revenue, scanty and precarious, which far from enabling the King to attempt any thing that could excite the jealousy or fear of the nobles,

kept him in continual indigence, anxiety, and dependence.

Nor could the King supply the defect of his revenues, by the terror of his arms. Mercenary troops, and standing armies were unknown as long as the feudal government subsisted in vigour. Europe was peopled with soldiers. The vassals of the King, and the sub-vassals of the barons, were all obliged to carry arms. And while the poverty of princes prevented them from fortifying their frontier towns, while a campaign continued but a few weeks, and while a fierce and impetuous courage was impatient to bring every quarrel to the decision of a battle, an army, without pay, and with little discipline, was sufficient for all the purposes both of the security and of the glory of a nation. Such an army, however, far from being an engine at the King's disposal, was often no less formidable to him, than to his enemies. The more warlike any people were, the most independent they became; and the same persons being both soldiers and subjects, civil privileges and immunities were the consequences of their victories, and the reward of their martial exploits. Conquerors, whom mercenary armies, under forms of government, often render the tyrants of their own people, as well as the scourges of mankind were commonly, under the feudal constitution, the most indulgent of all princes to their subjects, because they stood most in need of their assistance. A prince whom even war and victory did not render the master of

\* Craig. de Feud. lib. 1. Dieg. 14.

† Du Cange voc. Auxilium.

Du Cange Gloss. voc. Dominicum.

his own army, possessed no shadow of military power during times of peace. His disbanded soldiers mingled with his other subjects; not a single man received pay from him: many ages elapsed even before a guard was appointed to defend his person; and destitute of that great instrument of dominion a standing army, the authority of the King continued always feeble, and was often contemptible.

Nor were these the only circumstances, which contributed towards depressing the regal power. By the feudal system, the King's judicial authority was extremely circumscribed. At first, princes seem to have been the supreme judges of their people, and in person, heard and determined all controversies among them. The multiplicity of causes soon made it necessary to appoint judges, who, in the King's name, decided matters, that belonged to the royal jurisdiction. But the Barbarians, who over-ran Europe, having destroyed most of the great cities, and the countries which they seized being cantoned out among

powerful barons, who were blindly followed by numerous vassals, whom, in return, they were bound to protect from every injury; the administration of justice was greatly interrupted, and the execution of any legal sentence became almost impracticable. Theft, rapine, murder, and disorder of all kinds prevailed in every kingdom of Europe, to a degree almost incredible, and scarce compatible with the subsistence of civil society. Every offender sheltered himself under the protection of some powerful chieftain, who screened him from the pursuits of justice. To apprehend, and to punish a criminal, often required the union and efforts of half a kingdom †. In order to remedy these evils, many persons of distinction were entrusted with the administration of justice within their own territories. But what we may presume was, at first, only a temporary grant, or a personal privilege, the incroaching spirit of the nobles soon converted into a right, and rendered hereditary. The lands of some were erected into baronies, those of

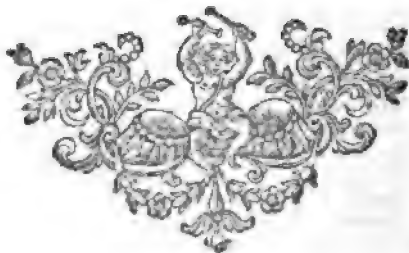
† A remarkable instance of this occurs in the following history, so late as the year 1561. Mary, having appointed a court of justice to be held on the borders, the inhabitants of no less than eleven counties were summoned to guard the person, who was to act as judge, and to enable him to enforce his decisions. The words of a proclamation, which afford such a convincing proof of the feebleness of the feudal government, deserve our notice.—“And because it is necessary for the execution of her highness's command, and service, that her justice be well accompanied, and her authority sufficiently fortified, by the concurrence of a good power of her faithful subjects—Therefore commands and charges all the sundry earls, lords, barons, freeholders, landed men, and other gentlemen, dwelling within the said counties, that they, and every one of them, with their kin, friends, servants, and household men, well bodin in feir of war in the most substantial manner, [i. e. compleatly armed and provided,] and with twenty days victuals, to meet and to pass forward with him to the borough of Jedburgh, and there to remain during the said space of twenty days, and to receive such direction and commands, as shall be given by him to them in our Sovereign Lady's name, for quietness of the country; and to put the same in execution under the pain of losing their life, lands and goods.” Keith's hist. of Scotland, 198.

others

others into regalities. The jurisdiction of the former was extensive, that of the latter, as the name implies, royal, and almost unbounded. All causes, whether civil or criminal, were tried by judges, whom the lord of the regality appointed; and if the King's courts called any person within his territory before them, the lord of the regality might put a stop to their proceedings, and by the privilege of repleadings, remove the cause to his own court, and even punish his vassal, if he submitted to a foreign jurisdiction†. Thus almost every question, in which any person, who resided on the lands of the nobles, was inte-

rested, being determined by judges appointed by the nobles themselves, their vassals were scarce sensible of being, in any degree, subject to the crown. A feudal kingdom was split into many small principalities, almost independent, and held together by a feeble and commonly an imperceptible bond of union. And the King was not only stripped of the authority annexed to the person of a supreme judge, but his revenue suffered no small diminution, by the loss of those pecuniary emoluments, which were, in that age, due to the person who administered justice.

† Craig, lib. iii. Dig. 7.





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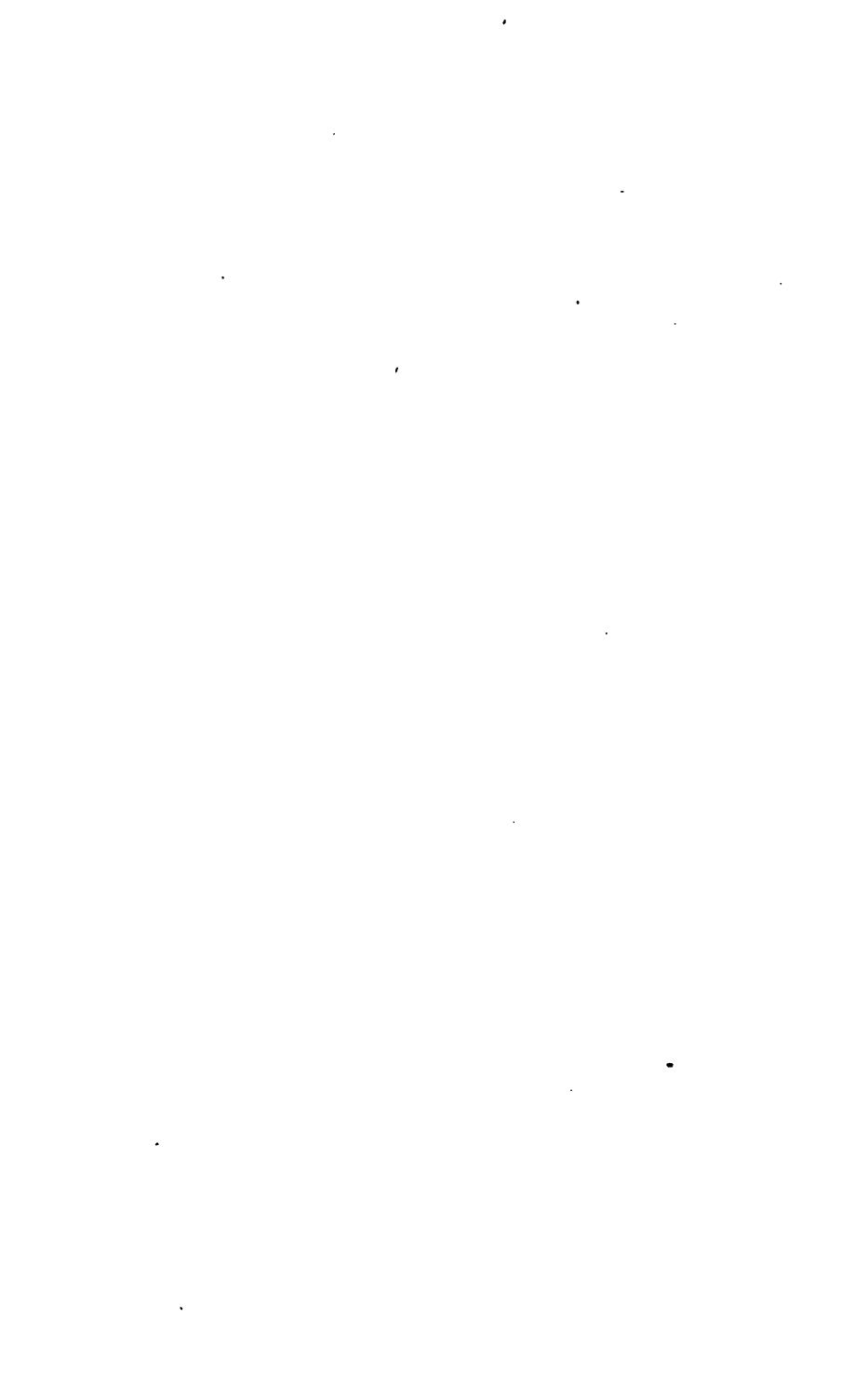
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